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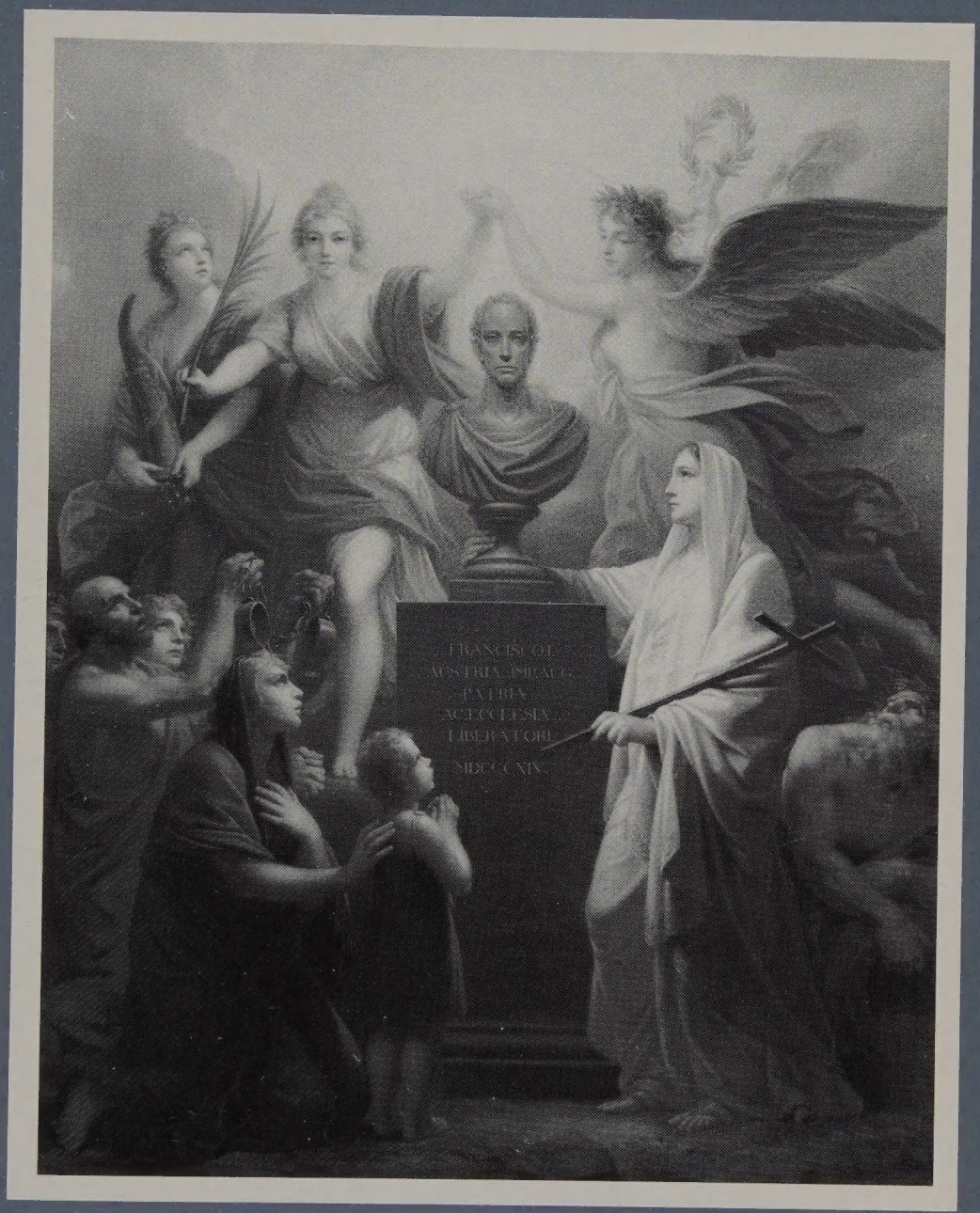

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The Musical Quarterly

Spring 2006 Volume 89, Number 1

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Music in History: The Perils of Method in Reception History

Leon Botstein

In a scathing 1995 review of the first edition, from 1993, of a volume on the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth-century musical renaissance in England, Stanford University musicologist Stephen Hinton observed, "How does music mediate politics and ideology, even matters of gender identity and sexual orientation? The readiest answers, as this book illustrates, are provided by ignoring the musical text."[1] Indeed, many skeptics have questioned the utility of using music as evidence of history without taking account of the ways in which a work of music is constructed and functions.

The analogy with literature is apparent. One would not hazard a reception history of the meaning and significance of a writer's work without connecting historical reactions and interpretations to aspects and details of the literary texts. The attention to past contexts of interpretation in turn requires the writer of reception history to grapple with judgments about how a text might be read and understood. Such criticism—views as to what happens in the text—intersects with the historical task by explicitly placing a range of readings against those of critics and readers from the past. This enterprise would seem imperative particularly for a history of literature, much less a reading of literature as a constituent element, either reflective or causal, within history.

A compelling recent exercise in literary reception history is Christoph Irmscher's *Longfellow Redux*.[2] If there ever was a figure ripe for the use of reception history as a means to understand the nineteenth century and place past and present against one another with respect to the intersection of culture, economics, and politics, it is Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. Through such an investigation, there is even the possibility of aesthetic revisionism. The most famous and widely read poet of his era is now almost totally ignored and often derided, yet he still casts an uncomfortable shadow. The gap between his historical significance and the posthumous aesthetic assessment of his poetry and prose is confusing

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and invites explanation. Irmscher's compelling insights into the special dynamic between reader and poet in Longfellow's case are contingent not only on the massive new historical evidence he uses—primarily letters sent to the writer from contemporary readers and the popular uses of Longfellow's verse—but also on Irmscher's own appreciative and suggestive readings of the texts. These several readings conflict with most twentieth- and early-twentieth-century critical orthodoxies. As a result of Irmscher's careful approach to his subject, Longfellow can no longer be so readily dismissed as an ephemeral popular writer of no consequence.

This dialogue between the empirical evidence of reception history and critical textual scrutiny is to be recommended for the study of music, as Hinton's critique suggests. Irmscher's example seems particularly applicable to music. In nineteenth-century music history, there is even a case akin to Longfellow's. The music of Giacomo Meyerbeer had a wide following. It was the object of sustained critical attention as serious and worthy, yet it has never recovered from a posthumous dismissive critical aesthetic revisionism. Meyerbeer's extraordinary popularity and critical reputation stand in contrast with today's contempt and oblivion.

But how close are the parallels between literature and music when it comes to understanding reception history? How can reception history illuminate the historical past and the critical ideologies of the present? First, there is the problem of performance. Our understanding of how musical texts were received remains contingent on our grasp of historical performance practices and conditions. When it comes to late-nineteenth-century violin performance, for instance, David Milsom's 2003 monograph makes plain that any certainty about how music was played, even in the nascent era of recording, is hard to come by.[3] It is even more difficult to locate the links between performance practices and styles and the way past listeners perceived their expressive significance. What we may hear as stilted or vulgar—types of portamento or rubato, for instance—clearly signified something different for past audiences. To make matters more difficult, performances before the twentieth century were documented only through recollection in language. Without a firm sense of historical performance practices and conditions as well as markers linking responses to notated musical events and expressive emendations, the suggestion of meaning in reception becomes tricky. Only through individual and collective memory and the translation into descriptive language do accounts of performances survive. We have little else to help correlate the text and past performance. And the "text" is more often than not the particular performance rather than the musical notation.

Beyond uncertainties about performance, there is the issue of literacy itself. No doubt nineteenth-century readers of literature did not exhibit a uniform level of literacy, but the variability of musical literacy among nineteenth-century listeners and critics was probably wider and more decisive than in ordinary literature. The range of musical training and skill among the Viennese critics at the turn of the century, the presumed arbiters of taste, was wide indeed. One can infer a similar problem for the same period in England.[4] This disparity further complicates the task of locating a correspondence between the musical text and the music heard. The wide divergence in musical literacy undermines the claim that the text implies a common ground between past and present audiences. (Consider the case of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony, where referencing the work seems initially sufficient as suggesting a common ground.) Quoting long excerpts of Longfellow, as Irmscher does, works because it resurrects plausibly a shared experience between past and present reader, no matter how much the use of language and the act of reading may have changed. But do musical examples and analyses connect what we hear to what past listeners heard quite the same way? Close readings of normally stable texts seem indispensable in using literature as history, but can this pattern be transferable to music quite so readily?

One way out of this dilemma for music historians concerned with reception is to concentrate on the collective subjective reaction, without referring to texts or claiming that what was perceived or understood can be correlated to specific aspects or moments in the performed text.[5] This approach is no doubt useful, but it can limit what can plausibly be argued about the historical significance of music as a result of its character. An embarrassingly high level of generality becomes the norm. The only remaining subject is then how the musical experience was perceived without linking that response to musical events. Therefore, the course of least resistance is ascribed to music (in part as a consequence of reception history) barely concealed nonmusical ideologies, including prejudices of varying sorts, from nationalism to anti-Semitism and homophobia. With such a method, music actually disappears; hence Hinton's lament.

Two recent publications help illustrate the problems and perils of writing reception history and of using music as an integral part of constructing cultural and social history. The subject matter of both publications is much the same: Vienna during the last quarter of the nineteenth century and the fin de siècle up to 1907. The first is *Lateness and Brahms: Music and Culture in the Twilight of Viennese Liberalism*, Margaret Notley's most recent foray into a field to which she has made

notable and frequently cited contributions.[6] Although the book reflects the reading of the work of prominent historians, from Carl Schorske and Robert Wistrich to the late Robert Kann, the book employs established, familiar, and conventional constructs of liberalism, its demise, and late-nineteenth-century Viennese culture even though the constructs remain only partially persuasive to many historians of Vienna. The same can be said of the now fashionable concern for "lateness" as an interpretive category within biography and history.[7] Despite Notley's admirable and welcome close examination of the late chamber music of Brahms, its aesthetic underpinnings, and the composer's engagement with music education and musicology, her essentially reductive historical grasp of the issues of nationalism and Viennese political and social history prevents her from drawing something new out of the music she investigates. Although she convincingly articulates the well-known connection between Brahms's attitudes to the relationship of past and present, his forays into history, and his compositional ambitions in his later years, her interpretation is framed by generalizations from arenas outside music that are then applied to illuminate musical culture. Given the failure of historians to account for the historical prominence of musical culture, it is precisely these generalizations that need testing through an examination of musical culture as a way to reconsider our version of history.

Consider Notley's account of anti-Semitism as a historical factor. That Brahms, like many of his contemporaries, made gruff, insensitive, and offhand remarks, even some that could be read as anti-Semitic, is unremarkable, especially given his personality and character. However, as Notley herself concedes, these remarks do not complicate the standard picture of Brahms as unusually resistant to the fashionable and destructive political anti-Semitism of the late 1880s and early 1890s. Furthermore, the sort of seething, ugly, and barely suppressed anti-Semitism apparent in Schumann was consistently absent in Brahms.

The problem is not that Brahms needs a defender. The problem is that Notley's analysis of musical texts, contemporaneous musicology, and approaches to music education—the strongest parts of the book—either amplifies a too-well-known historical and biographical picture or distorts fragments of history to generate the appearance of revisionism. Nothing really new is brought to the table. Brahms's *Triumphlied* is dismissed as a "bombastic display of patriotism," a conventional view that invites a close reading of the music, which might complicate if not explode that tiresome simplification.[8] There is more to the *Triumphlied*, and there is no need for Brahms scholars to "forget" it.[9]

Notley's basic biographical and cultural framework take was outlined in 1995 by Reinhold Brinkmann, who wrote a brilliant book on Brahms's Second Symphony.[10] Notley's portrait of Brahms, as both a nationalist and a pessimistic if not wistfully resigned cosmopolitan increasingly engaged in historical inquiry, is a familiar one in the Brahms literature. The trouble is that it is not challenged. The account of the intellectual and cultural context in which she seeks to place Brahms and Bruckner is bereft of insights from new primary sources within musical culture. Her account fails to benefit from the necessary "thick description," a profoundly empirical historical account of a potentially useful context: the demographic, social, and intellectual structures—including the theater, visual arts, architecture, science, and educational institutions—let alone the economics and literature in late-nineteenth-century Vienna. There is a vast body of unexamined material surrounding musical life that can alter, when integrated with the musical text and its performance history, our notions of the past.

Irmscher's contribution to Longfellow studies and the American nineteenth century is based on a close reading of new evidence: readers' responses. Similarly, Edward Timms's magisterial two-volume account of Karl Kraus's life and work is informed by archival materials not previously consulted and a refined novel command of the complex web of Viennese culture and politics.[11] Timms's scholarship yields insight into Kraus's work and his influence, contesting our facile images of Kraus as well as our notions of fin-de-siècle Vienna. Timms forces us to move beyond the path inspired by Carl Schorske's seminal work of nearly thirty years ago.[12] The welcome scrutiny and analysis of musical texts in Notley's new book, despite its overt combination of biography and cultural history, only brings us back to standard and familiar claims without generating new historical insights.

A second example of the tendency among writers of reception histories to bypass musical texts or fail to use them except to confirm generalizations borrowed from other descriptions, is an essay by K. M. Knittel in the spring 2006 issue of *Nineteenth-Century Music*, "'Polemik im Concertsaal': Mahler, Beethoven, and the Viennese Critics."[13] The essay, which attempts no critical analysis of musical text or performance, whether of Mahler's own music or his interpretations and re-scorings of Beethoven sources, bases its arguments in press reviews.[14] It should be noted that reception history must not be limited to published accounts of performances. As becomes evident at the outset, the author seeks to debunk what she regards, wrongly, as a historical claim regarding the shift in the reception of Mahler in Vienna between 1897 and 1907, particularly with respect to his identity as

a Jew. Knittel identifies several writers, including me, who have focused on the Nicolai Concerts of 1900 as a turning point in the Viennese critical reception of Mahler as a conductor. The work cited in my case dates from 1985 and, as subsequent publications show, while I still hold the view that those concerts were crucial events, much more has been written since then that places those concerts in a broader and more differentiated context. The conflict of opinion Knittel sets up is a straw man she uses to pursue her primary interest: the unmasking of social and political ideologies hidden in the language of Viennese music criticism.

What Knittel overlooks, ironically, is the main significance of the Nicolai Concerts. It was not Mahler's status as a Jew or presumed outsider that repelled audiences and critics, but his insistence on following Wagner's precepts regarding the interpretation of Beethoven at a time when a significant reaction against Wagnerian-inspired performance practices had already taken hold in Vienna. The negative reaction to Mahler's re-orchestrations, particularly that of Robert Hirschfeld and Heinrich Schenker (whose criticism Knittel seems to have overlooked), points to a strong aesthetic divide in the reception of performances of historical music at the turn of the century in Vienna. A reading of Notley's book on Brahms might have helped illuminate that aesthetic divide, which mirrored a reaction against the Wagnerization of the classical tradition. Viennese observers who saw themselves as followers of a late Brahmsian tradition that called for sensitivity to historical performance practice held the belief that the rhetoric of musical meaning and expression in music from the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries was normative and defined by structural and formal considerations that supported the idea of music possessing a nonprogrammatic logic. The Schoenberg who wrote "Brahms the Progressive" did not emerge from a vacuum.[15] It seems difficult for Knittel to believe that normative aesthetics, the history of music, and aspects of cultural pessimism regarding mass culture (having little to do with the Jews) could be causal factors driving individuals to engage in serious conflict. Sometimes, in matters of art and music, as the saying goes, a cigar is just a cigar.

The critics, including Richard Heuberger, a friend of Brahms in the composer's last years, resented Mahler's willful imposition of ahistorical narratives on the performance of canonic works (as opposed to the subjective derivation of narrative meaning by the listener) and the distortion of musical logic by an overlay of neo-Wagnerian extramusical claims, particularly in the presentation of the musical structure of Beethoven's symphonic music. More than a decade before Mahler

returned to Vienna, Brahms had derided the conceits of the modern "improved" interpretation audible in Johann Herbeck's rendering of Handel's *Messiah*.

There were also aesthetic divides in taste that do not neatly correspond to social ideologies or cultural divisions, even along the fault line of anti-Semitism, itself not a one-dimensional phenomenon. It was Mahler's interpretation of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony, well beyond the issue of re-orchestration, that inspired Schenker to write his massive monograph on that symphony.[16] Schenker's point was to justify his diatribe against the shaping of Beethoven's music according to Wagnerian-style metaphysical claims regarding the philosophical narrative or emotional meaning supposedly inherent in the music. Mahler's reading trivialized the form and structure of the work. There was a large-scale assault within Vienna in the late 1890s (linked to the fin-de-siècle revival of Mozart and Biedermeier aesthetics) on behalf of a new historical sensibility against the influence of Wagner, older habits of historicism (particularly in architecture), and late Romanticism that had nothing to do with Wagner's anti-Semitism or Viennese racism.

It is no accident that, in the end, Mahler's successor at the Vienna Court Opera was none other than Felix Weingartner, who made his reputation not only as a composer but also as a conductor who argued against the anti-historical interpretive distortion of the musical structure of works from the Viennese classical period, including Beethoven's.[17] Weingartner represented the beginning of a movement toward the interpretation of past repertoire that argued for textual analysis and historical sensitivity out of respect for objectively defined authorial intentions and historical style. This movement was explicitly opposed to the Wagnerian and Lisztian tradition that prized subjective and novel appropriation by the performer. Although Weingartner's performances sound less modern to us (in terms of mid-twentieth-century conceits regarding textual fidelity or period practice) by comparison to what Mahler did in the 1900 performances, they were significantly less excessive in the imposition of personalized late-romantic gestures and narrative rhetoric. Weingartner argued against the fraudulent modernization of the classical repertoire in the spirit of Wagner, a trend that Schenker devoted the larger part of his career combating, particularly in the matter of Beethoven's thirty-two piano sonatas.

At stake in this Viennese debate was a concern over the decline in musical standards of understanding and the bowdlerization of canonic repertoire, notably the works of Beethoven. Many critics believed that the concert-going public no longer understood instrumental music from before 1850 for its unique qualities. As a consequence, they accused

Mahler of pandering to the audience by making Beethoven sound more narrative and dramatic, therefore rendering him more accessible to middle-class philistines (in Matthew Arnold's sense) and the concert-going representatives of the aristocratic "barbarians" who dominated the concert audience.

In the view of these Viennese critics, Mahler's approach to the canonical repertoire of the past was distorted by the Wagnerian view that the history of music was a story of progress, a teleology that regarded the music of the past as obsolete and in need of modernization. It is this tension regarding the past and the present that gives the 1900 Nicolai Concerts their importance in Mahler's career in Vienna. Mahler chose to highlight his approach and defend it with the Ninth Symphony, widely held to presage the future direction of Romanticism in music and to justify the Wagnerian image of Beethoven.

It is telling that Knittel chose, seemingly with justification, to concentrate only on reviews of orchestral concerts. Important as those concerts were, however, this strategy fails to consider the vast array of reviews of Mahler's performances of Mozart's and Wagner's operas and Beethoven's *Fidelio*. Criticism of those productions, most of it enthusiastic about the music making, was more reserved with respect to the scenic innovations that linked Mahler with progressive visual artists associated with the Vienna Secession. Even when the staging offended, Mahler was highly praised for his readings of the Wagnerian works, many of which he presented for the first time in Vienna without cuts.

A discussion of the reception of Mahler as a conductor in Vienna or as a Jew cannot be limited to his relatively few appearances with the Vienna Philharmonic. Although the Vienna Philharmonic has been from its inception an outgrowth of the opera orchestra of the Vienna Court Opera, Mahler's reputation as a conductor rested primarily on operatic performances. The Vienna Philharmonic gave relatively few concerts each season. Knittel's separation of the orchestra and the opera reflects a fundamental misunderstanding of the Viennese context. Additionally, the discussion would benefit from a consideration of the reaction in the Viennese press to Mahler's performing version of Weber's *Euryanthe*, a historical work that had not become canonic, and how this reception compared (despite the gap in time, during which anti-Semitism and the Jewish presence in the city retained their centrality) with Viennese responses to Richard Strauss's later reworking of Mozart's *Idomeneo*.

However, the central argument in Knittel's essay has to do with Mahler's status as a Jew. The absence of not only a proper historical framework but also of any reference to the extensive literature on the

place of Jews in Viennese political and cultural life and the forms of Viennese anti-Semitism reveals the striking need among historians of music reception to look beyond publications that lie narrowly within the field of musicology or music history. Although conversion was required for Mahler's appointment to the Vienna Opera, he was universally understood to be a Jew. Among those who lobbied on his behalf well before his arrival in Vienna 1897 was none other than Brahms himself, who had gone to Budapest in the 1880s to hear Mahler at the Budapest Opera and whose admiration for Mahler as a conductor was well known. The presence of Jews in the theater and concert hall (consider the tenure of Anton Rubinstein in the 1870s at the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde) was not exceptional by the mid-1890s. And by 1900 a disproportionate percentage of audience members, critics, and conservatory students were Jews. The variety of Jewishness visible and imputed in Viennese life was considerable.

To reduce the Viennese reception of Mahler as a conductor to criticism in anti-Semitic newspapers and cartoons in humor journals is as unhelpful and distorted as an effort to understand the reception history of Louis Armstrong, Duke Ellington, and Ornette Coleman in American musical life by considering only the racist aspects of contemporaneous reviews and articles. No one forgot their blackness, as no one forgot about Mahler's Jewishness. But, as is evident from the writings of hostile Jewish critics, the role and character of prejudice and stereotypes in Vienna circa 1900 call for a far more complex account of how the awareness of Jewish identity influenced, if it did, judgments about musical performances.

To reduce the reception of Mahler (or of any Viennese Jew) who entered the public realm in a city in which Jews played a large role in cultural and literary life to the lowest-common denominator of the Jewish stereotype is to ride roughshod over the cultural discourse and its many-sided dimensions. Such an approach obliterates the highly inflected and diverse character of Jewish self-representation and the reception of Jews in Viennese life. It is only in the clearly anti-Semitic right-wing press that stereotypes are helpful as an explanatory factor. But beyond this, matters are complicated. Among the critics Knittel cites is Robert Hirschfeld, who, despite being the son of a rabbi, was highly assimilated. His enmity for Mahler, about which there is a considerable literature, cannot be ascribed to the internalized self-hate of the assimilated Jew. His dislike stemmed in part from Mahler's apparent low regard for the talents of Hirschfeld's wife, an opera singer, and for Mahler's relative inattention to his edition of one of Haydn's operas. In the main, however, Hirschfeld's antipathy was ideological, and

located squarely at the intersection of aesthetics and ethics. Hirschfeld, a scholar who advocated reviving Renaissance music in the concert hall, believed in the disciplined synthesis of objective aesthetic standards in art, ethics, and modern historical scholarship. Mahler the conductor, arrogant in his distortion and disregard for the past, represented the antithetic view, based, in Hirschfeld's opinion, in undisciplined subjectivity.

Furthermore, Knittel's argument fails to account for the complexity and dynamic within the cultural and social context of Vienna, where versions of the past found themselves in conflict with competing claims regarding the present. Mahler's arrival in Vienna triggered the departure of conductor Hans Richter, whose reputation rested on two achievements. First, he was in the inner circle of Bayreuth and closely associated with Wagner. Second, Richter was a beloved local personality to whom the members of the opera orchestra and its subset, the Vienna Philharmonic, showed uncharacteristic loyalty and affection. If Richter was easygoing and not terribly exacting, Mahler was notoriously unpleasant and difficult to work with. But for all of Richter's popularity, Viennese critics recognized the marked improvement Mahler brought to performance standards.

There were legitimate grounds for criticism of Mahler that had no foundation in anti-Semitism. Many negative responses to Mahler can be understood as the residue of older cultural premises that distrusted virtuosity and the star system. Mahler was one of the first podium stars around whom a cult of personality developed. In the eyes of many critics, his theatrical style and nearly obsessive fanaticism detracted from the proper role of the performer as the respectful medium of the musical text. Unlike Richter's staid podium manner, Mahler's flamboyant behavior (including darkening the opera house and robbing opera of its role as a mere society event), compositional ambitions, and visibility in the press offended many critics.

Knittel does not consider the overdetermined reaction to Mahler. Casting the reception of Mahler as defined by anti-Semitic notions of the aesthetic limitations of the Jew is possible only if one devalues all other aesthetic and cultural ideological conflicts. Generating the specter of anti-Semitism as the overwhelming factor in Mahler's reception creates an unnecessary barrier for a differentiated historical understanding. There is no doubt that anti-Semitism existed in Vienna; it was a universal and accepted reality. But it neither prevented Mahler's success nor triggered his departure.

The preponderance of evidence indicates that Mahler's appointment resulted from his reputation as a great conductor and

energetic reformer of operatic practices. He was hired to set new standards, and he did so. Furthermore, he became wildly famous, popular, and lionized in Vienna by critics and audiences. He entered the highest reaches of Viennese society as evidenced by his marriage to Alma, herself an anti-Semite whose stepfather was even more so. Artistic achievement by a Jew was not novel, and the controversy over Mahler as composer and interpreter was not exceptional for Vienna. The Viennese critique of Mahler's Beethoven and his own music might be compared with Adolf Loos's struggle in 1912 over the new building he designed for the Michaelerplatz, the site of the entrance to the Hofburg and opposite one of Vienna's great baroque churches. As in Mahler's case, Loos's design occasioned a direct confrontation between the perceived integrity and status of history and the aesthetic present. Controversy was the consequence of Mahler's popularity, artistic commitments, and stubborn personality—just as it was with Loos, who was not Jewish. Furthermore, it was their great success with much of the Viennese public and many critics that created enmity and skepticism within the rich world of Viennese journalism.

Mahler left Vienna not because he was driven out by anti-Semitism: he left because he was tired and he was increasingly absent from the opera house as a conductor. If any event soured him, it was the failure to be permitted to give the premiere of *Salome* in 1905. Additionally, Mahler was offered a nearly obscene amount of money to go to America. His departure was profoundly lamented by a wide spectrum of Viennese intellectuals, artists, and critics. No one was more acutely aware of this fact than his successor, Weingartner, who struggled valiantly and only partially successfully to make his own mark in the long shadow cast by his predecessor.

Knittel's essay illustrates a common methodological problem in reception history: it is impossible to make grandiose or subtle interpretative claims by interpretating selective pieces of published criticism without referencing the intricacies of historical context. Sandra McColl's *Music Criticism in Vienna, 1896-1897*, which focuses on a single year in Viennese music life, is, in contrast, a remarkable and successful effort to unravel competing strands in the musical discourse of the city.[18] To do reception history without reference to musical texts, as Hinton's critique (with which this argument began) suggests, one is required to do more historical research than Knittel has. Command of the subtle geography of the competing cultural and social strands and linkages within the ferment of the Viennese fin-de-siècle would have spared the essay from its omissions and errors. Despite the essay's well-organized lists of reviews and generous citations, without a biographical

and intellectual analysis based in historical materials outside of music it is impossible to ascribe meaning to the views of the critics, whether Hirschfeld, Heuberger, Theodor Helm, or Richard Wallaschek. Hirschfeld wrote about subjects beyond music that contain powerful clues to the critic's prejudices. Heuberger and Wilhelm Kienzl were composers as well as critics with links to more popular genres. Like Schenker's, their views, no matter how sharply expressed and how polemical, derived, not even psychoanalytically speaking, not from covert, unconscious anti-Semitic notions and tendencies, but from profound commitments and differences concerning aesthetic values and standards.

As Guido Adler's pioneering 1904 Vienna lectures suggest,[19] Wagner was also being subject to revisionist criticism in Vienna. Adler, the leading force in musicology, a Jew, a professor at the university, and a friend of Mahler, is a good place to start when one wishes to understand the fin-de-siècle crosscurrents in aesthetic prejudices regarding the meaning of music, the nature of music history, the future of art in modernity, and the discourse regarding performance of historical music. From such a standpoint, ideological deconstruction can be attempted. But it cannot be justified in the framework of Knittel's isolation of reviews of Mahler's orchestral performances, with its implication that those reviews fully represent the historical and cultural significance of musical life and Mahler's role in Vienna.

The Jewish question, both in terms of anti-Semitism and the place of Jews in fin-de-siècleVienna, was indeed one decisive historical context. To reduce Mahler's career as a conductor in Vienna to a wildly oversimplified account in which the Jewish question (framed as stereotypical, neo-Wagnerian anti-Semitism) plays a central role does an injustice to the task of moving beyond Carl Schorske's comparative neglect of that issue. It also makes a bad case for reception history. Our understanding of the past, particularly as important a past as represented by Viennese political, cultural, and social life before 1914—including its anti-Semitic dimensions, not to speak of the musical and cultural life of the city—is not well served. If Notley's book suggests that employing musical texts does not insulate the scholar from averting the pitfalls of ending up with, in Hinton's terms, "the readiest answers," then Knittel's essay shows that selecting press documents of public reception of a few events will not suffice. Reception history demands a far deeper foray into the archival riches, historical parallels surrounding musical culture, and the secondary historical literature well outside of music.

The complexity of the task need not deter scholars from subjects that relate music to politics. It is fascinating to witness shifts in scholarly

interests. Leading scholars in musicology and music history can still remember a time when the nineteenth century in the history of European music was disdained as a serious subject for professional training on the doctoral level. During my first years as an undergraduate at the University of Chicago in the mid-1960s, I recall vividly that H. Colin Slim, with a glint in his eye, said that the future of musicology would be in the nineteenth century. Indeed, as his participation in the creation of the journal *Nineteenth-Century Music* and the subsequent explosion in nineteenth-century studies during the closing decades of the twentieth century suggest, he was right. It therefore should come as no surprise that studies of music in the twentieth century have now begun to supplant interest in nineteenth-century music. This shift can be understood in terms of the natural passage of time and generations. It is cautionary and chilling at the same time to think that for those of us who grew up in the 1950s and 1960s the distance between ourselves and the death of Brahms and Bruckner was between fifty and sixty years. What Brahms and Bruckner were to us, Boulez, Bartok, Schoenberg, Elvis Presley are to the next generation of scholars.

But there is more at work here. First, the interest in the relationship between politics and music reflects the massive transformation in the economics and social significance of musical culture that took place in the nineteenth century. Second, the scholarly perspective from which music is studied mirrors an altered intellectual construct of culture. The influence of what might be termed, infelicitously, post-colonial anthropology has eliminated any lingering conceit regarding cultural hierarchies. There are "musics" of all kinds all over the world. The academy has accepted a neutrality that resists the privilege once accorded any particular musical cultural tradition. The construct of a literate, notated, concert tradition, as in the West, is placed alongside other historically parallel cultural forms as well as realizations of music. As a result, the historical methods and questions once identified with ethnomusicology have been integrated into the practice of re-writing the traditional parts of music history.

For some, this broader methodological turn has placed the question of what constitutes the core subject of music history into doubt. There is debate over the existence of a work of music as distinct from the practice of music, the doings of music—performing, listening, learning—or, as some would put it, the "cultural practices" of music. What constitutes music or the vantage point for understanding it become hazy since the perception of music is influenced by all forms of audible and inaudible life conduct, from speaking and walking to other forms of social action. Cultures create acoustic environments, and since hearing

and perception are properties of cognitive selection, there is an understandable expansion of what can be regarded as relevant to music that goes well beyond notions of text. These trajectories of investigation have an enormously powerful impact, and largely a beneficial one, when turned back onto the traditional subjects of the history of Western music and the understanding of music theory and theories of music with regard to Western music. The limitations of biography and implications of the aesthetic autonomy and stability of musical texts are highlighted as the investigation of the past extends to the history of how music was performed, perceived, and functioned, historically speaking, within the structure of society and culture. This is the framing logic for reception history and the desire to link music and politics.

Interest in the role of musical life and practice outside of the autopoetic scheme of music history was not absent during the twentieth-century history of music scholarship. There was never any doubt about the political implications of Wagner during his lifetime and the decades following his death. Likewise, as Ralph Locke and others have made plain, in Paris in the 1830s musicians like Liszt were deeply engaged in the theorizing that placed art into a central role within politics. And there are, of course, the varying discussions of Mozart and Beethoven and politics. Last but not least, music and nationalism during the second half of the nineteenth century present a clear subject for historical analysis.

This is perhaps the singular point to be made: the relationship between music and politics has never been purely a retrospective question. It is a question of the present moment. In Western music, taste, fashion, and allegiances directed at an active musical culture seem to have significance for contemporary life. Consider the intersection of music and politics from the advent of Fascism and Soviet Communism to the initial decades of the Cold War and the history of the 1960s.

The problem of locating the connections and reciprocal influences between music and politics from the perspective of the early twenty-first century has changed considerably owing to the transformation of the musical life of the West, let alone throughout the rest of the world. Priority and causality are not at issue even though it would be naïve not to place one of the primary causes of that transformation on the rapid technological progress in the twentieth century in the means of musical reproduction. The first musical equivalents of photography—acoustic recording and the piano roll—were superseded by the modern gramophone, the radio, the compact disk, the DVD, the iPod, and the Internet. Concomitant with the ease and economy of musical reproduction and transmission came the massive differentiation and expansion of

musical genres distinct from the concert and classical tradition—music sometimes termed as popular music. This music has included various forms of improvisatory traditions, dance music, ambient music, and, perhaps most powerfully, music aligned with the moving image in the movies, television, and video art.

The advances in music reproduction and the proliferation of music genres dwarf the apparent significance of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century concert traditions of music making and writing, particularly in relationship to their presumed historical importance. From the perspective of reception history in particular, they also complicate defining what can be reasonably understood as that which needs to be studied and known. Music remains an influential, if not revealing, constituent of history. How music's influence worked before the twentieth century is important to understand. The place of the notated text (the musical equivalent of the literary text) and its performance (and now the sound document) in that inquiry remains to be clarified. Interpreting the notated text alone or published criticism in isolation, no matter how cleverly, will not suffice any more than ignoring either can convincingly simplify the task.

Notes

1. Stephen Hinton, "Review of *The English Musical Renaissance, 1860-1940: Construction and Deconstruction* by Robert Stradling and Meirion Hughes," *The Journal of Modern History* 67, no. 3 (Sep. 1995): 715.

2. Christoph Irmscher, *Longfellow Redux* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2006).

3. David Milsom, *Theory and Practice in Late Nineteenth-Century Violin Performance: An Examination of Style in Performance, 1850–1900* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2003).

4. See Meirion Hughes, *The English Musical Renaissance and the Press, 1850–1914: Watchmen of Music* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2002), 13–101.

5. With regard to the following discussion about the critical reaction to Mahler's re-orchestrations of Beethoven, we do not know how such re-orchestrations sounded in comparison to contemporary renderings of the same but unaltered works. What we might infer from Mahler's changes is that, given the standard style of string playing today and the nature of modern wind and brass instruments, those changes might sound less dramatic in today's performance context. When, for example, Schumann's original orchestrations for his symphonies are respected, adjustments in playing habits have to be made in order to make them work. The point here is that perhaps Viennese critics were angry because Mahler's changes made the works sound radically different, more different than would be apparent to today's listeners. Another example is the slight re-orchestrations to the tuttis of the first movement of Brahms's D-Minor Piano Concerto inserted sometime before 1914, perhaps by Felix Weingartner. His sparse doublings, which thickened the textures at key points, suggest that what we hear today in the original orchestration perhaps matched, simply on account of shifts in

performance practice (the materials of the strings, the instruments, their "setup," the bow usages, the vibrato), the sonority Weingartner sought to achieve by slight re-orchestrations.

6. Margaret Notley, *Lateness and Brahms: Music and Culture in the Twilight of Viennese Liberalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007).

7. A recent instance is Karen Painter and Thomas Crow, eds., *Late Thoughts: Reflections on Artists and Composers at Work*, Issues and Debates Series (Getty Trust Publications: Getty Research Institute for the History of Art and the Humanities, 2006).

8. Notley, *Lateness and Brahms*, 216.

9. Notley, *Lateness and Brahms*, 216.

10. See Reinhold Brinkmann, *Late Idyll:The Second Symphony of Johannes Brahms*, trans. Peter Palmer (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995); and Richard Taruskin, *The Oxford History of Western Music*, vol. 3: *The Nineteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 708f.

11. Edward Timms, *Karl Kraus: Apocalyptic Satirist*, 2 vols. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1986 and 2005).

12. Carl E. Schorske. *Fin-de-siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (New York: Knopf, 1979).

13. K. M. Knittel. "'Polemik im Concertsaal': Mahler, Beethoven, and the Viennese Critics," *Nineteenth-Century Music* 29, no. 3 (Spring 2006): 289–321.

14. It should be noted that more than ten years ago, again in *Nineteenth-Century Music*, Knittel made similar arguments about the perception of Mahler as Jew by using caricatures and press responses. See "'Ein hypermoderner Dirigent': Mahler and Anti-Semitism in *Fin-de-siècle* Vienna," *Nineteenth-Century Music* 18, no. 3 (Spring 1995): 257–76.

15. First delivered as a speech in February 1933, "Brahms the Progressive" is reprinted in Arnold Schoenberg, *Style and Idea*, ed. Leonard Stein (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1975).

16. Heinrich Schenker, *Beethoven's Ninth Symphony: A Portrayal of Its Musical Content, with Running Commentary on Performance and Literature as Well*, ed. and trans. John Rothgeb (1912; repr. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992).

17. Felix Weingartner, *On the Performance of Beethoven's Symphonies and Other Essays* (1969; repr. Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 2004).

18. Sandra McColl, *Music Criticism in Vienna, 1896–1897: Critically Moving Forms* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996).

19. Guido Adler, *Richard Wagner: Vorlesungen gehalten an der Universität zu Wien* (Leipzig: Breitkopf and Härtel, 1904).

Music and Culture

History Under Erasure: Wellingtons Sieg, *the Congress of Vienna, and the Ruination of Beethoven's Heroic Style*

Nicholas Mathew

Monuments and Heroes

One can still visit what was formerly the Lobkowitz palace in Vienna and wander through what is now known as the *Eroicasaal*—the surprisingly small room in which Beethoven's Third Symphony saw its earliest performances in 1804. Every year, thousands of people journey to pay homage to what is no longer there: the music itself, which one can only imagine while standing in the bare, silent space. It is hard to think of a better illustration of the metaphor underlying Lydia Goehr's 1992 study of the musical canon, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works*.[1] The room is now the empty shell of a dead performance: the sounds—fleeting and immaterial—faded away long ago. But music lovers do not visit it only to recapture the frisson of a distant historical event. The *Eroicasaal* has become a monument—an embodiment of the enduring ideal that is Beethoven's symphonic masterwork; Lobkowitz's room has borrowed the lastingness of the *Eroica* along with its name. It thus seems fitting that the rest of Lobkowitz's handsome residence should now house Vienna's Theater Museum as well as the *Theatersammlung* of the Austrian National Library. Monuments, museums, and books: the most potent symbols of modern cultural memory.

The *Eroicasaal* almost makes literal one of the commonest metaphors in Western musical culture: the idea of musical architecture. The *bon mot* often attributed to Goethe—but more likely originating with Schelling—that architecture is petrified or congealed music, testifies to a relatively newfound sense of music's quasi-architectural permanence, the formalist concomitant of the emergence of the musical canon.[2] A musical work is a self-sufficient structure, built to last. It took the Romantic imagination of Schopenhauer to add that, if architecture

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were petrified music, then a ruin is a petrified cadenza.[3] An improvised cadenza does not conceal its origins in a particular performance—does not congeal into the textual and architectural forms that supposedly defy historical change. Likewise, a ruin is architecture that time and chance have made mutable and haphazard.

Music critics seem unable to discuss the *Eroica* without recourse to the metaphor of architecture. In one of many extended architectural images, Romain Rolland rhapsodizes: "We find ourselves faced with one of the most stupendous problems of construction that has ever been posed and triumphantly resolved in music,—an *ars nova* as involved, as condensed, at once vertiginous and sure, as a Gothic vault."[4] "Four monumental pillars create the whole," comments Lewis Lockwood, surveying each of the symphony's movements.[5] There is no doubt that the first movement of the *Eroica* is well suited to formalist explanations of its musical architecture. Some of the most influential music analyses have focused on it: the essay that Walter Riezler appended to his Beethoven study; Heinrich Schenker's graphic analysis; and Donald Francis Tovey's account of the first movement in his "Sonata Forms" article for the *Encyclopedia Britannica*.[6] "One could write a brief history of the idea of motivic interconnection from 'Eroica' commentaries alone, so pervasive is the concept in writings on the Symphony's first movement," writes Lockwood.[7] But, whereas the passage of time can reduce even the grandest building to ruins, the architecture of the *Eroica* has so far remained impervious to it.

It remains widely accepted that the aesthetic and social changes that brought instrumental music this new dignity in permanence took place more or less during Beethoven's lifetime. Goehr has argued that Beethoven's symphonic music in particular provided the paradigm for music's new status.[8] The thrust of the argument is simple: the progressive emancipation of composers from the spheres of court and church and their release into the commercial world of late eighteenth-century civil society produced an attendant conception of the radically autonomous musical work. This idea of the work pitted individual authorial control against that of established social institutions, internally generated formal coherence against the manipulations of social context, and, ultimately, all music against history itself. The autonomy of art was the concomitant of creative and institutional freedom; the architecture of free-standing musical works no longer required social buttresses: "Musical form was no longer to be thought of as following the text or the shape of some 'extra-musical' occasion, but as independently designed and independently coherent."[9] The aesthetics and ethics of compositions such as the *Eroica* thus produced the distinction between "works" and

"occasional works" that persists in music historiography to this day. On the one hand are the great mass of *pièces d'occasion* that remain shackled to the time and place of their production, growing ever more distant; on the other hand are the timeless masterworks whose formal autonomy allows them to travel into the future.

Most critics manage to suggest that the *Eroica* belongs both within and without history, obtruding from it like a sort of musical monument.[10] "It is at once clear that with it a new epoch of classical music is indeed about to open," proclaims Riezler.[11] "We know that we have irrevocably crossed a major boundary in Beethoven's development and in music history as well," is Maynard Solomon's identical verdict, written over four decades later.[12] Such language places the *Eroica* in a lineage that Nietzsche approvingly called "monumental history": a history of great deeds that defy their own time—which is to say, a history that is in one sense anti-historical.[13] Indeed, the most frequently cited incident associated with the *Eroica*—perhaps the most famous episode in Beethoven lore—seems to symbolize the way in which the symphony resists its historical context. Beethoven's friend and pupil Ferdinand Ries reports that it was to be named the "Bonaparte"—that is, until Beethoven learned of Napoleon's decision to crown himself emperor in 1804. Beethoven "went to the table, took hold of the title page by the top, tore it in two, and threw it on the floor"—a ritual act of authenticity, as well as a striking image of the composer forcibly reclaiming his music, ripping his masterwork from its coercive historical surroundings.[14]

The fable of the dramatic renaming of the symphony smoothes over much contradictory historical evidence. Ries had reported to the publisher Simrock in October 1803 that Beethoven "is very much inclined to dedicate it to Bonaparte"—but even by late August 1804, three months after Napoleon had taken his imperial title, Beethoven informed Breitkopf and Härtel that the symphony was "really" called *Bonaparte*.[15] The surviving title page of Beethoven's copy of the full score shows that the words "Intitulata Bonaparte," written by a copyist, were indeed erased at some time; yet at the bottom stands a pencil addition in Beethoven's hand: "geschrieben auf Bonaparte" (written on the subject of Bonaparte). There is no further evidence of Beethoven's intentions with regard to the title or dedication until the publication of the work in parts in October of 1806, bearing a dedication to Prince Lobkowitz and the famously ambiguous title, "Sinfonia eroica . . . composta per festeggiare il sovvenire di un grand Uomo . . ."(Heroic Symphony, written to celebrate the memory of a great man).[16]

The history of the *Eroica* thus mingles uncomfortably with its mythic aesthetic: the sources of the symphony and the copious criticism

that the *Eroica* has generated present a scrawl of erasures and rewritings, assertions and retractions, open secrets and encrypted public pronouncements. The figure of Napoleon has hovered on the fringes of the debate about the symphony ever since the early nineteenth century—a connection that critics, like Beethoven himself, seem to assert and then retract, write about and then cross out. One can only read the history of the *Eroica* under erasure.[17] Even as Ries's story introduced the Napoleonic connotations of the *Eroica* to a wider public, it has given generations of critics the opportunity to reprise one of the most pervasive motifs in the symphony's copious reception history: the true hero of the *Eroica* is Beethoven himself.

It is tempting to dismiss this verdict as a fanciful Romantic cliché; one should remember, however, that the myth of Beethoven Hero is fused to the idea of the historically impervious musical work—and both ideas belong to history even as they stand in opposition to it.[18] Around the time of the *Eroica*'s earliest performances, Johann Friedrich Reichardt called Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven "heroes of art": "their genuine, perfected works will remain valid whatever thousand upon thousand merriments time and fashion and their slaves revel in," he wrote.[19] This sort of talk seems to have followed the *Eroica* around; one critic gave this sardonic summary of the position of the work's admirers: "if it does not please now, it is because the public is not sufficiently cultivated in the arts to comprehend these higher spheres of beauty; but after a couple of thousand years its effect will not be lessened."[20] It appears that Beethoven's supporters, like the generations of critics who followed them, regarded the *Eroica*'s fraught critical reception as a mark of honor—evidence that a hero composes not for his own time, but for all time.[21]

Further, since it became widely known, critics have rarely used the story of the *Eroica*'s intended dedication as a pretext to bind the symphony to a single historical meaning or context. Instead, they have usually concluded that Beethoven did not write his music about Napoleon; rather, the two men are of the same heroic substance. "All sorts of heroes are intrinsically of the same material," concluded Thomas Carlyle in the 1830s, himself an admirer of Napoleon and Mohammed, as well as a biographer of Schiller.[22] In the same year that Carlyle's ruminations on hero worship appeared in print, Wagner argued, through a character in his short story "Ein glücklicher Abend," that the *Eroica* does not depict the deeds of any particular hero, but is itself an act of heroism: Beethoven had accomplished "the same thing that Bonaparte had achieved on the fields of Italy."[23]

Likewise, despite his protestations that Beethoven himself is the hero of the *Eroica*, Rolland cannot resist comparing Beethoven's musical

accomplishments to Napoleon's empire building; indeed, the analogy between music and warfare is constitutive of the idea of the heroic style—perhaps Rolland's most influential coinage:

> Conquerors abuse their power: they are hungry for possession: each of these free Egos wishes to command. If he cannot do this in the world of facts, he wills it in the world of art; everything becomes for him a field on which to deploy the battalions of his thoughts, his desires, his regrets, his furies, his melancholies. He imposes them on the world.[24]

In the context of a more sober analysis of the *Eroica*, even Riezler allows himself a metaphorical flourish: "It is in truth 'heroic' music, and at the same time that Beethoven paid homage with it to Napoleon, he took his own place side by side with him, though as a 'hero' of a very different caliber—the creator of a more lasting empire."[25]

History and the Decline of the Heroic Style

Such formulations are not only to be found in prewar *Geistesgeschichte*. Indeed, strange as it may seem, scholars still invoke the spiritual kinship of Beethoven and Napoleon as a surreptitious method of historical explanation. It is particularly prominent in explanations of what Solomon calls the "dissolution of the heroic style"—its supposed exhaustion around a decade after the composition of the *Eroica*.[26] This remains a central conceit of Beethoven periodization: when Napoleon falters, so does the heroic style; when the French Emperor finally falls, the heroic style falls with him. In almost all Beethoven biographies, the composer faces his own Waterloo in the years leading up to the Congress of Vienna—the years that witnessed the height of his living fame.

"When the man of Waterloo has fallen, Beethoven imperator also abdicates," writes Rolland.[27] Three quarters of a century later, Lockwood remarks, "Although [Beethoven's] decline in productivity had strong inner motivations, it is curious that it coincided with the collapse of Napoleon's dreams of empire."[28] And what proves to be the enemy of the mythic musical style that Beethoven had created? Nothing other than history itself. For marking the first major defeat of the heroic style is another single composition, one that critics have long dismissed as one of Beethoven's most worthless "occasional works": the battle piece *Wellingtons Sieg*. Wellington's victory in 1813 marks Beethoven's defeat.

Biographers who are critics when it comes to Beethoven's heroic style become historians when they reach 1813. In all of Beethoven's

major biographies, historical and political contexts seem suddenly to intervene at the close of the first decade of the nineteenth century even if they have rarely done so before—a kind of historical deus ex machina that alters the nature and direction of Beethoven's musical style. Beethoven's creative life in the years 1811–15 is ostensibly a series of challenges from the forces of history. The first hint that all is not well comes with the incidental music for August von Kotzebue's *Die Ruinen von Athen* and *König Stephan*—patriotic dramas written to celebrate the opening of the Imperial Theater in Pest in 1812. Then, of course, comes *Wellingtons Sieg* in 1813—composed initially for the mechanical panharmonicon designed by court inventor Johann Mälzel, but premiered alongside the Seventh Symphony. Having lost this battle, Beethoven finally loses the war during the Congress of Vienna in 1814–15: *Der glorreiche Augenblick*; the closing choruses for two patriotic dramas by Friedrich Treitschke (the poet and dramatist who revised *Fidelio* in 1814); a festive chorus for the allied princes; the C-major Overture, op. 115, composed for the name day of the Kaiser in 1815—these works mark the complete sacrifice of music to the occasion. The heroic style dies a historical death.[29]

Almost every element that biographers regard as contributing to the end of the heroic style—even the most hermetically musical or speculatively psychic—can be construed as an agent of history. The musical styles that ostensibly flourished on the corpse of Beethoven's heroic manner after the Congress of Vienna are, according to Solomon, a "bourgeois–Biedermeier mixture"—in other words, styles defined primarily in terms of social history.[30] And, of course, the most suitable genre for Vienna's newly trivial age was opera—Rossini's *L'inganno felice* came to Vienna in November 1816. Rossini personifies the historical deus ex machina of Beethoven biography. Martin Cooper repeats the assertion of the German diplomat and Beethoven acquaintance Varnhagen von Ense that the public at the Congress of Vienna "preferred Italian grace and lightness to German seriousness"; in the Beethovenian context, to be Italian means to be in thrall to history.[31]

If most Beethoven scholars are to be believed, however, the end of the heroic style is more than merely the usurpation of the ideal by the real, of the work concept by the occasional work: Beethoven's overt celebration of Wellington in 1813 seems to invert and even distort his covert allusions to Napoleon in 1804. Not only does *Wellingtons Sieg* name the protagonist and his accomplishment on its title page, but it spells out the hero's triumphant narrative in the most blatant generic terms of contemporary battle music—with imitative sound effects and melodic quotations.[32] And this is emblematic of a wider aesthetic

inversion brought about by Beethoven's works of the Congress period. These compositions are actually a debased version of the heroic style itself. Solomon spells it out clearly when he dubs the 1811–15 occasional works "mock-heroic": their identity is entirely parasitic on their heroic precursors. Beethoven's "heroic style is revived, but as parody and farce. Rather than moving forward to his late style, he here regressed to a pastiche of his heroic manner."[33] "*Wellington's Victory* is only a petrifact, a parody of the heroic style established in the *Eroica*," writes Carl Dahlhaus, in a similar vein.[34] William Kinderman, one of the few scholars to give the Congress compositions sustained consideration, develops the distinction between the true and false heroic styles with Suzanne Langer's Romantic–modernist conception of great music as an "unconsummated" symbol—a symbol that invites our interpretation of its expressive intent, but evades any definitive or reductive account of its meaning.[35] Kinderman concludes that *Wellingtons Sieg* is a "consummated" symbol; it is, so to speak, the sound of the heroic style when historical events have managed to contaminate it before we can hear it for ourselves.[36] *Wellingtons Sieg* and other Congress compositions are "all too explicit or unmediated in their symbolic content," argues Kinderman: a historical context, ideological reading, or verbal narrative will tell us everything there is to know.[37]

For all that, few have maintained that *Wellingtons Sieg* and the true heroic style actually sound very different. Even Kinderman admits that "some of the same rhetorical figures appear [in *Wellingtons Sieg*] as in Beethoven's important compositions"—although he does not specify the figures he means.[38] One can only assume that Kinderman is thinking of musical topics; his distinction between the *Eroica* and *Wellingtons Sieg* thus seems to be predicated not on the presence of fanfares or marches—which are pervasive in Beethoven's heroic overtures and symphonies—but their arrangement. The metaphor of inside and outside is crucial to this conceptual framework. While the fanfares of the *Eroica* are organized according to internal musical principles, the arrangement of *Wellingtons Sieg* is borrowed from history. British and French marches and trumpet signals follow one another in *Wellingtons Sieg* only because the corresponding armies faced one another on the battlefield. That such narrative designs come from outside the work accounts for the transience of occasional pieces: once the occasion recedes into history, so does its narrative logic. The occasion is a kind of historical scaffolding without which the musical architecture falls into ruin.

The distinction between the *Eroica* and its parodistic Other is not based on architecture alone, of course. The metaphor of inside and outside conditions a more obvious distinction: there may well be

fanfares in the *Eroica*, but there are no volleys of cannon or rifle fire; neither are there national songs or preexisting march tunes. Not content with being shaped by history, *Wellingtons Sieg* quotes history itself—entire stretches of music and noise, reproduced wholesale. This surely warrants Kinderman's word "unmediated." The *Schlacht* (Battle) scarcely takes the trouble to convert its raw material into something "symbolic," its clattering sound effects imitating even the randomness of rifle fire and cannon blasts—particularly as it draws to its sputtering close. On either side of the battle, much of the music is made from other music—a musical narrative created from a patchwork of familiar tunes: "Rule, Britannia!" squares up to the Marlborough March, which is reduced to a pathetic limp by the end of the battle—and, of course, the victory celebrations soon elide with "God Save the King."

Kinderman dismisses all such imitation as "crude realism"—and he certainly has much contemporary opinion on his side.[39] Doubts about the value of tone painting even found their way into the otherwise effusive *Wiener allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* review of the premiere of the Seventh Symphony and *Wellingtons Sieg*, which made to defend Beethoven's aesthetic views: "Herr van Beethoven is as convinced as everyone else, if not more so, that tone painting that makes natural events or human actions sensible [*Malerei durch Töne zur Versinnlichung von Naturereignissen, oder menschlichen Handlungen*] is a trifling object for music."[40] The Leipzig *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* was rather guarded in its praise of Beethoven's tone painting: "Once one accepts the idea, one is pleasurably surprised at the result, and especially at the ingenious and artistic way it is achieved."[41]

It was more than a decade, however, before contemporary critical misgivings about Beethoven's imitative music prompted a fully argued polemic against *Wellingtons Sieg*—perhaps (and we will return to this in a moment) because occasional works came to appear increasingly problematic as the Napoleonic era became ever more distant. The polemicist in question was the Darmstadt theorist Gottfried Weber, who published an 1825 article on *Tonmalerei* or tone painting in his journal *Cäcilia* that compared *Wellingtons Sieg* unfavorably with Beethoven's earlier masterworks.[42] Weber starts from first principles—with a Herderian claim about the origins of language: human speech has progressed from a coarse collection of imitative gestures to a purer condition of cultivated abstraction and reflection; the fine arts, he claims, allow language to relinquish altogether the primitive duty of physical imitation.[43] The fine arts "mitigate the unmediated impression of reality and throw a poetic veil over it—the veil of the imagination [*der Schleier der Phantasie*]."[44] It is this poetic mediation that Weber

misses in *Wellingtons Sieg*—in its depiction of "the fighting masses, the rattle of weapons and cannon bursts": "These are not musical colors that Beethoven uses here, not the materials of a composer [*nicht tonkünstlerische Mittel*], but the trickeries [*Trugkunststücke*] of scenic acoustics."[45] Weber is particularly struck by the contrast between the final *Siegessinfonie* of *Wellingtons Sieg* and the short *Siegessinfonie* from the incidental music to Goethe's *Egmont* (1809–10)—the joyous F-major fanfare that also brings the overture to its rousing conclusion. Weber pours scorn on Beethoven's variations on "God Save the King" in *Wellingtons Sieg*, arguing that, even without recourse to an existing tune, *Egmont* is the more truthful tone painting—a purely musical symbol for the noble death of Goethe's hero.[46] And Weber draws the same conclusion about the triumphant end of the Fifth—yet another implicit *Siegessinfonie*:

> Finally, after a long, increasingly tense pedal point, with the entry of the broad 4/4 meter its full power unfolds in such a masterful transfiguration, strides forth on its proud course with all the riches of the most splendid instrumentation like a triumphal procession [*Triumph-Zug*], achieves the highest degree of the sublime, and with a broad, powerful cadence, leaves the greatest uplift in the souls of the listeners.—That is great, that joy and triumph and transfiguration! and—how base by comparison seems the battle and official pomp [*Schlacht- und Prunk-Stück*] that lies before us now![47]

While the tunes and sound effects in *Wellingtons Sieg* slavishly adhere to the real, Beethoven's earlier triumphs throw off these constraints in pursuit of the ideal, mediating their coarse realism through Beethoven's poetic vision—throwing the "veil of the imagination" over the explicit battle and celebration.

"Nothing But an Occasional Piece"

Beethoven's annoyance with Weber survives, much like the withdrawn *Eroica* dedication, as a scrawl on a text. Once *Cäcilia* had made it past the Viennese censors and into the composer's hands, he set about the journal with a pencil. And where the article ridicules his orchestral sound effects, the modern scholar can still read Beethoven's pithy response at the foot of the page: "Oh you pitiful scoundrel, my shit is better than anything you have ever thought" [*Ach du erbärmlicher Schuft, was ich scheisse, ist besser, als wie du je gedacht*].[48] Before this, moreover, he has written the words: "nothing but an occasional piece" [*nichts als ein Gelegenheitsstück*]. Even though Beethoven evidently

disagreed with Weber, he nevertheless seems to have invoked in his defense the familiar distinction between works and occasional works (as well as the even more familiar distinction between art and shit)—in other words, unless his remark was intended to be ironic, Beethoven appears to have sanctioned the critical language that has since denigrated *Wellingtons Sieg*.[49]

Now, assuming that Beethoven did not mean his annotation ironically, it could be argued that, in the decade since the Congress of Vienna, Beethoven's status as a classic had become more firmly cemented in the critical imagination as well as in his own mind, and this might have encouraged a more distanced, even retrospective view of his oeuvre; his works had become increasingly classifiable—susceptible to critical taxonomies. The basis of an emerging orchestral repertory, his symphonic works had perhaps come to seem even more fixed and timeless, and his occasional works even more ephemeral. Even so, it seems unlikely that so dramatic an aesthetic transformation had taken place during the ten years since Beethoven had composed *Wellingtons Sieg*—the kind of change that suddenly made possible Beethoven's invocation of the word *Gelegenheitsstück* in defense of *Wellingtons Sieg*. To be sure, the notional divide between works and occasional works might have broadened in the decade since the Congress of Vienna and Rossini's arrival in Vienna, but the early nineteenth century already made ample use of the term *Gelegenheitsstück* and its cognates (*Gelegenheitswerk* or *Gelegenheitsmusik*). *Wellingtons Sieg* did not become an occasional work, it was composed as one.

For precisely this reason, however, one need not understand Beethoven's use of the term as sanction for the later critical denigration of *Wellingtons Sieg*—because in the early nineteenth century the word was yet to carry the pejorative connotations that later music historiography would bring to it. Granted, the social and conceptual preconditions for the modern distinction between works and occasional works were in place; but nothing suggests that Beethoven thought of the *Gelegenheitswerk* primarily as the historically contaminated Other of the *Werk*. Beethoven writes of *nothing but* an occasional piece; yet his marginal scribble in *Cäcilia* nonetheless manages tersely to imply that occasional pieces belonged to a distinct genre of their own—a genre not to be judged by criteria derived from symphonies or sonatas.[50]

In fact, *Wellingtons Sieg* in particular remained among Beethoven's most celebrated compositions long after the end of the Napoleonic Wars. Even the self-consciously highbrow group of musicians and music lovers who wrote to Beethoven in 1824 to request a concert from the reclusive composer, ostensibly to counter the rise of debased and

populist Italian opera, mentioned only one of Beethoven's compositions by name: "For years, ever since the thunders of the *Victory at Vittoria* ceased to reverberate, we have waited and hoped to see you distribute new gifts from the fullness of your riches to the circle of your friends."[51]

This is not to ignore the obvious topicality of a piece such as *Wellingtons Sieg*, nor even Beethoven's astuteness in exploiting it—the celebration of current events is the defining feature of occasional pieces, after all. Beethoven was aggressive in his pursuit of the Prince Regent's official acknowledgement of the composition's dedication, fully aware that with each passing day its subject would seem less relevant.[52] But there is no evidence that Beethoven also expected his occasional pieces to vanish along with the historical events that they celebrated. The notice that Beethoven had planned to publish in the *Wiener Zeitung* thanking the organizers and participants in the concerts of 8 and 12 December 1813 in the University Hall shows considerable pride in *Wellingtons Sieg*.[53]

> I must also thank *[Mälzel]* in particular, because by the projection of this concert, he gave me the opportunity, long and ardently desired, by means of the composition especially written for this philanthropic purpose and delivered to him without pay, to lay a work of magnitude upon the altar of the fatherland under the existing conditions.[54]

Wellingtons Sieg is a work of magnitude, no less. Of course, this was intended as a public announcement—moreover, in a newspaper that was an organ of court opinion. There is nothing to suggest, however, that Beethoven was insincere, as all of his most recent biographers admit, even as they hear parody and farce in *Wellingtons Sieg*.[55] Beethoven even granted his battle piece an opus number—something that he often withheld from compositions that he considered inferior or ephemeral.

In short, the discursive context and critical function of the word *Gelegenheitsstück* must have changed since the early nineteenth century. Definitions of the words *Gelegenheitswerk*, *Gelegenheitsstück*, or *Gelegenheitsmusik* are not offered in any of the most popular eighteenth- or early nineteenth-century music dictionaries or encyclopedias—perhaps because the concept of the occasional work entered into the vocabulary of music critics from the sphere of literature, where terms such as *Gelegenheitsgedicht* (occasional poem) had long been in use to denote established genres of celebratory verse such as the Pindaric Ode.[56] The *Gelegenheitsgedicht* was by no means a lesser poetic genre, destined for the oblivion of history—quite the opposite. Indeed, in his *Briefe über Gelegenheitsgedichte* (1794), the Wittenberg Kantian Johann Christian Adolf Grohmann compared the successful occasional poem to

a monument, which subsumes historical particulars under more lasting universal truths:

> Erstlich ist es die Foderung der Kunst, die nur allgemeine, für jeden Empfindenden Angelegenheiten aufstellen; zweytens der Anspruch der Gelegenheit, die in dem Monumente, unter jenem Allgemeinem, ausgedrückt, erkannt seyn will.
>
> [*First, it is the claim of art, which is exclusively general, to present important matters to every feeling person; second, the concern of the occasion wishes to be recognized, which is expressed as a general principle in the monument.*][57]

Writing Over History

It is not surprising, then, that the occasional works of the Congress period are bursting with heroes—mythic heroes who mingle with their historical counterparts and historical heroes who aspire to mythic permanence. The Congress of Vienna was in many ways the high point of a modern form of hero worship that had awakened in the first decade of the nineteenth century. Innumerable pamphlets and publications from this decade concerned themselves with pan–German and Austrian national heroes: in 1808–09 the *Vaterländische Blätter* published a series of sketches about Austrian heroes, and at around the same time Josef von Hormayr, with enthusiastic sponsorship of the state, published his vast compendium of national heroes, the *Österreichischer Plutarch*.[58] It was from this tome that Kotzebue drew the story of *König Stephan*, performed alongside *Die Ruinen von Athen* at the opening of the new Pest theater on the Kaiser's birthday, on 10 February 1812. The link between ancient and modern heroes was by no means merely implicit. *König Stephan* concludes with the eponymous king envisioning the glory of his descendents, followed by Beethoven's rousing *Schlußchor* "Heil unsern Enkeln!" (Hail to our descendents!).

Many occasional pieces feted Kaiser Franz more explicitly as the hero of the hour. "Kaiser Franz! Du Friedensbringer!" (Kaiser Franz! You Bringer of Peace!), a Congress song by Beethoven's friend and collaborator Friedrich August Kanne—best known nowadays as one of the earliest exegetes of the Ninth Symphony[59]—is one of many contemporary pieces to address the Kaiser as a *Held der Helden* (hero of heroes), concluding with the exhortation: "Sieh! Dein Nahme steht geschrieben / In dem Buch der Ewigkeit" (Lo! Your name is written / In the book of eternity). One might take this textual metaphor—this injunction to see the Kaiser's name made permanent as text—as a performative moment nicely

encompassing the aspirations of all contemporary occasional pieces. Art made heroes out of leaders and myths out of historical events; the book of eternity lay open on the music stand.

The heroic Kaiser was not only made permanent as text, however—he was also petrified into marble or bronze. When the portraitist Friedrich Heinrich Füger depicted the Kaiser in 1814 in one of his rich neoclassical oil paintings, Franz was literally monumentalized as a stone idol, receiving the blessings of angels of peace; an allegorical image of an image, this painting redoubles the idealizing force of art (see Fig. 1).

Likewise, in more than one of Beethoven's compositions from the period, the Kaiser appears already as an image—the effigy of his ideal self. The earliest composition to feature the Kaiser as a statue is *Die Ruinen von Athen*—a drama precisely about the persistence of the enlightened ideals of antiquity in the face of the ruination of time. The climax of the drama involves a literal deus ex machina (see Ex. 1): toward the end of a Sarastro-like bass aria with obbligato horns, a high priest, leading the decking of the altars, prays on behalf of the people for a further altar bearing an image of the city's "guardian angel" (*Schutzgeist*). The unseen goddess Minerva—who has been checking up on the progress of Western civilization, having been banished to centuries of sleep by Zeus for failing to prevent the death of Socrates—requests that Zeus grant the priest's prayer. With a thunderclap, a sudden switch to Presto, and a fortissimo dominant chord, over which violins and flute ecstatically rush upwards through three octaves, a sumptuous altar appears, adorned with a bust of the Kaiser. As the cast kneels before the image, the priest launches a frenetic closing stretta in C major, which the chorus joins: "Er ist's! Wir sind erhört!" (It is he! We have been heard!).

In the first production, the Kaiser's image appeared from a trapdoor in the floor.[60] But for an *Akademie* on 2 January 1814, which coupled the three final numbers from *Die Ruinen von Athen* with *Wellingtons Sieg*, it seems that Beethoven improvised, using the statue of the Kaiser that already stood in Vienna's Großer Redoutensaal; a panicky letter written the day before the concert shows Beethoven attempting to arrange a rudimentary curtain—"even though it be a bed curtain or some kind of screen"—that could be removed at the decisive moment: "without a curtain or something of the kind, its whole significance will be lost," he fretted.[61] And one can understand Beethoven's concern. The Kaiser's image and the sudden musical transformation work together in the *scena*: the music imbues the statue with its immediacy while the statue petrifies the fleeting message of the music into a single startling image; the statue borrows the music's aura and the music borrows the statue's fixity.

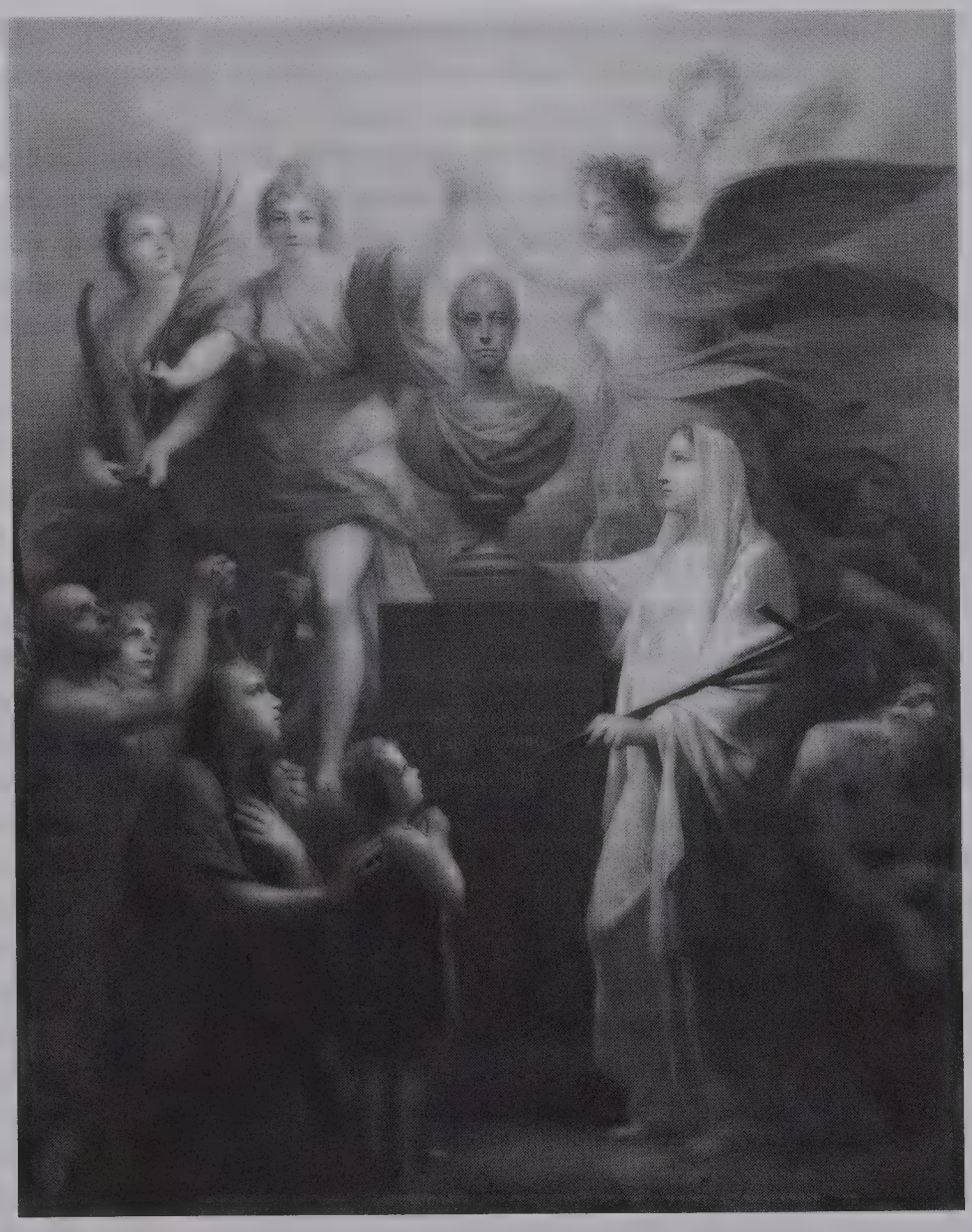
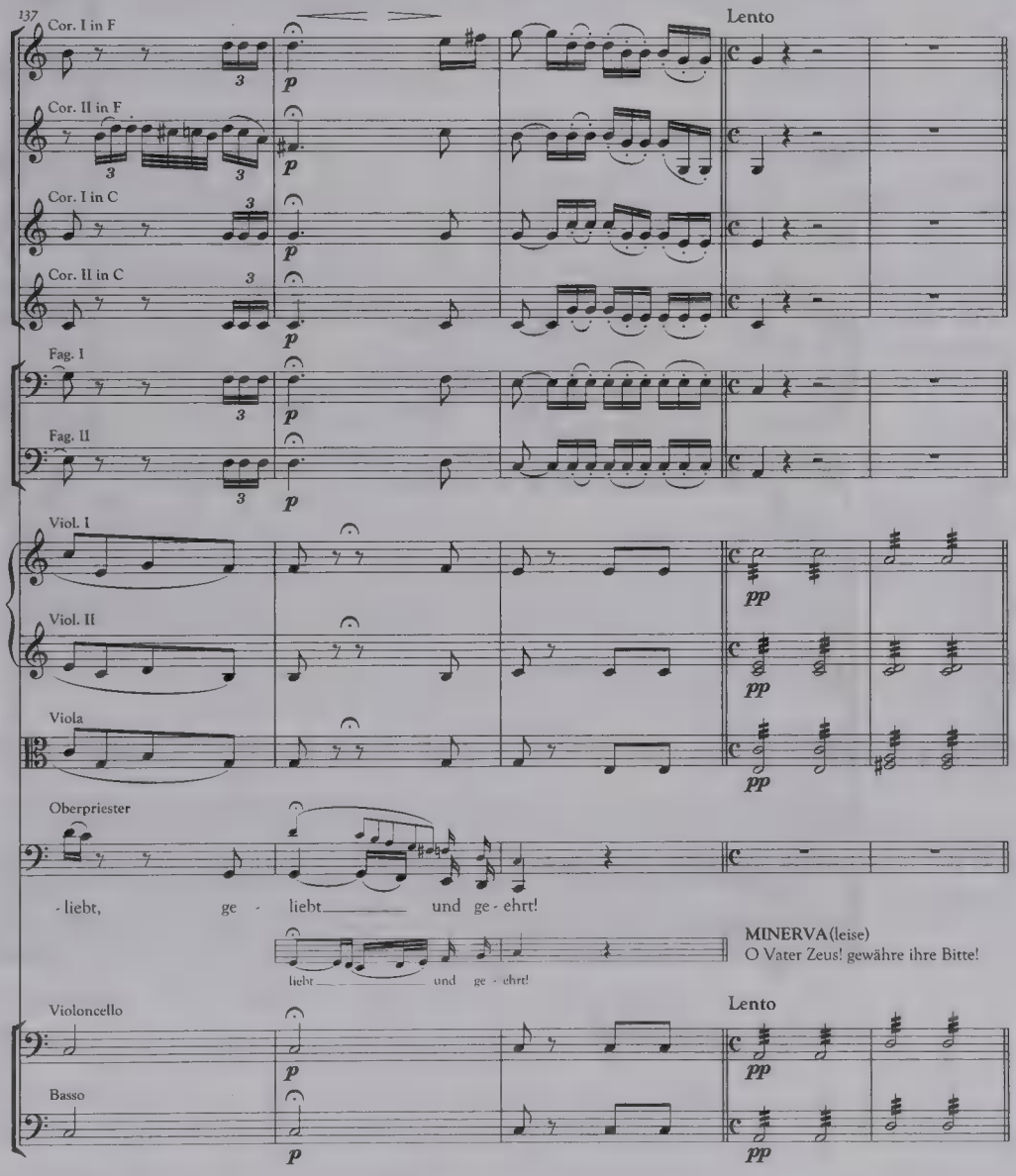


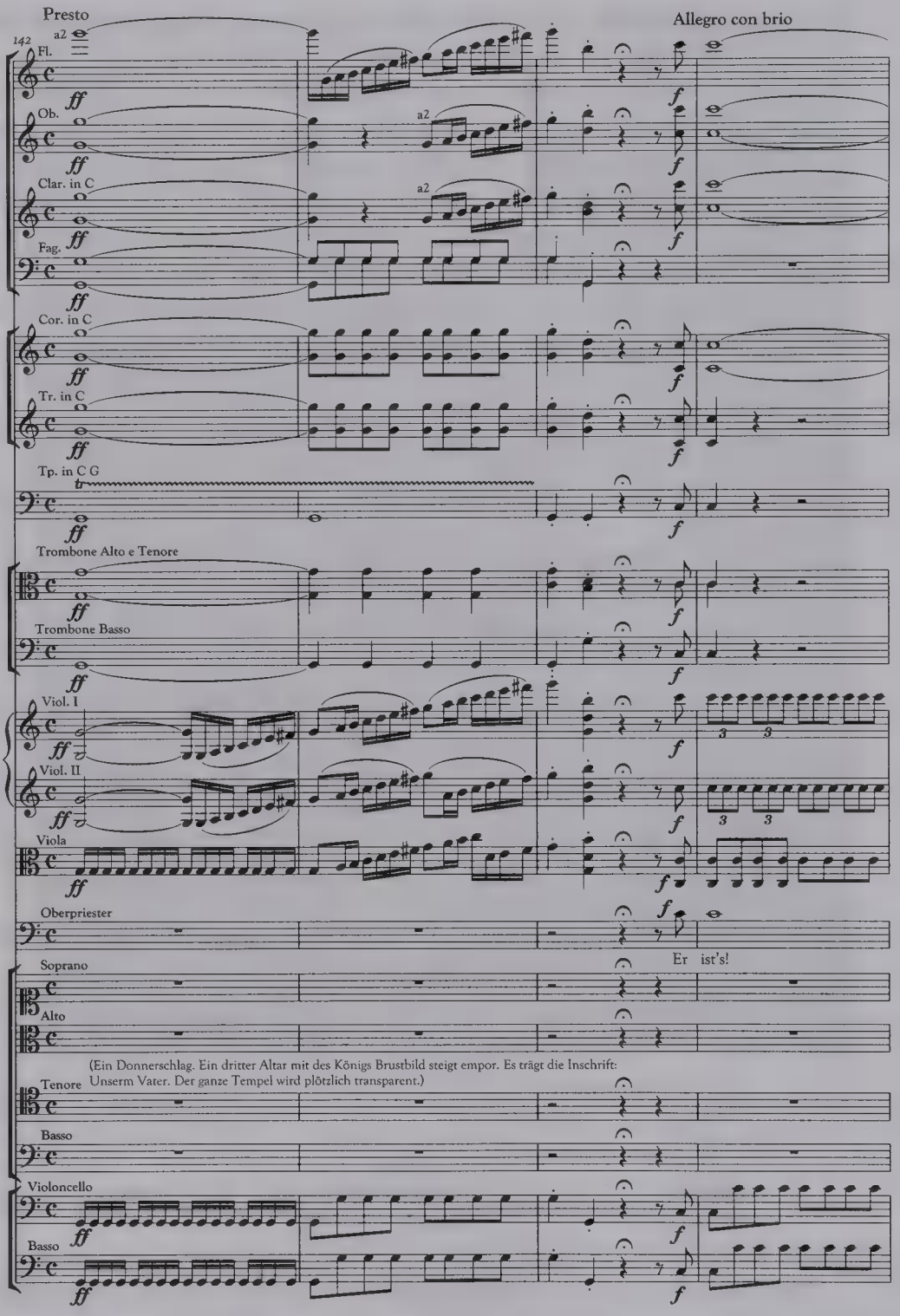
Figure 1. Friedrich Heinrich Füger's doubly petrified Kaiser (1814). Füger, *Allegorie auf die Segnung des Friedens*, Österreichische Galerie Belvedere, Vienna. Reproduced by permission.

Despite Kotzebue's misgivings about the universal appeal of a drama that he considered "somewhat localized," he nevertheless suggested that Beethoven's "masterful music"—the universalizing half of the collaboration—might find *Die Ruinen* wider favor.[62] Over the short term, Kotzebue's instincts were proven right: *Die Ruinen* became one of Beethoven's most popular occasional pieces before the composition of *Wellingtons Sieg*, receiving numerous performances in and around Vienna between 1812 and the end of the Congress.[63] That *Die Ruinen* at first

seemed made to last is entirely appropriate for a piece that takes permanence as its subject. The ruins of *Die Ruinen von Athen* have little to do with the grotesque stone fragments of the Romantic imagination; they are far from the gothic silhouettes of a Caspar David Friedrich. Rather, these ruins are rubble, waiting to be rebuilt; appropriately for a time of war and reconstruction, these poetic fragments yearn to be reconstituted as a whole. Indeed, the metaphor of the rebuilt ruin, the ideal that survives the decay of time, crops up across Beethoven's 1811–15 collaborations. The *Kriegerchor* from Duncker's *Leonore Prohaska* (see Ex. 2)—an unaccompanied male chorus similar in many respects to



Example 1. The Kaiser's Incursion into *Die Ruinen von Athen*.



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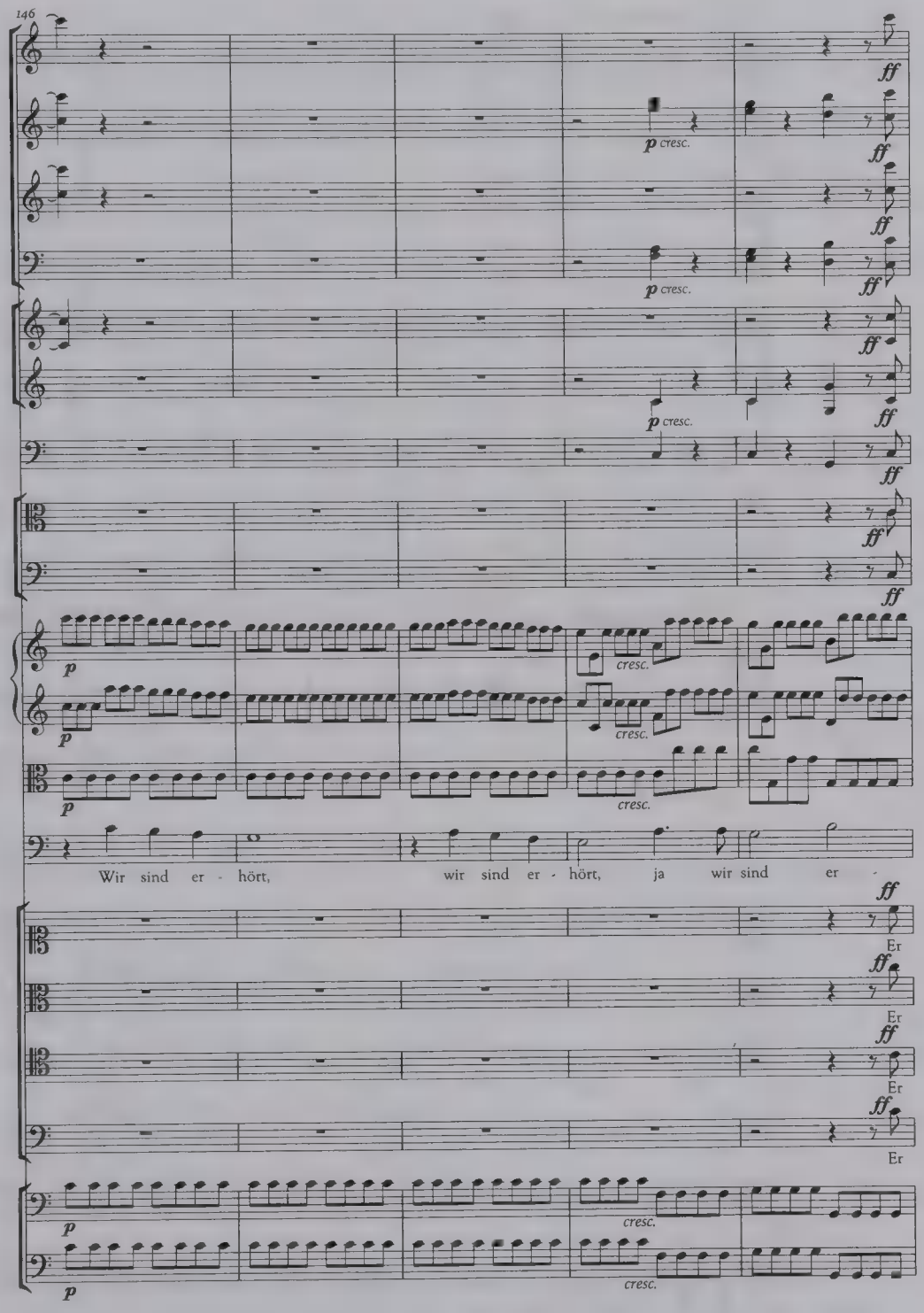
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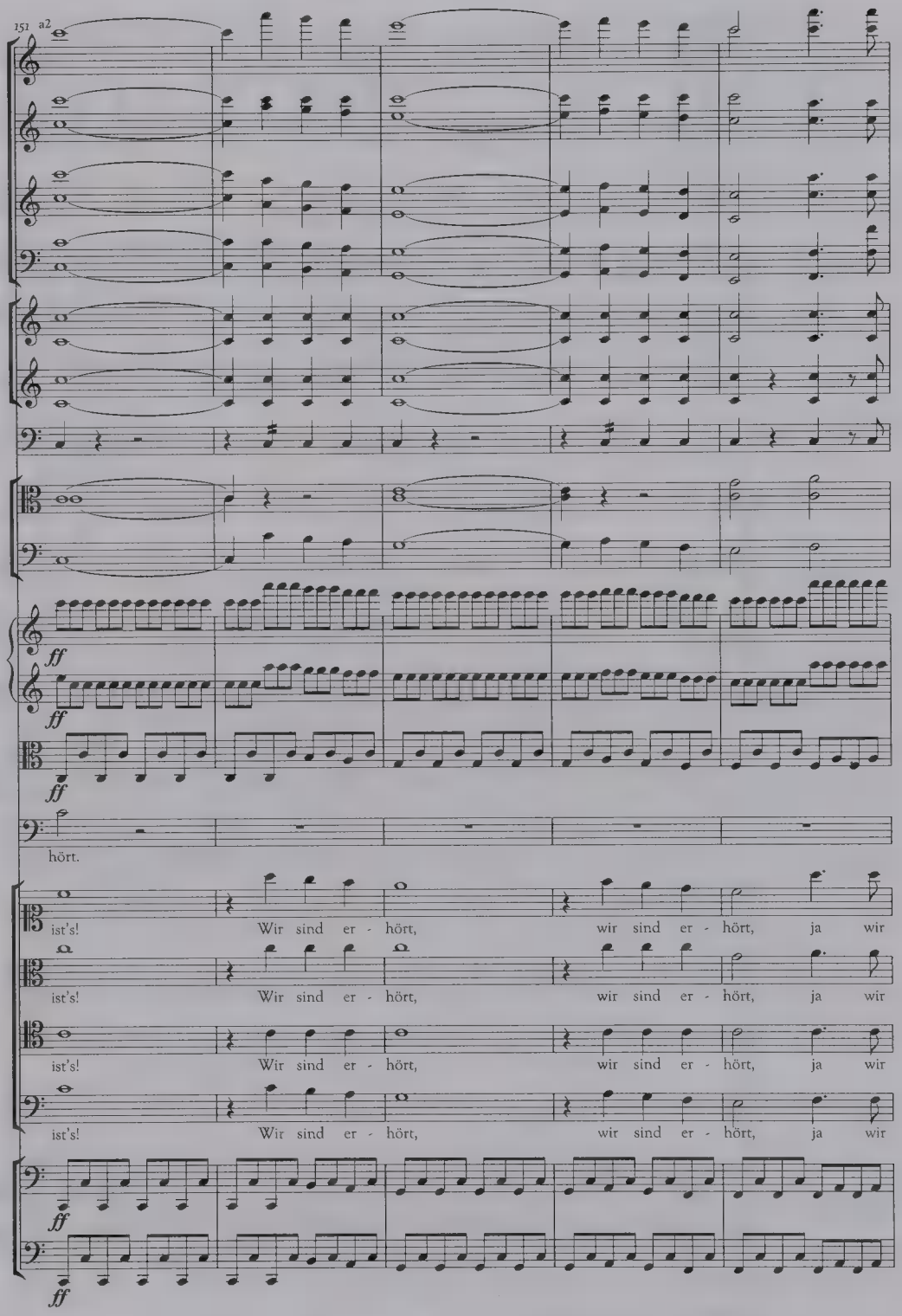
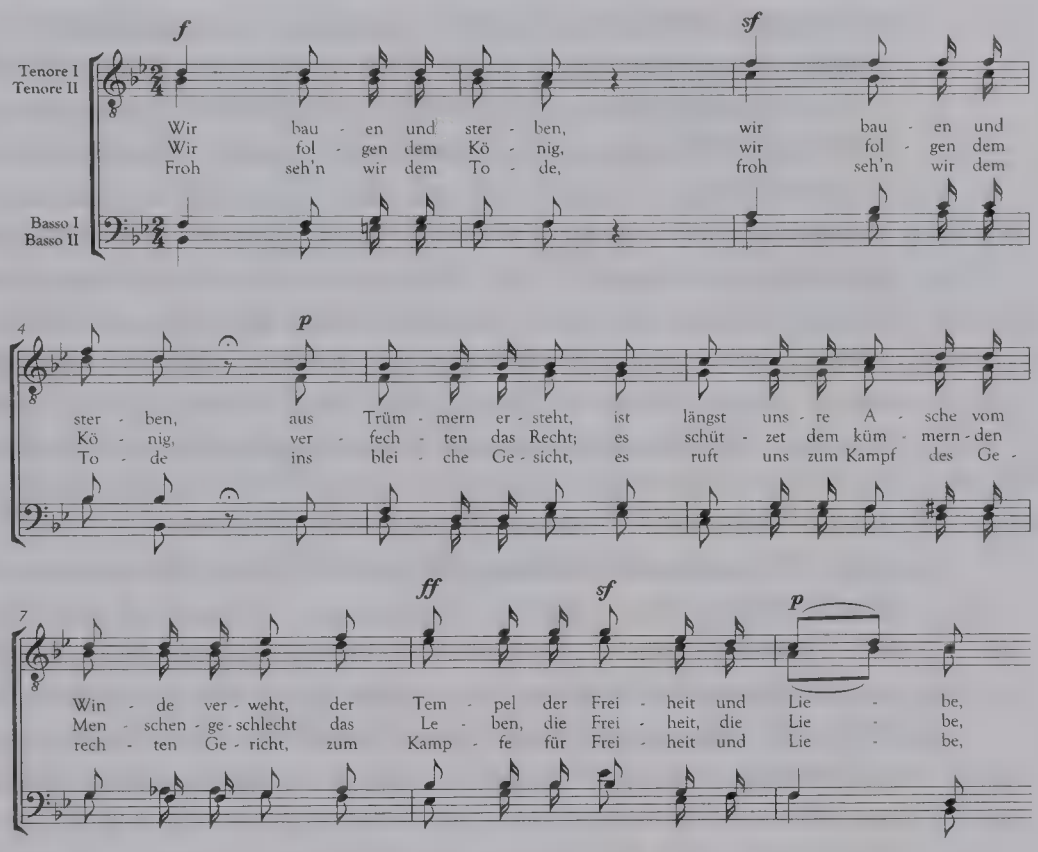

151 a2
ff
ff
ff
hört.
ist's! Wir sind er - hört, wir sind er - hört, ja wir
ist's! Wir sind er - hört, wir sind er - hört, ja wir
ist's! Wir sind er - hört, wir sind er - hört, ja wir
ist's! Wir sind er - hört, wir sind er - hört, ja wir
ff
ff

Example 1. Continued


Tenore I
Tenore II
Basso I
Basso II
Wir bau - en und ster - ben, wir bau - en und
Wir fol - gen dem Kö - nig, wir fol - gen dem
Froh seh'n wir dem To - de, froh seh'n wir dem
ster - ben, aus Trüm - mern er - steht, ist längst uns - re A - sche vom
Kö - nig, ver - fech - ten das Recht; es schüt - zet dem küm - mern - den
To - de ins blei - che Ge - sicht, es ruft uns zum Kampf des Ge -
Win - de ver - weht, der Tem - pel der Frei - heit und Lie - be,
Men - schen - ge - schlecht das Le - ben, die Frei - heit, die Lie - be,
rech - ten Ge - richt, zum Kamp - fe für Frei - heit und Lie - be,

Example 2. Beginning of the Jägerchor from *Leonora Prohaska.*

Weber's almost contemporaneous settings of patriotic Theodor Körner songs entitled *Leyer und Schwert* (Lyre and Sword)—begins:

> Wir bauen und sterben; aus Trümmern ersteht—
> Ist längst unsre Asche vom Winde verweht—,
> Der Tempel der Freiheit und Liebe.
>
> [*We build and die; from the ruins—*
> *Our ashes have long been blown away by the wind—*
> *Rises the temple of freedom and love.*]

Once again, the ephemeral real world is contrasted with everlasting ideals. And music takes the side of the ideal, emphasizing the warriors' collective commitment in the simplest possible ways—not least with the loud repetition of the opening line of each stanza, its dense homophonic texture articulating a basic antecedent–consequent that moves from tonic to dominant and back again.

Aside from the two occasional dramas of 1814–15, Beethoven's most significant collaboration with Treitschke in the Congress period was the revision of *Fidelio*—a composition that bears the scars of its

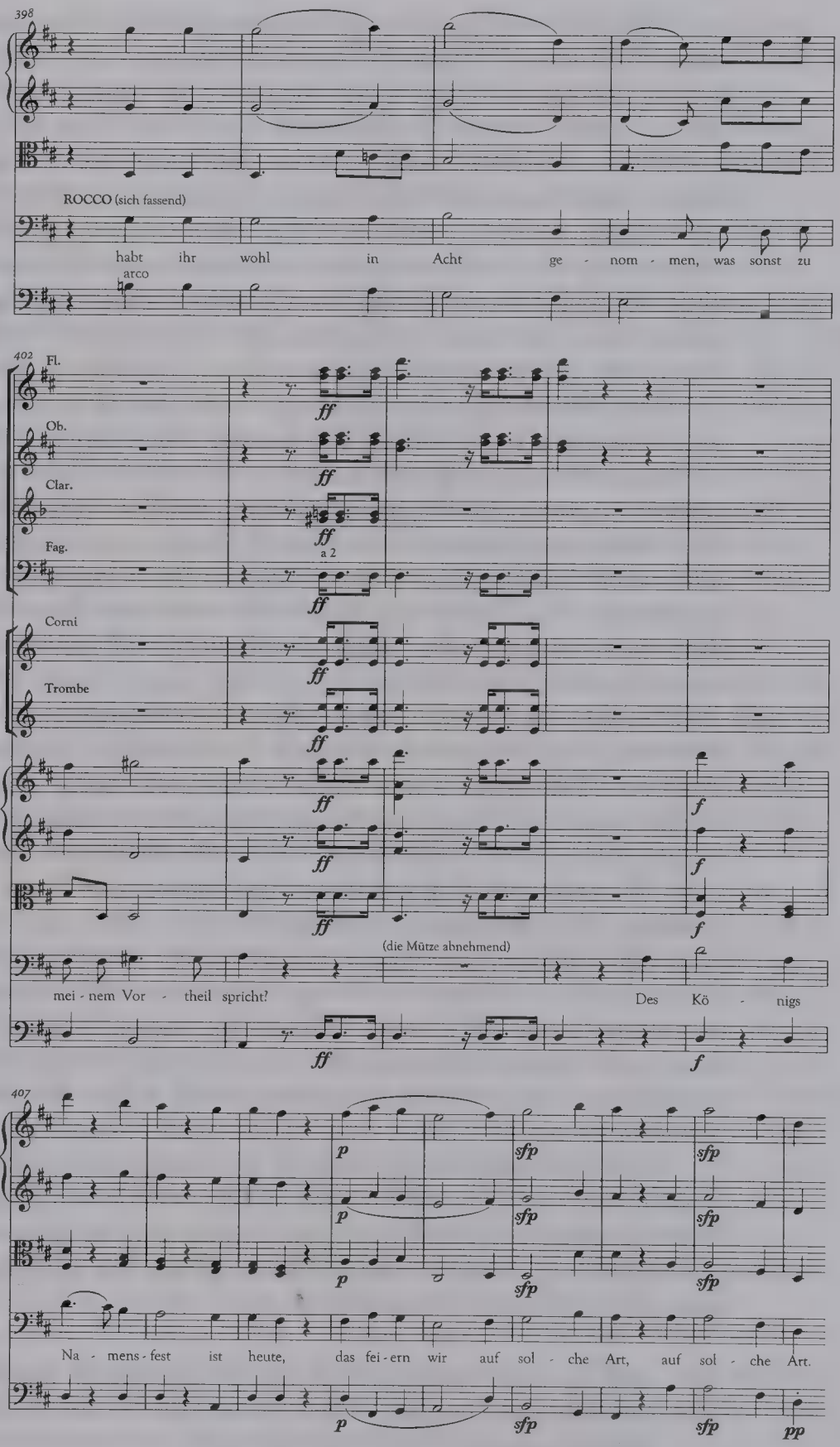
encounters with history despite its aspirations to myth. Beethoven was intent on creating a lasting work from the fragments of the earlier versions of the opera, which had barely survived beyond a few performances in 1805 and 1806. Indeed, he himself called on the metaphor of ruination and rebuilding to describe the exercise: "now I feel more firmly resolved to rebuild the desolate ruins of an old castle," he wrote, upon seeing Treitschke's revisions.[64] The 1814 opera is the site of immense tension between history and myth, the real and the ideal, the occasion and the work. Even in its earliest incarnations, *Leonore–Fidelio* had an ambivalent relationship with recent history. The French rescue operas that made their way into Viennese theaters early in the nineteenth century often claimed to present characters and events that were historically authentic, even as it transformed them into myths of heroism and emancipation.[65] Jean-Nicolas Bouilly's *Léonore*, from which Joseph Sonnleithner derived Beethoven's German libretto, claimed to be a true story of tyranny under the Terror—a potentially subversive vision of recent political oppression that required Sonnleithner to backdate the action to sixteenth-century Spain in order to pass the censors.[66] For all that, Beethoven's opera ruthlessly subordinates its plot and its characters to a more abstract narrative of emancipation—"something approaching a myth of universal liberation," as Paul Robinson puts it.[67] Indeed, it struck Adorno that the opera transformed recent history into a quasi-liturgical ceremony—though Adorno's imagination extended no further than the French Revolution: "*Fidelio* has a cultic, hieratic quality. In it, the Revolution is not depicted but reenacted as ritual," he remarked.[68]

This ritualistic quality is particularly pronounced in the 1814 *Fidelio*, which compresses the 1805–06 versions into a leaner two acts, and concentrates foremost on the fundamental dramatic contrast between the reigning atmosphere of oppression and the final exuberant paean to freedom. Treitschke introduced a scene change to emphasize the transformation: whereas the earlier versions conclude underground, the 1814 finale takes the characters from the claustrophobic space of the dungeon into the exterior world of the prison parade ground.[69] The domestic intrigues with which the opera begins, which had always been to some degree marginal compared to the central tale of rescue, are among the prominent casualties of the 1814 revisions. The jailer's daughter Marzelline, upon learning during the finale that her husband to be is in fact the noble Florestan's wife, is allowed only a brief lament—"O weh mir, was vernimmt mein Ohr" (Alas! What do I hear!)—before the ensuing celebrations obliterate rather than resolve the issue: "the actual figures with whom the opera begins have become almost invisible," remarks Robinson.[70]

Yet this turn to mythic abstraction can also be understood as precisely the most "occasional" aspect of the opera. Against the background of the Kaiser's victorious return to Vienna on 16 June 1814—within a month of *Fidelio*'s premiere on 23 May—Beethoven's opera was readily interpretable as a metaphor for the emancipation of Europe from Napoleon. That Florestan's freedom is ultimately achieved through the timely intervention of a good prince can only have made *Fidelio* seem all the more attractive to Europe's assembled rulers. Indeed, the 1814 revisions, particularly two revisions of detail, suggest that current historical events "consummated" *Fidelio*'s myth of emancipation. One of the performances of the opera during the festivities preceding the Congress took place on the Kaiser's name day (4 October)—always a cause for celebration in Vienna's theaters. There are references to both the name day and the Kaiser himself in the finales of Acts I and II. When the enraged prison governor Pizarro surprises Rocco during the first finale, demanding to know why the prisoners are out of their cells, the downtrodden jailer uses the excuse that their temporary release is a traditional way of celebrating the Kaiser's name day: "Des Königs Namensfest ist heute, das feiern wir auf solche Art" (today is the King's name day, which we celebrate in this way). Rocco's words, which begin with an assertive diatonic line but grow ever more timid (see Ex. 3a), follow a pair of fortissimo flourishes in D—a fanfare with dotted rhythms, which seems to hint at the musical celebration to come. And when it does, in the finale of Act II, with a massive opening blast of C major and yet more festive dotted rhythms in the chorus "Heil sei dem Tag" (Praise be the day), the connection between the Kaiser and the prisoners' freedom is firmly established (see Ex. 3b). A new stage direction provides a key detail about the scene: "Paradeplatz des Schlosses, mit der Statue des Königs" (Parade ground of the castle, with a statue of the king). The heroic Kaiser intrudes, as if to "consummate" the opera's idealistic message. And yet, much like his appearance in *Die Ruinen von Athen*, our hero is a statue, already well on his way to idealized fixity.

Such tension between historical particularity and mythic universality—between the demands of the occasion and of the work—evidently played on Beethoven's mind during the Congress, not least as he rebuilt the ruin of his only opera. On 13 July this remarkable notice appeared in Vienna's *Friedensblätter*:

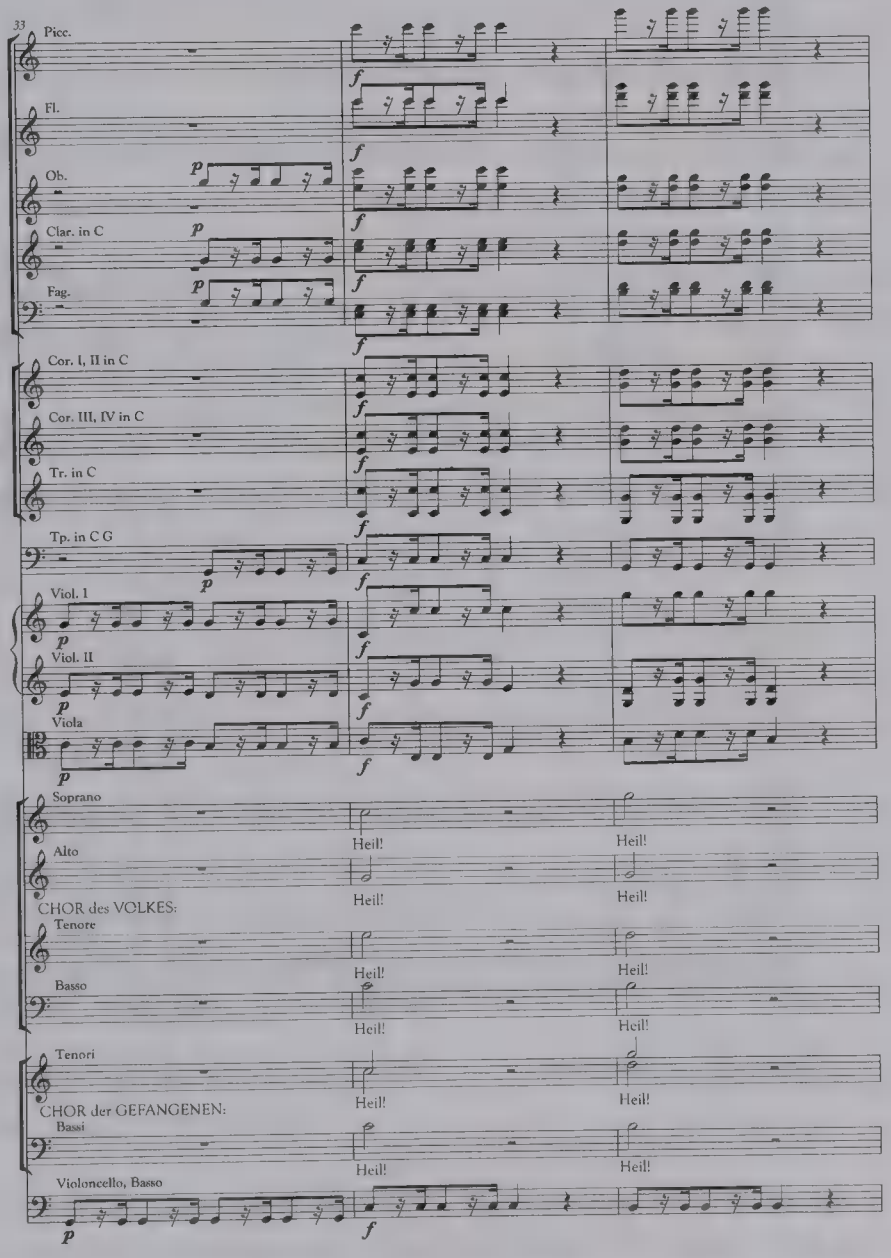
> A Word to His Admirers. How often, in your chagrin that his depth was not sufficiently appreciated, have you said that van Beethoven composes only for posterity! You have, no doubt, now been convinced of your



Example 3a. Rocco explains that it is the King's name day in the Act I finale of *Fidelio*.

> error, even if only since the general enthusiasm aroused by his immortal opera *Fidelio*; and also that the present finds kindred souls and sympathetic hearts for that which is great and beautiful without withholding its just privileges from the future.[71]

The idea that Beethoven had for once successfully negotiated the divergent demands of the occasion and the work, the present age and future ages, was something of a critical topic among Beethoven's



Example 3b. "Heil sei dem Tag!," Act II finale, *Fidelio*.

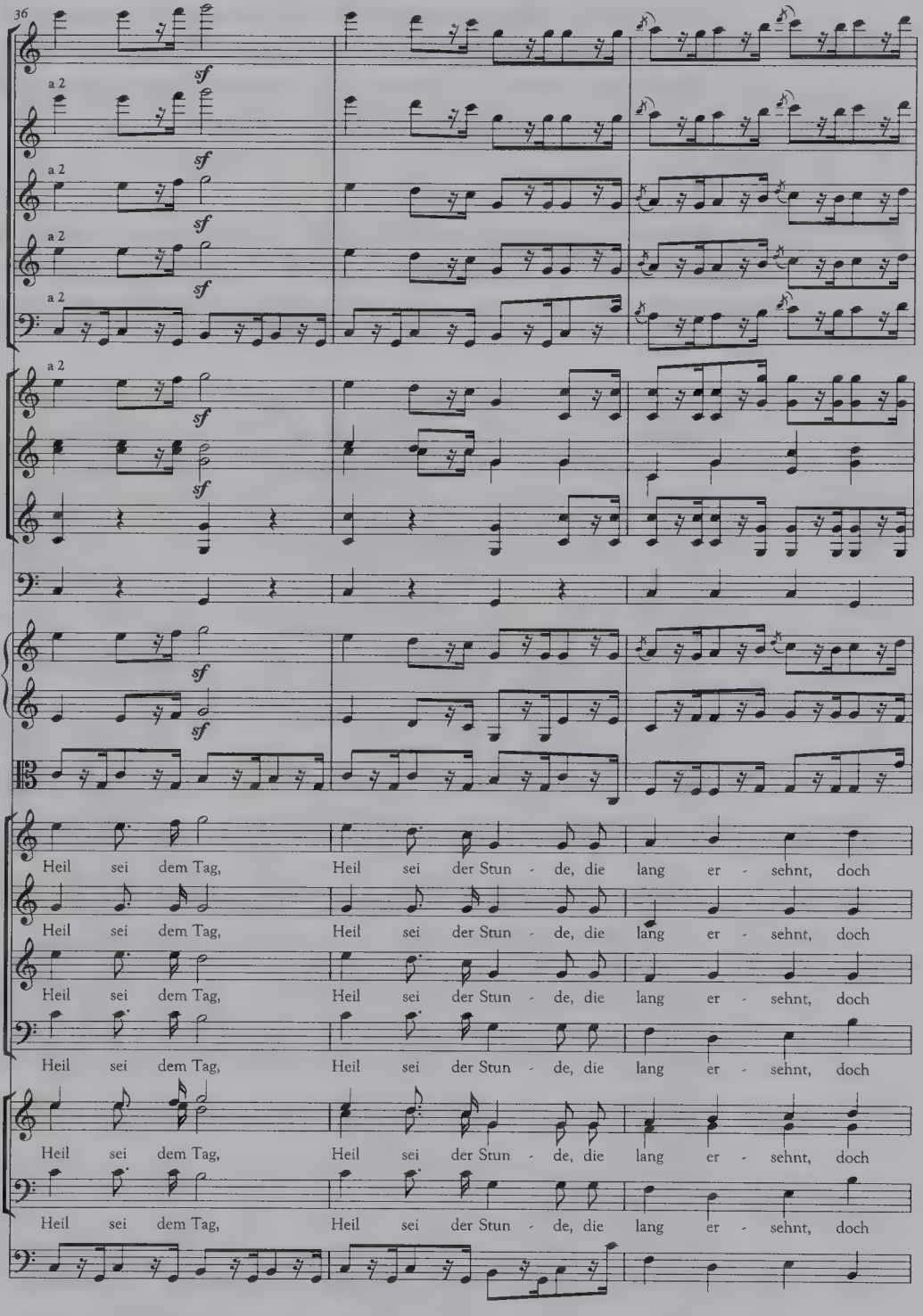


Figure 3b. Continued

supporters in the time of the Congress; the previous May, the *Wiener Theaterzeitung* had written:

> We were amazed at Beethoven in his entire greatness, and, what was more, we were amazed at the master along with an abundance of admirers who, before the *Battle of Vittoria*, had belonged to his antagonists. At last, the great genius has for once prevailed and is able to rejoice in his works within his own lifetime. A great rarity![72]

The anonymous reviewer coupled *Wellingtons Sieg* and *Fidelio* with some justification; the battle piece articulates a more complex relationship with recent history than many critics have recognized. While most recent writers have characterized *Wellingtons Sieg* as a work of unmediated realism, fated to disappear with the history it commemorates, Beethoven's musical monument to the Englishman is as idealizing as most of the music written around the time of the Congress. Wellington was the most vaunted allied war hero, after all, whose arrival in Vienna on 1 February 1815 prompted a flurry of publications and musical compositions, each striving to inscribe Wellington's name in the book of eternity.[73] Kanne was among the most prolific of those praising Wellington in music and song. He had already contributed an extended strophic song in E-flat, interspersed with dialogue and choral refrains, to Treitschke's patriotic Singspiel *Die gute Nachricht*—the play for which Beethoven composed the final chorus "Germania." In Kanne's song, the schoolmaster Ruthe reports on the allied entry into Paris:

> Europas Sterne glänzen hier,
> viel Helden im Vereine.
> *Ein* Held—*ein* Stern nur fehlet mir,
> wohl weiß man, wen ich meine. [. . .]
> Gruß ihm, dem Held von Albion,
> dem löwengleichen Wellington.
>
> [*Europe's stars are gleaming here,*
> *many heroes banded together.*
> *I am missing but* one *hero,* one *star,*
> *you know well whom I mean. [. . .]*
> *Salute him, the hero of Albion,*
> *the lionlike Wellington.*][74]

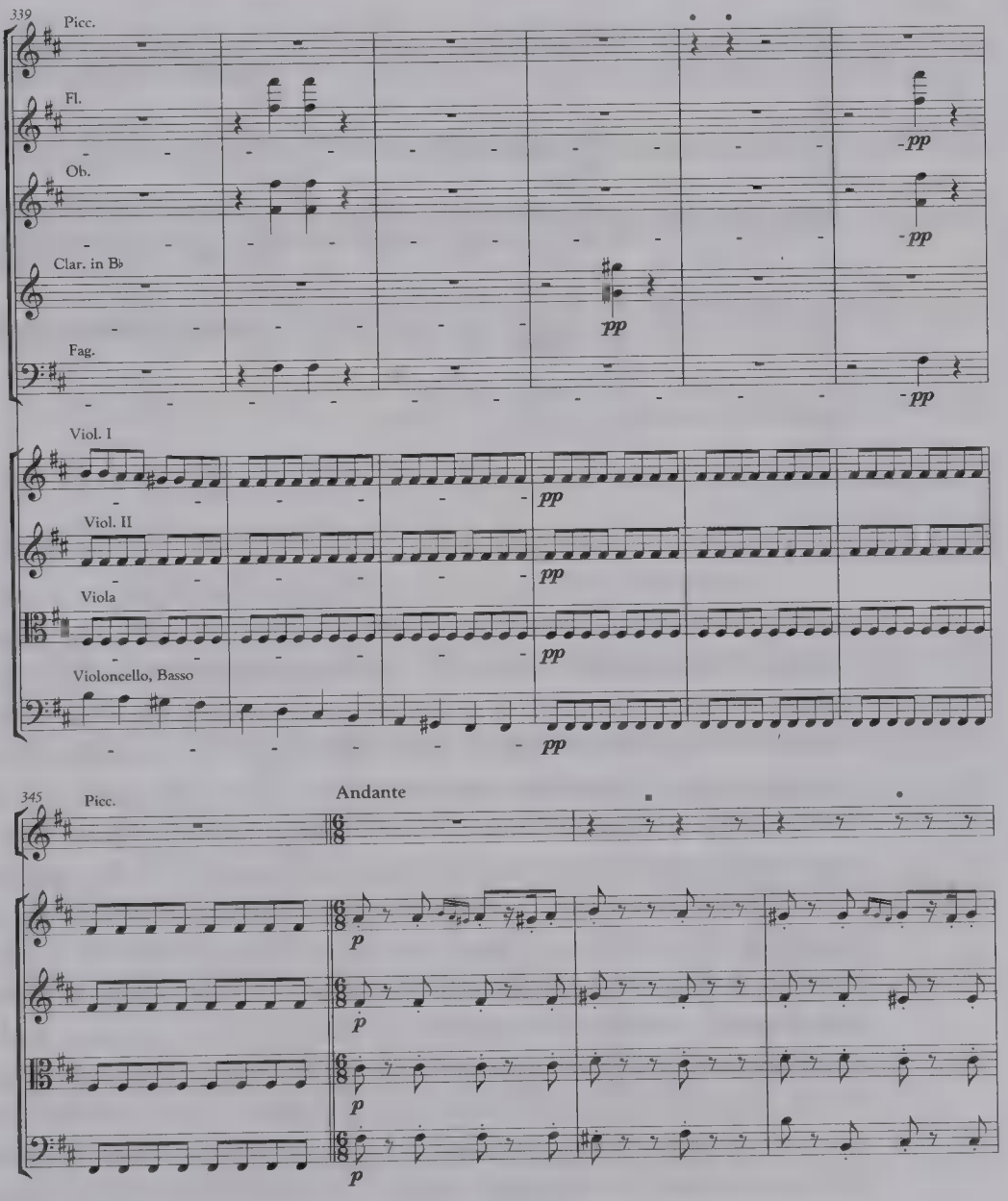
When Wellington arrived in Vienna, Kanne added to his corpus of musical hero worship when Cappi published the simple Tempo di Marcia "Wellington! Willkommen uns!" whose English translation and

dedication took pride of place on the title page, despite the rather clumsy rendering of its title (scansion clearly taking precedence over grammar): "Wellington! Welcome to us! A song composed and set in music for the solemn entry of the unconquer'd hero in Vienna." The same publisher also issued six *Triumphmärsche* (triumphal marches) entitled *Wellington in Wien* as Kanne's op. 99. But Kanne's most unusual contribution to the Viennese Wellington craze was a titanic melodrama for piano and voice written after Waterloo, a bizarre confluence of Teutonic legend and musical reportage called "Die Schlacht von Belle-Alliance; oder Hermanns Herabkunft aus Walhalla" (The Battle of Belle-Alliance; or Hermann's Descent from Valhalla).[75] The piece was dedicated to "die unsterbliche Helden und Sieger Wellington und Blücher" (the immortal heroes and victors, Wellington and Blücher) and describes the recent conflict in the most inflated mythic terms, raising Wellington and the victorious Prussian general to godhead with a mixture of poetic fragments, bursts of triumphant song, and a smattering of tremolos, fanfares, and imitative sound effects:

> Unsterblich strahlet Ihr am Himmelszelte
> Verklärt im Bilde zweier schönen Sterne
> Der Preußen Blücher, Englands Wellington!
>
> [*In the firmament you shine eternally*
> *Transfigured in the image of two beautiful stars*
> *The Prussian Blücher, England's Wellington!*]

Beethoven's *Wellingtons Sieg* was the grandest of all such compositions, projecting the idealizing impulses of these smaller occasional pieces onto a vast musical canvas and bringing a larger musical and mythic form to Wellington's military achievement. It is remarkable, especially since Kinderman and others insist that *Wellingtons Sieg* is slavish in its adherence to the historically real, quite how far from the mundane and messy realities of battle Beethoven actually takes us. As Richard Will observes, most battle pieces did not aim for historical accuracy; rather, their charged performance contexts ironically encouraged a kind of mythic distancing.[76] Indeed, it is primarily the title of *Wellingtons Sieg* that prescribes that one hear the music as a depiction of a specific hero rather than the "universal aspects of heroism" that Kinderman (along with generations of others) hears in the *Eroica* Symphony.[77]

To distinguish *Wellingtons Sieg* from Beethoven's heroic masterworks on the basis of realism versus idealism, or history versus myth, is thus harder than it might appear. When Scott Burnham explains the fundamental mythic structure of the *Eroica*—the underlying narrative that supposedly unifies its otherwise disparate critical reception—he could just as well be describing *Wellingtons Sieg*: "Something (someone) not fully formed but full of potential ventures out into complexity and ramification (adversity), reaches a ne plus ultra (crisis), and then returns renewed and completed (triumphant)."[78]



Example 4. The French Marlborough March reduced to a limp in *Wellingtons Sieg*, mm. 339–51.

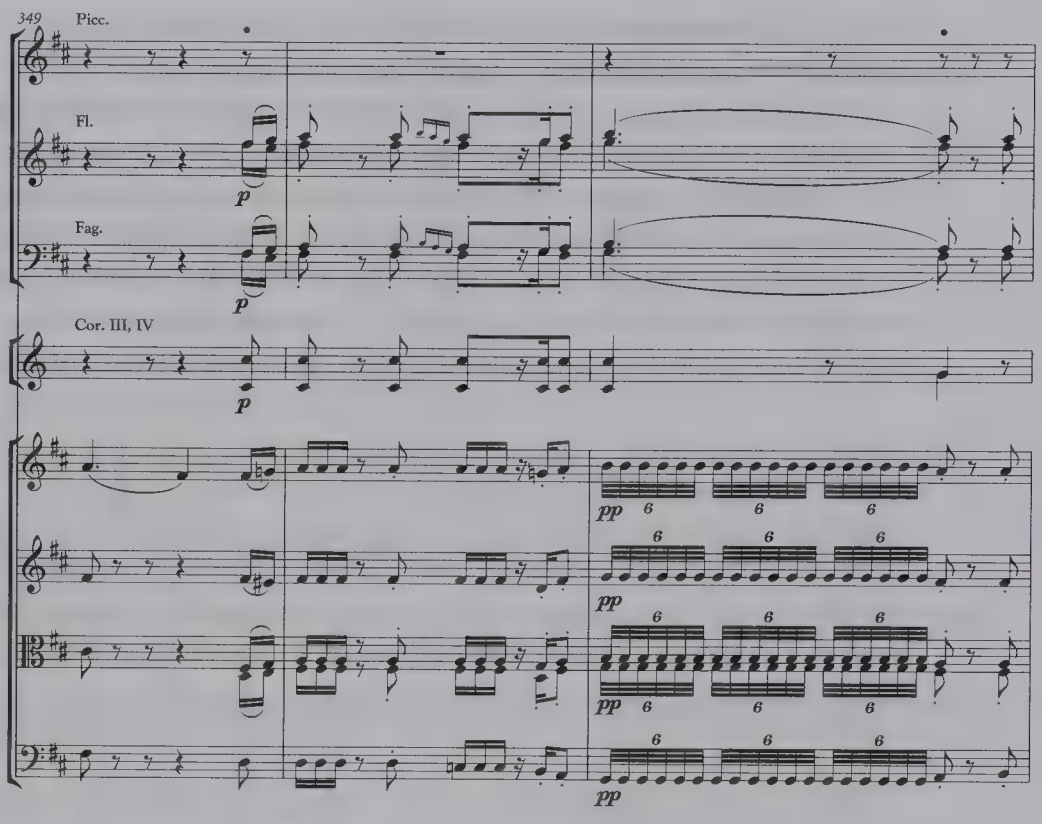



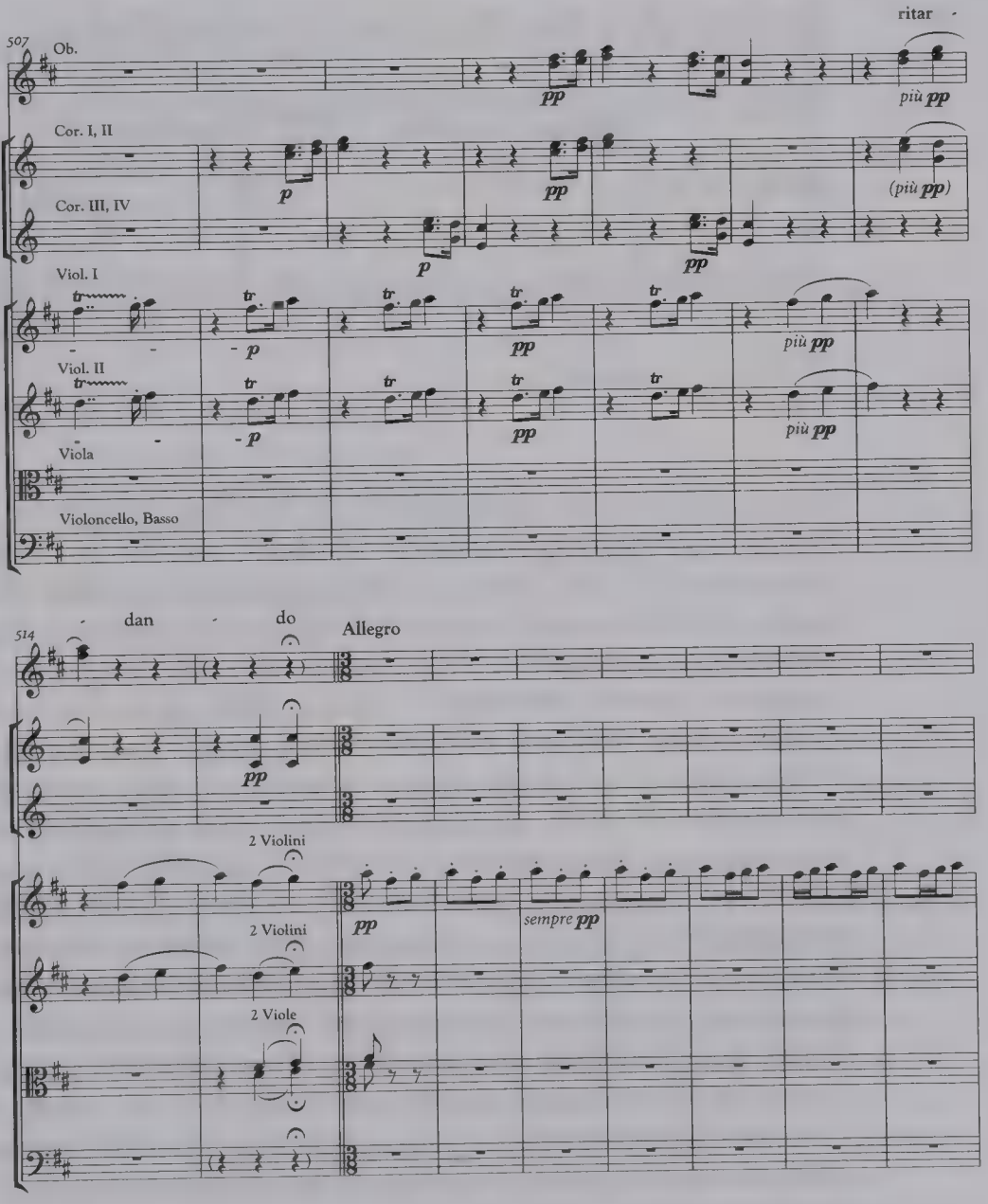
Figure 4. Continued

Despite the obvious generic differences between the *Eroica* and *Wellingtons Sieg*, the latter clearly follows this structure: the approaching rumble of the side drum and the subsequent trumpet signals announce the adversity to come, as if in miniature; the crisis point is reached toward the end of the Presto section of the *Sturmmarsch*—perhaps with the *fortississimo* and chromatic descent in m. 302, which gradually dwindles to the F-sharp–minor Andante of the limping French march (Ex. 4); and one hardly need point out the concluding triumph of the *Siegessinfonie*.

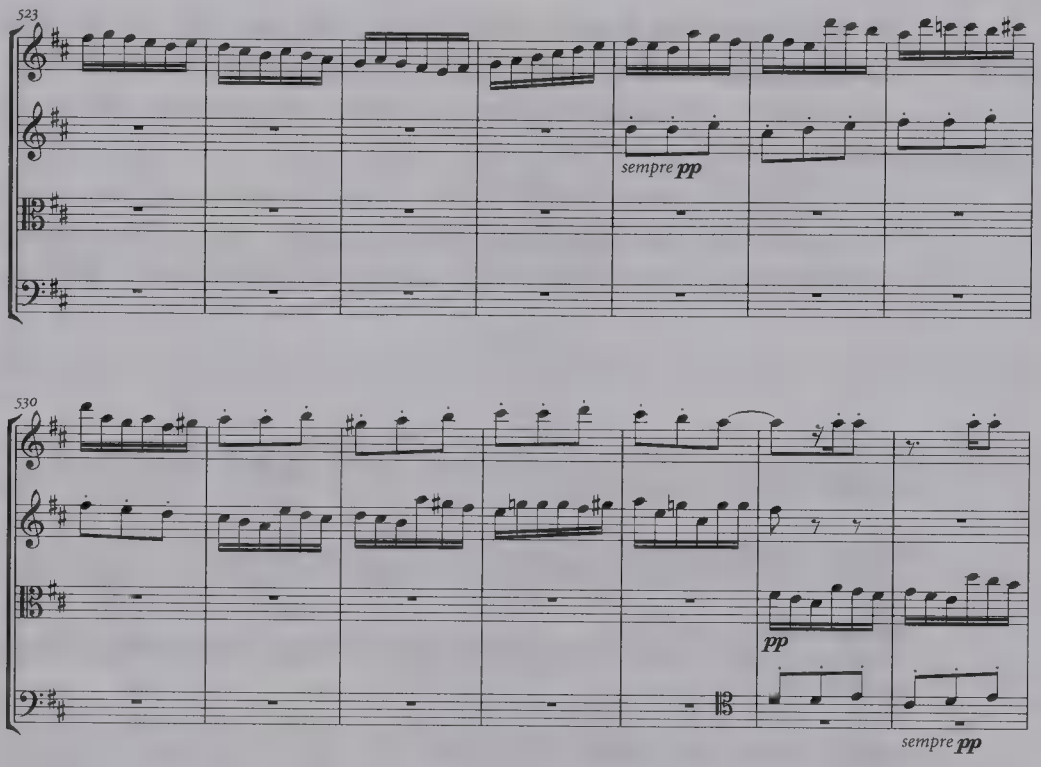
The monumental culmination of *Wellingtons Sieg* is no more imposed "from without" than the equivalent culmination of the *Eroica*. Indeed, one might call the *Siegessinfonie* an *Eroica* finale in miniature: a modified variation set infused with fanfares and flourishes, as well as monumentalizing counterpoint. "God Save the King" alternates with the opening D-major victory music—first in a surprise B-flat, then remaining in D—each time, however, avoiding a full conclusion by snagging itself on the stepwise rise of a third that precedes its final cadence. The hesitant repetition of this melodic fragment in the first D-major rendering of "God Save the King" leads

to a culminating fugato variation in 3/8 (see Ex. 5), in which the violins and woodwind also tarry on the stepwise rising third (m. 638)—a method of intensification that sets up the breathless rush to the end.

Indeed, given Beethoven's attention-seeking interruptions during his variations on "God Save the King," as well as the considerable contrapuntal energy that he expends on the tune, it is curious that



Example 5. The transition to the fugato that concludes *Wellingtons Sieg*, mm. 507–37.



Example 5. Continued

Richard Will should distinguish the *Eroica* from *Wellingtons Sieg* on the basis of "authorial presence," which, he argues, the latter conspicuously lacks.[79] After all, some commentators have heard too much of the composer's voice in *Wellingtons Sieg*, arguing that Beethoven's approach to "God Save the King" is intended to be humorous or even irreverent.[80] Further, while critics are quick to point out how Beethoven the bard soon came to occupy the position of the *grand Uomo* of the *Eroica*—how the mediator came to occupy the position of whom he mediated—they tend to overlook that such an interpretive displacement came sooner and more pervasively in the case of the supposedly unmediated *Wellingtons Sieg*. Shortly after attending the *Akademie* on 2 January 1814 while in Vienna, the Romantic poet and Beethoven fanatic Clemens Brentano, brother of Beethoven's friend and correspondent Bettina, sent his hero the "Vier Lieder von Beethoven an sich selbst" (Four Beethoven Songs to the Composer Himself) and an effusive, barely coherent covering letter.[81] The third poem resounds with a confluence of archaic musical and military imagery, taking the transposition of Beethoven and Wellington, *Leyer und Schwert*, as its central conceit. "Du hast die Schlacht geschlagen, Ich habe die Schlacht getönt" (You have fought

the battle, I have set the battle to music), it begins, eventually reaching this exhortative finale:

> Die Rosse entspann' ich dem Wagen
> Triumpf! auf Tönen getragen,
> Zieht mein Held ein, der Ewigkeit Pforten
> Rufen in meinen Akkorden,
> Wellington, Viktoria!
> Beethoven! Gloria!
>
> [*I slacken my steeds from the chariot*
> *Triumph! Carried upon tones,*
> *my hero moves into the Gates of Eternity*
> *Summoned in my chords,*
> *Wellington, Victoria!*
> *Beethoven! Gloria!*][82]

Meanwhile, the fourth poem explicitly celebrates Beethoven as an archaic bard:

> Meine Lyra ist umkränzet
> Und ich sing in hohem Ton,
> Daß es klinget, daß es glänzet
> Für den hohen Wellington!
>
> [*My lyre is enwreathed*
> *and I sing in lofty tones,*
> *that it tinkles, that it sparkles*
> *For the lofty Wellington!*][83]

"David's harp and Gideon's trumpet belong to you," rambled Brentano in his accompanying letter.[84]

Such conceits were by no means the exclusive preserve of Romantic poets. Getting in touch with Beethoven in 1815 after several years' silence, the composer's old friend Carl Amenda alluded to the paired fame of Beethoven and Wellington, which had evidently reached him in distant Latvia: "Are you otherwise well though? You must be: the fame that you most recently shared with Wellington indicates it."[85] Neither was the analogy lost on the composer himself: "no doubt you are delighted about all the victories—and mine also," wrote Beethoven to Count Franz Brunsvik on 13 February 1814.[86] Here, Beethoven contradicts those later critics who would portray the battle symphony as a moment of defeat. Wellington and his historical achievements are

almost secondary considerations; like so many critics when faced with the *Eroica*, Beethoven identifies himself as the true hero of his work.

Reading History Under Erasure

Nothing can fully erase the topicality of *Wellingtons Sieg*, of course; like all of Beethoven's occasional pieces, it is pulled in opposite directions by the forces of history and myth. Perhaps only a dialectical way of thinking can provide an adequate account of the relationship between this occasional piece and Beethoven's supposedly timeless masterpieces. It is noteworthy, therefore, that Beethoven's spontaneous defense of *Wellingtons Sieg* in the margins of *Cäcilia* was scribbled shortly after he had read a series of Hegelian reflections on his own symphonic development (including passing observations on *Wellingtons Sieg*) by the Berlin critic A. B. Marx.[87]

Beethoven was an admirer of Marx's writing, and had read his latest article in the inaugural 1824 issue of the *Berliner allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* at least a month before Weber's polemic appeared in print. A letter of thanks to the publisher Adolf Schlesinger shows Beethoven in much better humor than he was to be after his perusal of *Cäcilia*:

> I have received with great pleasure your communication of June 24 together with the *Allgemeine Berliner Musikalische Zeitung*. Please arrange for it to be sent to me regularly in future. When leafing through its pages I noticed a few articles which I immediately recognized as the products of that gifted Herr Marx. I hope that he will continue to reveal more and more what is noble and true in the sphere of art.[88]

Although Marx's opinion of *Wellingtons Sieg* is similar in many respects to the critical tradition that has since denigrated it—particularly in his dependence on the metaphor of inside and outside—his dialectical mode of thought nevertheless gives *Wellingtons Sieg* unusually sophisticated critical sanction. Notably, Marx articulates an intimate connection between Beethoven's symphonic masterpieces and *Wellingtons Sieg* that does not also represent the latter as farcical or parodistic. Indeed, he gives *Wellingtons Sieg* a central role in Beethoven's symphonic development, invoking it as a kind of explanatory principle for Beethoven's oeuvre as a whole.

Like many later critics, Marx draws comparisons between the *Eroica* and *Wellingtons Sieg* (as well as the Fifth Symphony and the *Pastoral*) and concludes that the difference between them is a question of inside and outside: *Wellingtons Sieg* is the particularization of the

Eroica's abstraction—the transformation of an intrinsic musical narrative striving to be heard into something extrinsic. This is the first stage of the dialectic. Marx is accordingly an eager defender of the pictorialism of both the *Pastoral* and *Wellingtons Sieg*: "Is not the area of musical allegory productive and is not many an enduring musical form in its generally recognized meaning useful in making completely comprehensible extrinsic references that are not grounded in nature or music?"[89] The logic of Marx's dialectical argument requires him to claim that the implicit narrative of the *Eroica*, although clearly concerning a heroic warrior of some kind, remains somewhat indistinct: "a gratifying comprehension and clear understanding of the meaning is not easy," he concludes.[90] The *Eroica* represents the "struggle of melodies and instruments to attain definite form"—and this form is finally attained in the extrinsic narrative of *Wellingtons Sieg*.[91] "Everything now was united: *psychological development*, connected to a series of *extrinsic* circumstances represented in a thoroughly *dramatic action* of those *instruments* that form the orchestra."[92]

Having established this dialectic between the internal and the external, the *Eroica* and *Wellingtons Sieg*, Marx turns to the Seventh Symphony as the synthesis of both:

> Without any externally derived designation (as e.g. that of the nations in the Battle at Vittoria), the meaning of this symphony develops with such victorious precision that one need simply surrender oneself to the effect of the notes in order to visualize such an individual portrait—or perhaps it is better to call it a drama—as never before has been produced in music.[93]

The drama of *Wellingtons Sieg*, which brings external narrative definition to an earlier internal struggle, becomes internal once again in the Seventh Symphony—but without relinquishing the clarity that it has gained.

Now, on the one hand, Marx's argument is merely a dialectical version of what has since become received wisdom: *Wellingtons Sieg* leads the heroic style into the real world. But, on the other hand, the dialectical context reveals something that almost all later discussions have ignored or suppressed: *Wellingtons Sieg*—with its fanfares and marches, its battle, its realism, its extrinsic historical derivation, its sheer explicitness—offers a perspective on the poetic content of the *Eroica*. By turning the *Eroica* toward the world—by providing a concrete realization of its guiding poetic idea, as Marx would have it—*Wellingtons Sieg* becomes a hermeneutic key, a kind of musical exegesis. To put it

another way, Marx's argument deconstructs the hierarchical opposition of the *Eroica* and *Wellingtons Sieg* that would become a commonplace of Beethoven criticism: instead of being a debased version of the *Eroica*, *Wellingtons Sieg* appears to tell us what the *Eroica* really means.

It is worth noting what happens to this argument in Marx's much later *Ludwig van Beethoven: Leben und Schaffen*, when he no longer gave *Wellingtons Sieg* so prominent a hermeneutic role. Recasting his dialectic as a static descriptive device rather than a sequential narrative about Beethoven's compositional development, Marx simply opposes the first movement of the *Eroica* and *Wellingtons Sieg* as ideal and real musical conflicts, much as more recent critics have done.[94] If this allows Marx to dispense with his dubious claim that the *Eroica* presents an indistinct version of *Wellingtons Sieg*, it also involves suppressing just how important *Wellingtons Sieg* is to his entire interpretive strategy. After all, without his dialectical argument, Marx can no longer explain how he is privy to the poetic content of the *Eroica*, which has now expanded into a complete Napoleonic *Heldenleben*. The first movement portrays "the battle,—not one or another specific one (like Beethoven's Battle of Vittoria and others, for instance Jadin's Battles of Austerlitz and Jena) but the battle as an ideal image [*Idealbild*]."[95] Perhaps sensing that this distinction between real and ideal musical battles appears flimsy, Marx appends a long, defensive footnote: "This is no arbitrary distinction, still less a snooty [*vornehmthuende*] art-philosophical catchphrase, but demonstrable, factual truth."[96] But the ensuing explanation merely repeats his earlier formulation in more leisurely terms, adding that *Wellingtons Sieg*, unlike the *Eroica*, is filled with the "entire plunder" of military sound effects.[97] Given that Marx goes on to give a detailed account of the first movement of the *Eroica* as a battle—even naming the protagonist as Napoleon himself—his distinction between real and ideal musical conflicts seems barely more than a rhetorical device. The only hint that *Wellingtons Sieg* had formerly validated Marx's militaristic interpretation of the *Eroica* is now literally marginalized in a footnote.

Marx's small act of suppression has been repeated in generations of scholarship. For it is hard to escape the impression that *Wellingtons Sieg* continues to give critics a pretext to associate the *Eroica* and the heroic style more generally with militarism even when, like the later Marx, they refer to *Wellingtons Sieg* as an example of what the *Eroica* is not. Marx's ideal musical drama; Weber's veil of the imagination; Kinderman's unconsummated symbolism: such formulations proliferate whenever critics discuss the heroic style. They are rhetorical devices that permit critics to advance a claim about the content of Beethoven's music even as they retract it. They once again reenact Beethoven's own

famous gesture of assertion and retraction, preserved as an inscription and an erasure on the title page of the *Eroica*: critics write down who or what the music is about and then erase it, disavowing their own critical language in the moment that they use it. After all his qualifications, Marx describes a musical battle in the first movement of the *Eroica* anyway. Weber contrasts the Fifth Symphony with the pompous celebration that is the *Siegessinfonie* in *Wellingtons Sieg*—then describes the finale of the Fifth as a *Triumph-Zug* (triumphal procession).[98] And when discussing *Wellingtons Sieg*, Kinderman has no trouble recognizing that the supposedly inexpressible meaning of the heroic style has been expressed.

One cannot deny the militarism of *Wellingtons Sieg* and many other Congress compositions. By contrast, the militarism of the heroic style has become a kind of open secret—even though, as Thomas Röder has observed, *Kampf und Sieg* remains perhaps its defining narrative structure, from the *Eroica* to the Fifth and Ninth.[99] Granted, *Wellingtons Sieg*, with its tone painting and national marches, wears its militarism rather differently from the *Eroica*. But, given how many critics seem to hear in the Congress compositions the very musical gestures and topics that help to define Beethoven's heroic masterpieces, it is tempting to suggest that the difference between the musical language of *Wellingtons Sieg* and the *Eroica* is a question of degree rather than kind. Or, to be more precise, the difference might lie in how Beethoven employs his musical language, rather than the structure of the language itself. After all, the premise upon which one identifies musical topics is that certain gestures, instrumental combinations, and melodic types carry particular associations; it would seem peculiar to argue that only some topics are truly topical. To be sure, one might maintain that the finale of the Fifth is somehow less explicitly a march than the Marlborough March, or that the fanfares in the *Eroica* first movement or the *Siegessinfonie* from *Egmont* are somehow less explicit than the *Intrada* to the *Siegessinfonie* from *Wellingtons Sieg*; but explicitness in this context is surely a matter of our sensitivities.

Even the distinction between music that is not imitative at all and the kind of musical imitation that Beethoven uses throughout the *Schlacht* of *Wellingtons Sieg* might also be a question of degree. Critics have employed the language of warfare to describe Beethoven's heroic masterpieces not only as a response to their marches and fanfares, but also to their extreme musical physicality. Will writes of "viscerally engaging moments of violence" in the first movement of the *Eroica*—the bangs, shocks, and sudden musical outbursts that fragment the musical architecture with sheer gestural and sonic force.[100] One might

say that these moments border on a kind of musical imitation—demanding to be interpreted in representational or narrative terms rather than only as elements in a quasi-architectural design. The most famous moment like this is, of course, the catastrophic passage of dissonance before the E-minor "new" theme in the development, with its syncopated tussle between strings and woodwind. A. B. Marx's ideal battle seems anything but ideal here: "At last, like two men fighting chest to chest, all the winds and all the strings . . . stand immovable—choir against choir—on an evil chord."[101] Will relates this shocking passage and other comparably violent moments to the cannon bursts of *Wellingtons Sieg*.[102] Such critical responses are almost as old as the *Eroica* itself; as early as 1811, one writer heard in the first movement "the picture of a battle . . . the courageous assaults, the wild rage, the unremitting attacks and confused anger."[103]

In any event, *Wellingtons Sieg* exploited a metaphorical relationship with militarism that was perhaps latent in much contemporary orchestral music. John Spitzer has shown how, as the eighteenth century drew to a close, German critics and musicians increasingly called upon the metaphor of the army and the civil polity to describe the orchestra.[104] This metaphorical interplay between orchestra and a highly militarized public sphere was perhaps at its most overt in Napoleonic Vienna: the massed ranks of the military and the orchestra were, so to speak, conceptually adjacent—ever ready to transform into one another. Brentano's transposition of orchestra and army in his turgid poetic homage to Beethoven merely elaborated on the basic metaphor of *Wellingtons Sieg*. But Brentano drew on the same metaphor even when discussing music that superficially had little to do with militarism: "If I were the foremost of singers and had no role in such a magnificent work, I would join the chorus," he fantasized in a report on the revived *Fidelio*, "In the good fight the most magnificent join the lowest ranks; this gives a victory, which glorifies everyone."[105] The leader of these massed ranks was, of course, Beethoven himself. It seems fitting that, around the time of the Congress, Beethoven began a running joke in which he conferred military ranks on his colleagues in the music business, giving the title of Lieutenant General to his publisher Steiner, and even referring to himself as the Generalissimo.[106]

Although nineteenth-century critics such as A. B. Marx sought at least to keep the violence of the *Eroica* at an idealized arm's length, the militarism of the heroic style only became a serious problem in the twentieth century—especially for those critics who were intent on securing the universality of Beethoven's music in a polarized and bellicose Europe. Alfred Einstein is one example. Yet again asserting and retracting

the meaning of the heroic style, he traced the military sound through most of Beethoven's heroic compositions even as he argued that "the military element is a purely musical category for Beethoven"; this is an oddly neutered militarism—a musical topic somehow scrubbed of its history and meaning.[107] Of course, Einstein attributes no such cleansing powers to *Wellingtons Sieg*—although his reasoning is plainly circular: "It is not because of its occasional nature that the *Battle of Vittoria* did not take its place as a Tenth Symphony. Rather it is because it remains merely naturalistic, patriotic, and occasional."[108] Einstein evidently believes that the *Eroica* somehow allows listeners to subtract the contingent associations that its military sound carries. He almost suggests that Beethoven's heroic symphonies encourage a kind of Kantian disinterested contemplation: behind the layers of militarism lies pure, dehistoricized musical form—musical meaning sublimated as musical architecture. But Einstein was no dry formalist, and remained committed to the idea that Beethoven's music also embodies an ethos. Rather than expurgate certain kinds of musical meaning altogether, however, Einstein converts Beethoven's potentially localizing militarism into something universal: "In Beethoven the military concept in its particular sense is exaltation, the highest exaltation of a heroic soul," he concluded.[109]

Of course, critical strategies like these become possible only once Beethoven's music has achieved a certain neutralizing distance from its culture of origin. By the same token, however, such criticism assists in the process of neutralizing and naturalizing Beethoven's military sound. In any case, over the last hundred years or so, militarism has become merely one of the more familiar features of Great Music; Beethoven's "consummated" symbols now strike many listeners and critics as chaste. It is a troubling thought, perhaps, that critics might have willingly made themselves deaf to the militarism inherent in some of the most vaunted statements in Western music—or, indeed, that what has come to represent the highest exaltation in music should have a military accent.

That said, critical doublethink is perhaps an understandable response to an irresolvable tension between the idea of the work and the historical context that this idea resists—between the historically transcendent aspirations of Beethoven's *Eroica* and the history to which these aspirations themselves belong. A fundamental ambiguity, eloquently compressed into a single dynamic gesture of erasure on the title page of the *Eroica*, is constitutive of Beethoven's heroic aesthetic. Indeed, the erasure on the title page of the *Eroica* reminds us of the tact that the symphony demands of its critics, who must avoid both idealizing abstraction and facile historicism: those of a historicizing bent have contextualized but not domesticated the symphony's resistance to

history; formalist criticism has been unable to purge historical meanings from the work. For, like *Wellingtons Sieg*, the *Eroica* is aesthetically, stylistically, and politically of its time and place—whatever its universalizing ambitions. And its monumental architecture, far from being an empty musical space, encloses a profusion of historical meanings.

Notes

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1. Lydia Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works* (Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press, 1992).

2. See Friedrich Schelling, *The Philosophy of Art*, trans. Douglas W. Stott (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989), 165. Goethe referred to the notion in his *Sprüche in Prosa*: "A noble philosopher spoke of architecture as a congealed music [erstarrte Musik]"; see *Goethe: Maximen und Reflexionen*, ed. Max Hecker (Weimar, Germany: Goethe Gesellschaft, 1907), 234. Goethe, however, credited himself with the formulation to Johann Peter Eckermann on 23 March 1829; see *Conversations of Goethe with Eckermann*, trans. John Oxenford, ed. J. K. Moorhead (New York: J. M. Dent, 1930), 303. My thanks to Bojan Bujic for drawing the full range of these references to my attention.

3. Arthur Schopenhauer, *The World as Will and Representation*, trans. E. F. J. Payne, vol. 2 (Indian Hills, CO: Falcon's Wing Press, 1958), 454.

4. Romain Rolland, *Beethoven the Creator*, trans. Ernest Newman (New York: Garden City Publishing, 1937), 45–46.

5. Lewis Lockwood, *Beethoven: The Music and the Life* (New York: Norton, 2003), 206. Lockwood seems to echo Rolland here, who writes that the opening notes of the bass line underpinning the final movement are "four mighty pillars," adding: "And the great builder sees what vast spaces he can cover with [them]." See *Beethoven the Creator*, 69.

6. See Walter Riezler, *Beethoven*, trans. G. D. H. Pidcock (London: M. C. Forrester, 1938), 247–81; Heinrich Schenker, "Beethovens Dritte Sinfonie, in ihrem wahren Inhalt zum erstenmal dargestellt," in *Das Meisterwerk in der Musik*, vol. 3 (Munich, Germany: Drei Masken Verlag, 1930), 29–101; Sir Donald Francis Tovey, "Sonata Forms," in *Musical Articles from the Encyclopaedia Britannica*, ed. Hugo Foss (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1944), 221–28.

7. Lewis Lockwood, "'Eroica' Perspectives: Strategy and Design in the First Movement," in *Beethoven Studies*, ed. Alan Tyson, vol. 3 (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 88.

8. See Goehr, *Imaginary Museum*, chap. 8. Goehr's Beethovenian conception of the work concept has been challenged and problematized, however—notably in Reinhard Strohm's "Looking Back at Ourselves: The Problem with the Musical Work-Concept," in *The Musical Work: Reality or Invention?* (Liverpool, UK: Liverpool University Press, 2000), 128–52.

9. Goehr, *Imaginary Museum*, 164.

10. Daniel Chua discusses the *Eroica* as a monument in his *Absolute Music and the Construction of Meaning* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 235–44.

11. Riezler, *Beethoven*, 138.

12. Maynard Solomon, *Beethoven* (New York: Schirmer, 1977, rev. ed. 1998), 250.

13. See Friedrich Nietzsche, "On the Utility and Liability of History for Life," in *Unfashionable Observations*, trans. Richard T. Gray (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1995), 97.

14. Alexander Wheelock Thayer, *Thayer's Life of Beethoven*, rev. and ed. Elliot Forbes (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1967), 349.

15. Ries's letter dates from 22 October 1803. See *Letters to Beethoven*, ed. and trans. Theodor Albrecht, vol. 1 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996), no. 71 [henceforth Albrecht I–III]; *Ludwig van Beethoven, Briefwechsel, Gesamtausgabe*, ed. Sieghard Brandenburg, vol. 1 (Munich, Germany: Henle, 1996), no. 165 [henceforth *Briefwechsel* I–VII]. Beethoven's letter dates from 26 August 1804. See *The Letters of Beethoven*, ed. and trans. Emily Anderson, vol. 1 (London: Macmillan, 1961), no. 96 [henceforth Anderson I–III]; *Briefwechsel* I, no. 188.

16. For a brief summary of the historical evidence relating to the symphony's title, see Lockwood, *Beethoven*, 210–11; for a more detailed investigation, see Thomas Sipe, *Beethoven: "Eroica" Symphony* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1998), chap. 3.

17. My use of the concept of "under erasure," a coinage of Jacques Derrida, is similar, though not identical, to Derrida's use of the term. I am using it here simply to denote a kind of rhetorical device wherein a claim or a piece of information is revealed only by being manifestly advanced then retracted—as if erasing a written word in such a way that it is still legible. Derrida uses the figure of "under erasure" to refer to the epistemological contortion in which one knowingly employs (and thus simultaneously calls into question) dubious, impossible, or metaphysical concepts in order to be able to say anything at all. See Jacques Derrida, *Of Grammatology*, trans. Gayatri Spivak (Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press, 1976), chap. 2.

18. A point made by Carl Dahlhaus in *Nineteenth-Century Music*, trans. J. Bradford Robinson (Berkeley: California University Press, 1989), 75.

19. *Berliner Musikzeitung* I (1805); reproduced and translated in *The Critical Reception of Beethoven's Compositions by His German Contemporaries*, ed. and trans. Wayne Senner, vol. 1 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999), 35.

20. Anonymous author, quoted and translated in H. C. Robbins Landon, *Beethoven: A Documentary Study* (New York: Macmillan, 1970), 153.

21. Tia DeNora gives the *Eroica* a role in the emergence of the musical canon in Vienna—what she calls "serious music culture"; see *Beethoven and the Construction of*

Genius: Musical Politics in Vienna 1792–1803 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), particularly 160–61.

22. Thomas Carlyle, *On Heroes, Hero-Worship, and the Heroic in History*, ed. Joel J. Brattin, Mark Engel, and Michael K. Goldberg (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 67. Carlyle's lectures on heroism and hero worship were collected and published in 1841.

23. Richard Wagner, *Gesammelte Schriften und Dichtungen*, vol. 1 (Leipzig: E. W. Fritzsch, 1871), 182. Cited and translated in Burnham, *Beethoven Hero* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995), xv. It was also in the mid nineteenth century that Alois Fuchs famously (if dubiously) recalled that Beethoven responded to news of Napoleon's victory at Jena in October 1806 with the words: "It's a pity that I do not understand the art of war as well as I do the art of music; I would conquer him!" (See *Thayer's Life of Beethoven*, 403.) Nevertheless, this equation of musical and military heroics is perhaps already implicit in the early nineteenth-century representation of the heroes of music and war.

24. Rolland, *Beethoven the Creator*, 2. Nowadays, the term "heroic style" is usually used to refer to the "grand manner" of the odd-numbered symphonies from the *Eroica* onwards and almost all of the overtures after *Prometheus*, many of which are associated with real or mythic heroes. The only account of the heroic style from the perspective of style history is Michael Broyles's *Beethoven: The Emergence and Evolution of Beethoven's Heroic Style* (New York: Excelsior, 1987); the notion that Beethoven's creative development comprised a "heroic phase" has been theorized most influentially in Alan Tyson's "Beethoven's Heroic Phase," *Musical Times* (Feb. 1969): 139–41. Scott Burnham explores the place and importance of the heroic style in Western musical thought in his *Beethoven Hero* while the concept of the heroic style has been queried and problematized by Lewis Lockwood in his "Beethoven, Florestan, and the Varieties of Heroism," in *Beethoven and His World*, ed. Scott Burnham and Michael P. Steinberg (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000), 27–47.

25. Riezler, *Beethoven*, 138.

26. Solomon, *Beethoven*, chap. 17.

27. Rolland, *Beethoven the Creator*, 2.

28. Lockwood, *Beethoven*, 335.

29. Following William Kinderman, I will refer to this group of compositions as originating in the "Congress of Vienna period," even though the political event of the Congress (though by no means its associated festivities) ran only from 1 November 1814 until 11 June 1815. The principal studies of these compositions as a more or less coherent group or period are: Nicholas Cook, "The Other Beethoven: Heroism and the Compositions of 1813–1814," *Nineteenth-Century Music* (Summer 2003): 3–24; Ingrid Fuchs, "The Glorious Moment: Beethoven and the Congress of Vienna," in *Denmark and the Dancing Congress of Vienna: Playing for Denmark's Future*, exhibition catalog (Copenhagen, Denmark: Christiansborg Palace, 2002), 182–97; and William Kinderman, *Beethoven* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), chap. 7. The entire "problematic" period around 1809–17 is given particular attention in the book of essays *Beethoven zwischen Revolution und Restauration*, ed. Helga Lühning and Sieghard Brandenburg (Bonn, Germany: Beethoven-Haus, 1989). Michael

Ladenburger's essay in the collection deals with Beethoven's Congress compositions and their context; see "Der Wiener Kongreß im Spiegel der Musik," particularly 293–306. Esteban Buch deals with the Congress period as a context for the aesthetic and political ambience of the Ninth in *Beethoven's Ninth: A Political History*, trans. Richard Miller (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2003), chap. 4.

30. This is from the first (1977) edition of Solomon's *Beethoven*, 229; it was excised from the second edition.

31. Martin Cooper, *Beethoven: The Last Decade 1817–1827* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1970), 16. It is important to note that Varnhagen von Ense published his most informative memories about Beethoven some decades after the Congress.

32. On the genre of battle music, see Karin Schulin, *Musikalische Schlachtengemälde in der Zeit von 1756 bis 1815* (Tutzing, Germany: H. Schneider, 1986).

33. Solomon, *Beethoven*, 287.

34. Carl Dahlhaus, *Ludwig van Beethoven: Approaches to His Music*, trans. Mary Whittall (Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press, 1991), 17.

35. Suzanne Langer, *Philosophy in a New Key: A Study in the Symbolism of Reason, Rite, and Art* (New York: Mentor, 1951), 204; Kinderman, *Beethoven*, 170. Solomon also makes use of Langer's theories in his account of the heroic style; see Solomon, *Beethoven*, 253.

36. Kinderman, *Beethoven*, 172. For a critique of Kinderman's aesthetic and a discussion of the barely concealed relationship between the idea of "consummation" and questions of eroticism and gender, see Stephen Rumph, *Beethoven After Napoleon: Political Romanticism in the Late Works* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 166–67.

37. Kinderman, *Beethoven*, 2.

38. Ibid., 172.

39. Ibid., 171.

40. "Große musikalische Akademie," *Wiener allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 48 (15 Dec. 1813): 749.

41. Reprinted in *Ludwig van Beethoven, die Werke im Spiegel seiner Zeit: Gesammelte Konzertberichte und Rezensionen bis 1830*, ed. Stefan Kunze with Theodor Schmid, Andreas Traub, and Gerda Burkhard (Laaber, Germany: Laaber-Verlag, 1987), 269–71. Cook's interpretation of this passage, and of the reception history of *Wellingtons Sieg* more generally, places great emphasis on the phrase "once one accepts the idea" in this review. He argues that it signals the coexistence of two generic registers in contemporary orchestral music; see "The Other Beethoven," 11.

42. It should be noted that Weber himself claimed in a footnote to his essay that his critique of *Wellingtons Sieg* had been formulated as early as 1816.

43. Gottfried Weber, "Über Tonmalerei," *Cäcilia: Eine Zeitschrift für die musikalische Welt* 3 (Aug. 1825): 127–28.

44. Ibid., 135.

45. Ibid., 166–67.

46. Ibid., 169–70.

47. Ibid., 171–72.

48. The original copy is held in the Beethovenhaus, Bonn. Kinderman reproduces the relevant page as plate 13 in his *Beethoven*.

49. Kinderman puts Beethoven's words down to "a streak of defensiveness"—but does not question his terminology; see *Beethoven*, 177. Cook passes over Beethoven's terminology—perhaps because it might be seen to mar his otherwise convincing argument that *Wellingtons Sieg* was by no means an embarrassment to the composer or his public; see "The Other Beethoven," 9.

50. Cook argues that critics have failed to appreciate the specific generic identity of *Wellingtons Sieg*; see "The Other Beethoven," particularly 16.

51. Albrecht III, no. 344; *Briefwechsel* V, no. 1784.

52. Beethoven remarked in a note to the Archduke Rudolph from early 1814 that "such things have their fixed time-limits." See Anderson I, no. 475; *Briefwechsel* III, no. 692. Although he attempted to court the highest British plenipotentiaries at the Congress of Vienna, the Prince Regent never acknowledged the dedication. See the letter to Count Lichnowsky, 21 Sep. 1814. Anderson I, no. 498; *Briefwechsel* III, no. 740. See also Beethoven's later attempts to get a response from the Prince Regent with the letters to Johann Peter Salomon of 1 June 1815 and (most probably) to Count Razumovsky in the same month. Anderson II, no. 544 and no. 546; *Briefwechsel* III, no. 809 and 810. It seems that Beethoven was also planning a trip to London (possibly with Mälzel and the panharmonicon) to capitalize on the topicality of *Wellingtons Sieg*. He wrote to Zmeskall in a letter of 11 January 1814: "I must be off to London soon, if I am to make anything out of *Wellingtons Sieg*." See Anderson I, no. 459; *Briefwechsel* III, no. 691.

53. Beethoven withdrew the notice once he became embroiled in a legal dispute over the rights to *Wellingtons Sieg* with Mälzel; Schindler preserved it.

54. *Thayer's Life of Beethoven*, 567.

55. See Kinderman, *Beethoven*, 177; Lockwood, *Beethoven*, 339; and Solomon, *Beethoven*, 287. Older critics, notably Thayer, have tended to argue that Beethoven was not wholly serious about *Wellingtons Sieg*; see Cook's brief account of such critics in "The Other Beethoven," 7–9.

56. Only the word *Gelegenheitsgedicht* is included in Adelung's dictionary. See J. C. Adelung, *Grammatisch-kritischens Wörterbuch der Hochdeutschen Mundart*, vol. 2 (Vienna, Austria: Christian Friedrich Wappler, 1811), col. 529.

57. J. C. A. Grohmann, "Briefe über Gelegenheitsgedichte," *Der neue Teutsche Merkur* (June 1794): 109.

58. See Walter Langsam, *The Napoleonic Wars and German Nationalism in Austria* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1930), 82–86; also Rumph, *Beethoven After Napoleon*, 93–94.

59. The review, published in the *Wiener allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 8 (1824), is reprinted in *Ludwig van Beethoven, die Werke im Spiegel seiner Zeit*, 474–85. Kanne's relationship with Beethoven, considered separately from his well-known critical

writings, is summarized in Peter Clive, *Beethoven and His World: A Biographical Dictionary* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 181–82; Owen Jander, "Beethoven's 'Orpheus in Hades': the *Andante con moto* of the Fourth Piano Concerto," *Nineteenth-Century Music* (Spring 1985): 199–202; and Hermann Ulrich, "Beethoven Freund Friedrich August Kanne," *Österreichische Musik-Zeitung* 29 (1974): 75–80.

60. See Beethoven's letter to Joseph von Varena of 27 May 1813. Anderson I, no. 424; *Briefwechsel* II, no. 652.

61. Letter of 1 Jan. 1814. Anderson I, no. 456; *Briefwechsel* III, no. 688.

62. Letter of 20 Apr. 1812. Albrecht I, no. 161; *Briefwechsel* II, no. 573.

63. The final *scena* from *Die Ruinen von Athen* was performed in several concerts between 1812 and the end of the Congress, including Franz Clement's *Akademie* of 22 March 1812, the Society of Gratz charity concert on Easter Sunday of the same month, and, of course, Beethoven's own *Akademie* of 2 January 1814 in the Großer Redoutensaal. Moreover, the entire score of *Die Ruinen* was revived for the opening of the Theater an der Josephstadt in 1824, for which Beethoven supplied only one wholly new number and a new overture, *Die Weihe des Hauses*. Only after the composer's death did critics, equipped with a newer conception of the occasional piece, begin to question the lasting value of *Die Ruinen*. One of the earliest examples is the critic from Vienna's *Allgemeiner musikalischer Anzeiger*, who remarked in 1829 that Beethoven's piece "actually belongs in the category of occasional products" because Beethoven's decision to compose it did not come "from an inner urge" (*aus innerem Drang*). See *Beethoven, die Werke im Spiegel seiner Zeit*, 91.

64. Letter of March 1814. Anderson I, no. 469; *Briefwechsel* III, no. 705.

65. For the premium on "realism" in French opera, see David Charlton, "The French Theatrical Origins of *Fidelio*," in *Ludwig van Beethoven: Fidelio*, ed. Paul Robinson (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 56–57. Winton Dean writes of the forced union of "idealism and realism" in French opéra comique; see "French Opera," in *The New Oxford History of Music: The Age of Beethoven 1790–1830*, ed. Gerald Abraham (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1982), 30.

66. Indeed, in his strenuous efforts to convince the dubious Viennese censors to pass his libretto, Sonnleithner constantly reminded them of the revised setting of the action. See his letters of 2 and 3 October 1805. Albrecht I, no. 109 and no. 110; *Briefwechsel* I, no. 237 and no. 238.

67. Paul Robinson, "*Fidelio* and the French Revolution," in *Ludwig van Beethoven: Fidelio*, 70. For more on *Fidelio*'s mythic dimension, see Solomon, *Beethoven*, 256–59; also Helga Lühning, "Florestans Kerker im Rampenlicht: Zur Tradition des Sotterano," in *Beethoven zwischen Revolution und Restauration*, 141.

68. Theodor Adorno, *Beethoven: The Philosophy of Music*, ed. Rolf Tiedemann, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998), 164. Similarly, Robinson suggests that the progress from darkness to light betrays a fixation on transformation, renewal, and upheaval typical of the post-revolutionary mindset; see "*Fidelio* and the French Revolution," 75. One of the most influential accounts of the psychosocial repercussions of the post-revolutionary preoccupation with historical change remains R. R. Palmer, *The Age of the Democratic Revolution*, vol. 2 (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1964), 425–49.

69. For a summary of the differences between the versions of *Fidelio*, see Michael Tusa, "Beethoven's Essay in Opera: Historical, Text-Critical, and Interpretative Issues in *Fidelio*," in *The Cambridge Companion to Beethoven*, ed. Glenn Stanley (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 200–17. Winton Dean's classic assessment of the dramaturgical differences between the versions, "Beethoven and Opera," is reprinted in *Ludwig van Beethoven: Fidelio*, 22–50.

70. Robinson, "*Fidelio* and the French Revolution," 69.

71. Reprinted in Alexander Wheelock Thayer, *Ludwig van Beethovens Leben*, ed. Hugo Riemann from rev. ed. of Hermann Dieters (1901), vol. 3 (Leipzig, Germany: Breitkopf and Härtel, 1917), 432–33.

72. *Wiener Theaterzeitung* I (28 May 1814); *The Critical Reception of Beethoven's Compositions by His German Contemporaries*, ed. and trans. Wayne Senner, vol. 2 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2001), 180.

73. For a brief discussion of the Wellington craze, see Hans-Werner Küthen, "'Wellingtons Sieg oder die Schlacht bei Vittoria': Beethoven und das Epochenproblem Napoleon," in *Beethoven zwischen Revolution und Restauration*, 265–72.

74. See Willy Hess, "Zwei patriotische Singspiele von Friedrich Treitschke," *Beethoven Jahrbuch* (1969), 290.

75. It should be mentioned that German speakers have often referred to the Battle of Waterloo as the Battle of Belle-Alliance, after a nearby village.

76. Richard Will, *The Characteristic Symphony in the Age of Haydn and Beethoven* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 191.

77. Kinderman, *Beethoven*, 90.

78. Burnham, *Beethoven Hero*, 3.

79. Will, *Characteristic Symphony*, 215.

80. See Cook, "The Other Beethoven," 8; also Will, *Characteristic Symphony*, 231.

81. The letter must date from between 3 January (after the *Akademie*) and before the poems were published in the *Dramatischer Beobachter* on 7 January. See Albrecht II, no. 179; *Briefwechsel* III, no. 689. A scholarly edition of the poems, incorporating variant versions from the MSS and published versions, can be found in Alfred Christlieb Kalischer, *Beethoven und seine Zeitgenossen*, vol. 4 (Berlin, Germany: Schuster and Loeffler, 1908), 237–40.

82. Kalischer, *Zeitgenossen*, 238–39.

83. Ibid., 239.

84. Albrecht II, no. 179; *Briefwechsel* III, no. 689.

85. Letter of 20 March 1815. Albrecht II, no. 200; *Briefwechsel* III, no. 791.

86. Anderson II, no. 462; *Briefwechsel* III, no. 696.

87. *Berliner allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* I (12 May 1824); reproduced and translated as A. B. Marx, "A Few Words on the Symphony and Beethoven's Achievements in this Field," in *The Critical Reception of Beethoven's Compositions*, 1: 59–77.

88. Letter of 19 July 1825. Anderson III, no. 1403; *Briefwechsel* VI, no. 2015. Translation amended.

89. Marx, "A Few Words on the Symphony," 67.

90. Ibid., 69.

91. Ibid., 71.

92. Ibid., 67.

93. Ibid., 71.

94. A. B. Marx, *Ludwig van Beethoven: Leben und Schaffen* (Berlin, Germany: Janke, 1863), 237–38.

95. Ibid., 237.

96. Ibid., 237.

97. Ibid., 238.

98. This image has actually cropped up in a good deal of critical writing since; Tovey describes the finale of the Fifth as a procession in his *Beethoven*, ed. Hugo Foss (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1945), 17.

99. Thomas Röder, "Beethovens Sieg über die Schlachtenmusik," in *Beethoven zwischen Revolution und Restauration*, 244.

100. Will, *Characteristic Symphony*, 209. There are surely more of these moments in Beethoven's scherzo movements, which are frequently passed over, or at least undervalued, in Beethoven criticism. Admittedly, I am also passing over Beethoven's scherzos—first, because I want to query persistent critical tropes about the heroic style, which center largely on first movements, and, second, because I am interested in the conflict between Beethoven's extreme musical physicality and his idealizing aesthetic aspirations, which is perhaps most evident in his first-movement forms.

101. Marx, *Ludwig van Beethoven*, 253. Translated in Burnham, *Beethoven Hero*, 172n33; Burnham provides a list of similarly vivid descriptions of this passage.

102. Will, *Characteristic Symphony*, 209.

103. Cited and translated in Sipe, *Beethoven: "Eroica" Symphony*, 78.

104. John Spitzer, "Metaphors of the Orchestra—The Orchestra as Metaphor," *Musical Quarterly* 80, no. 2 (Summer 1996): 240–45.

105. *Berlinische Nachrichten von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen* 124 (17 Oct. 1815); reproduced and translated in *The Critical Reception of Beethoven's Compositions*, 2: 224.

106. See, for example, the letters of 20 and 29 May 1815. Anderson II, no. 542 and no. 543; *Briefwechsel* III, no. 807 and no. 808.

107. Alfred Einstein, "Beethoven's Military Style," in *Essays on Music* (London: Faber and Faber, 1958), 245.

108. Ibid., 244.

109. Ibid., 248.

Who Died? The Funeral March in Beethoven's Eroica *Symphony*

Rita Steblin

The story of Beethoven's Third Symphony, the *Eroica*, has long gripped the public imagination. The composer intended to dedicate this work to Bonaparte and then, in May 1804, ripped up the title page upon hearing that Napoleon had declared himself Emperor. In the past two centuries, many theories have been presented to explain the work's assumed programmatic content, in particular, the significance of the second movement, entitled in the manuscript score of 1804 simply "Marcia funebre." In 1998, Walther Brauneis repeated the most commonly held explanation in the recent literature—that Beethoven had written this *Trauermarsch* in C minor as an allusion to Bonaparte's heroic *Grande Armée*[1]—and then elaborated upon a new theory, first presented by Peter Schleuning, that when the work was initially published (the orchestral parts on 29 October 1806 with the title "Sinfonia Eroica composta per festeggiare il sovvenire di un grand Uomo" and the orchestral score in London in March 1809 with the title "Sinfonia Eroica composta per celebrare la morte d'un Eroe"), the Funeral March was meant to honor Prince Louis Ferdinand.[2] This Prussian prince had been killed on 10 October 1806 while fighting *against* Napoleon's troops. He was a close friend of the symphony's new dedicatee, Prince Franz Joseph von Lobkowitz, who is thought to have influenced the work's 1806 title. In the luxurious book on Beethoven published in Prague in 2000, Jaroslav Macek agreed with Brauneis that the 1809 title most likely referred to the Prussian prince's heroic death.[3] But, Louis Ferdinand was very much alive when Beethoven composed the C-minor *Marcia funebre* in 1803. In this essay I would like to address the question: Whose death inspired Beethoven to compose this tragic slow movement in the first place?

Before I present my new, speculative theory, I would like to examine how this question was treated in the past. The first reviews of the *Eroica*, published in 1805 and 1807 in the Leipzig *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, comment on the Funeral March's sweet and lovely

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Maggiore section and on the double fugue, but do not mention any connection with Napoleon.[4] In fact, it was not commonly known that Beethoven had written this symphony for Bonaparte until Wegeler and Ries published their *Biographische Notizen* in 1838, which included the anecdote about Beethoven ripping up the title page.[5] In 1840, Beethoven's secretary Anton Schindler corroborated this account and claimed that the original idea to compose a work celebrating Napoleon had been suggested to Beethoven by General Bernadotte, who was French ambassador to Vienna for two months in 1798.[6] I will not go into the details that make this tale from the notoriously untrustworthy Schindler highly problematic. However, other stories told by persons likewise close to Beethoven are just as contradictory. For example, Beethoven's piano student Carl Czerny related the following in the 1840s to Robert Cocks of London:

> His third symphony (Eroica) resulted from an error: the first news that arrived in Vienna about the Battle of Abukir reported that Nelson had been killed. The symphony's nature, in particular the theme of the first movement, was very suited to this occasion [a sea battle], although not for a battle on land. But the symphony appeared only several years later, since Beethoven worked for a very long time on his compositions.[7]

This same theory about the Battle of the Nile having inspired the composer's first thoughts about the *Eroica* was told to Otto Jahn in 1852 by Dr. Bertolini, Beethoven's long-time friend and physician.[8] (By way of explanation: this Egyptian battle, at which Horatio Nelson [1758–1805] obliterated the French fleet, took place on 1 August 1798. Two years later, in August 1800, Lord Nelson visited Vienna—even having breakfast with Beethoven's beloved piano student Josephine Brunswick-Deym[9]—and was still very much alive in 1803 when Beethoven composed the *Eroica*.) Just to confuse matters thoroughly, Carl Czerny told Otto Jahn that, according to this same Dr. Bertolini, it was the death of the English Admiral Abercrombie that gave Beethoven the initial idea for the Symphony.[10] I checked the *Wiener Zeitung* and found that Abercrombie's death, on 28 March 1801 after a sea battle near Alexandria, warranted only a brief mention.[11] But a history book published in Vienna in 1808 included a striking illustration of Abercrombie's death[12] (see Fig. 1). I suspect that it was this picture that may have influenced the Czerny-Bertolini recollection. These accounts are interesting because they show that several of Beethoven's contemporaries believed that the Funeral March was inspired by the death of a particular person, in fact, by someone fighting *against*

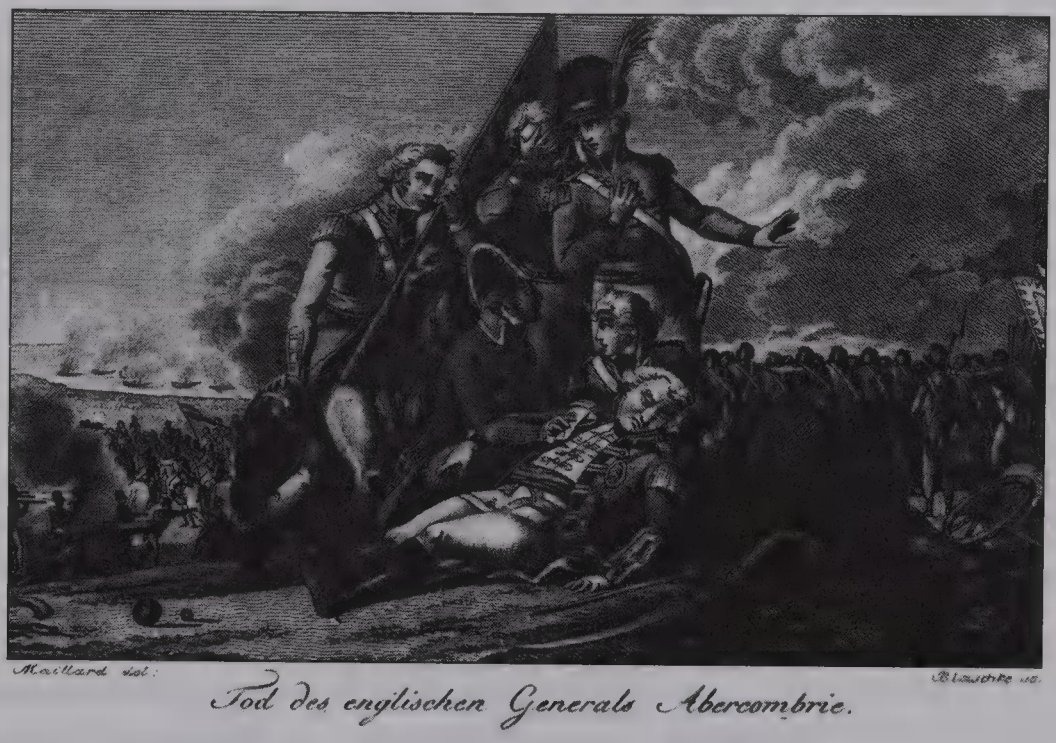

Figure 1. Death of the English General Sir Ralph Abercrombie, wounded in the Battle of Alexandria on 21 March 1801, died on 28 March 1801. Picture drawn by Maillard, engraved by Blaschke. From Johann Schwaldopler [pseudonym for J. B. Schütz], *Historisches Taschenbuch. Mit besonderer Hinsicht auf die Oesterreichischen Staaten. Erstes Bändchen. Geschichte des Jahres 1801*, 2nd rev. ed. (Vienna: Anton Doll, 1808), after page 124.

Napoleon. However, the names put forward—Lord Nelson or Admiral Abercrombie—have been rejected as implausible by subsequent scholarship. (The more recent view that the *Marcia funebre* honors a dead unknown soldier stems from a custom common to the twentieth century, and is thus anachronistic to Beethoven's era.)

In the meantime, all kinds of other theories have been suggested to account for Beethoven's mysterious inclusion of a funeral march in the *Eroica*. I will just mention some of the more prominent ones here.[13] In 1837, Hector Berlioz compared the funeral march to the rites for the slain Pallas from Virgil's *Aeneid*. In the 1840s, Richard Wagner believed that Beethoven was depicting the philosophical idea of heroism in all of its forms, including sorrow, and implied that Beethoven himself was the hero.[14] Arnold Schering argued in 1933 that Homer's *Iliad* had served as the inspiration for the *Eroica*, with Hector being the hero. Thus, the Funeral March portrays the Trojans mourning the slain Hector. In 1978, Constantin Floros drew a parallel between the program for Beethoven's ballet music *The Creatures of Prometheus*, performed in 1801, and the

Eroica, with Prometheus representing Napoleon and the Funeral March depicting the "threnody" over the god's mock death. This idea was further developed in 1989 by Peter Schleuning, who viewed *The Creatures of Prometheus* as a "covertly radical work" with the mock murder of the god indicating the death of Marat, the radical Jacobin who was stabbed in his bath. Thomas Sipe, in his 1998 book on the *Eroica* for the Cambridge Music Handbooks series, refutes Schleuning's theories on the grounds that they paint a false picture of Beethoven's political leanings, arguing that the composer supported the Enlightenment, but was not a Jacobin.[15] In 1985, Claude Palisca claimed that Beethoven alluded to Napoleon as the hero by incorporating French Revolutionary musical models in the *Marcia funebre*. He asked: "Could Beethoven have written the Funeral March without knowing any of the French repertory?"[16] Richard Burke has since answered this question in the affirmative, showing that the supposed French Revolutionary traits were already all present in eighteenth-century *Trauermusik*.[17] This particular genre not only included the famous funeral march in Giuseppe Sarti's opera *Giulio Sabino* (1781), but also pieces of mourning by Handel, Gluck, and Mozart. (I might also add that Mozart's "Maurerische Trauermusik," K. 477, and the two Funeral Pieces in F Minor for Musical Clock, K. 594 and 608, composed for the Laudon Mausoleum in Count Deym's museum, while not marches in the strict sense, were pieces of mourning honoring the deaths of specific persons. Beethoven was certainly familiar with the two works for musical clock since he possessed manuscript copies of them, given to him by Count Deym, probably in 1799.)

Others have regarded the *Eroica* Symphony not in mythological–literary–historical terms, but as an autobiographical work. Thus, according to Romain Rolland, Beethoven was struggling with the onset of his deafness, and in the Funeral March, he depicted his own death. This type of psychological approach was also followed by Maynard Solomon, who stated that "the symphony, with its Funeral March, is centrally concerned with the death of the hero as well as with his birth and resurrection."[18] Sipe disagrees with this theory as well, stating that "The symphony is not about the death and resurrection of a hero, as Solomon suggests. Instead, it is about the hero's character in all its manifestations, including grief and resignation over loss."[19] This idea was in fact first presented by Wagner, and in my opinion, makes the most sense (coming, as it were, from another great composer—one who understood).

What can we glean from Beethoven himself about this matter? Did he leave any clues about the meaning of his Funeral March? If we can trust Schindler, Beethoven allegedly commented, after hearing about

Napoleon's death on St. Helena in 1821, "that he had already composed the music appropriate to such a catastrophe, namely the Funeral March in the *Eroica*." Schindler continues:

> [Beethoven] went even further in describing the symbolism of this movement, for the theme of the middle section in C major was supposed to represent a new star of hope in Napoleon's reversed fortunes (his return to the political stage in 1815), and finally the great hero's powerful decision to withstand fate until, at the moment of surrender, he sinks to the ground and allows himself to be buried like any other mortal.[20]

Whether or not Schindler was reporting accurately in this case, the chronology is wrong here, since Napoleon was very much alive when Beethoven composed the symphony. This anecdote, however, may indicate that Beethoven regarded the slow movement to have a specific symbolic meaning. According to another anecdote, told by Alois Fuchs, Beethoven had remarked upon hearing that Napoleon had won a decisive victory over the Prussians at the Battle of Jena in 1806 that "It's a pity that I do not understand the art of war as well as I do the art of music, [otherwise] I would conquer him!"[21] I believe that this statement helps us understand Beethoven's original meaning. Wagner had intimated that the hero of the *Eroica* Symphony was not Napoleon, but Beethoven himself: Beethoven as the revolutionary liberator—the Napoleon—of music. Writing this symphony—setting out on a new path, as he described his aim—was itself a heroic act of great courage. If this theory is correct, then it is Beethoven himself who is grieving over the death of someone in the Funeral March.

Let us now examine Beethoven's life at a time closer to the composition of the *Eroica*. The great biographer Alexander Wheelock Thayer (1817–1897) observed that "Beethoven's dedications of important works throughout his life were, as a rule, made to persons from whom he had received, or from whom he had hopes of receiving, pecuniary benefits."[22] Table 1 shows the major early publications and their dedicatees. Prince Carl von Lichnowsky, in whose house Beethoven lived for many years and who supported him with generous financial gifts, was the dedicatee of numerous early works, including the Second Symphony. Another important patron, Prince Franz Joseph von Lobkowitz, paid for exclusive first use of the *Eroica*. After the fiasco with Napoleon, Beethoven dedicated this Third Symphony to this princely patron.

What about the First Symphony? This significant milestone in the composer's life. It is little known that Beethoven intended to dedicate

Table 1. Beethoven's Dedications

Work	Dedicatee	First Published
Op. 1: Three Trios	Prince Carl von/ Lichnowsky	May 1795
Op. 2: Three Piano Sonatas	Joseph Haydn	March 1796
Op. 13: Sonata Pathetique	Prince Carl von/ Lichnowsky	Fall 1799
Op. 18: String Quartets	Prince F. J. von Lobkowitz	October 1801
Op. 20: Septet	Empress Marie Therese	June 1802
Op. 21: Symphony No. 1	(*Elector Max Franz*)	(June 1801)
	Gottfried van Swieten	December 1801
Op. 36: Symphony No. 2	Prince Carl von/ Lichnowsky	March 1804
Op. 37: Piano Concerto No. 3	Prince Louis Ferdinand	Summer 1804
Op. 55: Symphony No. 3	(*Napoleon Bonaparte*)	(May 1804)
	Prince F. J. von Lobkowitz	October 1806

this work to the most important patron of his youth, the Elector of Cologne, Max Franz. Thayer did not know it.[23] This intention only became clear when Beethoven's letters to the Leipzig publisher Hoffmeister surfaced in the twentieth century. In a letter from June 1801, Beethoven specified that this "grande Simphonie" was to be dedicated to his Serene Highness Maximilian Franz.[24] After the Elector's sudden death five weeks later, on 26 July 1801, Beethoven delayed the naming of a new dedicatee so long that the publisher threatened to bring out the work without a dedication. Finally, by mid October, Beethoven chose Baron van Swieten to bear this honor. My new hypothesis is that Beethoven, because his plan to dedicate the First Symphony to Max Franz was thwarted, decided to honor his deceased ruler with a symphonic Funeral March.

Let us consider the known facts about Beethoven's relationship to Max Franz (see Table 2). As the youngest son of Empress Maria Theresia and brother to the enlightened Emperor Joseph II, Max Franz received an excellent education, including training in music.[25] He was on friendly terms with both Mozart and Haydn; Mozart, for example, composed the *dramma per musica*, *Il rè pastore* (K. 208) to honor the young Archduke's visit to Salzburg in April 1775. After arriving in Bonn in 1784 to begin his reign as Elector and Archbishop, Max Franz became Beethoven's most significant patron. He promoted Enlightenment ideas and founded the university of Bonn. He especially

Table 2. Time-Line for Max Franz and Beethoven

Maximilian Franz, Archduke of Austria, is born in Vienna on 8 Dec. 1756 as the youngest son of Empress Maria Theresia	
Receives an excellent education, including music: plays the viola and sings; has a kindly nature, loves humor	
1770: becomes a Knight of the Teutonic Order at the age of 14	*Ludwig van Beethoven* is born in Bonn on 16 Dec. 1770
1775: becomes acquainted with Mozart in Salzburg; visits his sister Marie Antoinette, the Queen of France, in Paris	(1775: Mozart composes *Il rè pastore*, K. 208 to honor Max Franz)
1780: is elected Coadjutor in Cologne and Münster; supports the Enlightenment policies of his brother Joseph II	1782: Beethoven, as an 11-year-old, begins serving as a court organist, with no salary
1784: upon the death of Kurfürst Max Friedrich, begins his reign as Kurfürst (Elector) in Bonn and Münster; introduces a rigid economy and educational reforms	1784: Max Franz assigns Beethoven a salary of 150 florins as Court organist (his teacher Neefe receives 200 florins)
1786, Nov. 20: founds a new university in Bonn, supports artists and musicians	1787, Apr. 7–20: Beethoven, officially "Kurköllnischer Kammervirtuos," is sent to Vienna by Max Franz to study with Mozart
1788: forms a National Theater in Bonn, with Beethoven playing viola in the orchestra	1789, May 14: Beethoven enrolls at the Bonn University as a candidate in philosophy
1790, Feb. 20: Emperor Joseph II dies	1790, Mar.–June: writes the Cantata WoO 87 on the Death of Emperor Joseph II
1790, Sep. 30: Leopold II is elected Holy Roman Emperor	1790, Sep.–Oct.: writes the Cantata WoO 88 for the election of Leopold II as Emperor
1792–93: French army victories force Max Franz to flee from Bonn on several occasions	1792, Nov.: is sent to Vienna by Max Franz to study with Haydn
1794, Oct. 2: French victories force the Elector to evacuate Bonn for the last time	1793, Nov.: Haydn and Beethoven send Max Franz a progress report

Continued

Table 2. Continued

1794–1800: Max Franz moves between Münster, Frankfurt, and Mergentheim	1796, Apr.: Beethoven's success in Leipzig is reported to Max Franz
1797, Oct. 18: Treaty of Campo Formio makes Bonn a "natural" part of France	1796–97: Beethoven writes two patriotic songs in support of the Austrians
1799, Apr.: Max Franz hears a performance of Paul Wranitzky's Peace Symphony	1799: Beethoven composes the Septet, op. 20, and the First Symphony, op. 21
1800, Apr. 28: Max Franz arrives in Vienna	1800, Apr. 2: Beethoven's first public concert
1801, June: election of a coadjutor at the Teutonic Order in Vienna	1801, May: arrival of Beethoven's friend Stephan Breuning, Teutonic Order official
1801, May–July: Max Franz lives in Schloß Hetzendorf, near Schloß Schönbrunn	1801, summer: Beethoven lives in Hetzendorf, sketches *Christus am Ölberge*
1801, July 26: Max Franz dies in Hetzendorf	1801, June 22: Beethoven wishes to dedicate the First Symphony to Max Franz
	1803: Beethoven composes the *Eroica*

supported music and the arts. In 1787, he sent Beethoven to Vienna to study with Mozart, and then again in 1792 to study with Haydn. It is important to note, in connection with my theory, that when the Hapsburg Emperor Joseph II died in 1790, Beethoven composed a Cantata in C Minor mourning his death. This large work was only discovered in 1884 and was unknown to Thayer when he published the three early volumes of his Beethoven biography in 1866–79. Also unknown to Thayer were the letters to Max Franz, written in November 1793 by Haydn and his pupil Beethoven.[26] These included recent compositions and the request for more money. The Elector's reply was a strong reprimand: he stated that most of the music had already been written earlier in Bonn—indicating that he expected great new music from Beethoven—and that he had already paid him 900 Gulden for the year, showing that he was still supporting Beethoven financially. Beethoven must have taken this judgment to heart. The next mention of the composer occurs in letters between Max Franz and his Chamberlain, von Schall—first discovered in the 1920s—that discuss Beethoven's highly successful visit to Leipzig in April 1796.[27] Schall reports that Beethoven "is said to have improved immensely and

to compose well." In his reply, Max Franz wishes the composer great financial success. Having been deposed by the French, the Elector was no longer able to support Beethoven himself. He was forced to wander from place to place, hoping for the Austrians to defeat the French so that he could return to Bonn. This is made clear in letters to his nephew Emperor Francis II(I), which also show his great concern for the poverty of his former subjects.[28] However, after the Austrians lost several key battles, the treaty of Campo Formio was signed on 17 October 1797, stipulating that the left bank of the Rhine, including Bonn, become a "natural" part of France. (Beethoven had earlier set two patriotic poems to encourage Vienna's volunteer army: WoO 121 and 122. Although he believed in Enlightenment ideas, he did not support the French extremists in this war.)

An important musical result of Austria's battles against France was the programmatic work *Grand Characteristic Symphony for the Peace with the French Republic*, op. 31, composed in late 1797 by Paul Wranitzky (1756–1808), the Empress Marie Therese's favorite composer.[29] This battle symphony contains a funeral march in C minor, mourning the death of Louis XVI, and thus is a direct forerunner to the *Eroica* Funeral March. Wranitzky was a close friend of Beethoven's. Carl Czerny reports that in c. 1801, when as a boy he visited Beethoven's apartment, Wranitzky was present there.[30] Even more important, Beethoven had wanted Wranitzky to conduct the premiere of his First Symphony at his first public concert on 2 April 1800.[31] Emperor Francis II(I) had issued a decree banning public performances of Wranitzky's symphony, perhaps because it began with a movement entitled "The Revolution," but the Empress included it in a private concert in February 1802.[32] I mention all of this because Elector Max Franz also heard a performance of Wranitzky's symphony—in Ansbach (near Nürnberg) in the spring of 1799—and gave the following detailed report in a letter dated 11 April 1799 to Chamberlain von Schall (see Fig. 2):

> Also, in passing through Ansbach, I heard a concert with a Peace Symphony by Wranitzky, for which the printed program was handed out. In the Andante—representing the national assembly—there prevailed, in my opinion, not enough confusion. Also, I would have set the movement about the peace treaty in B-flat minor, rather than in A major [*sic*]. The most beautiful section was the battle piece: all manner of noise was made here. But the whole piece ended with a rather too lovely Peace-Adagio [*sic*]. For the conclusion I would have wished here, above all, a complete, well-executed fugue. I do not know if it was a mistake by the performers, but there were so many false notes and chords in the lovely movement

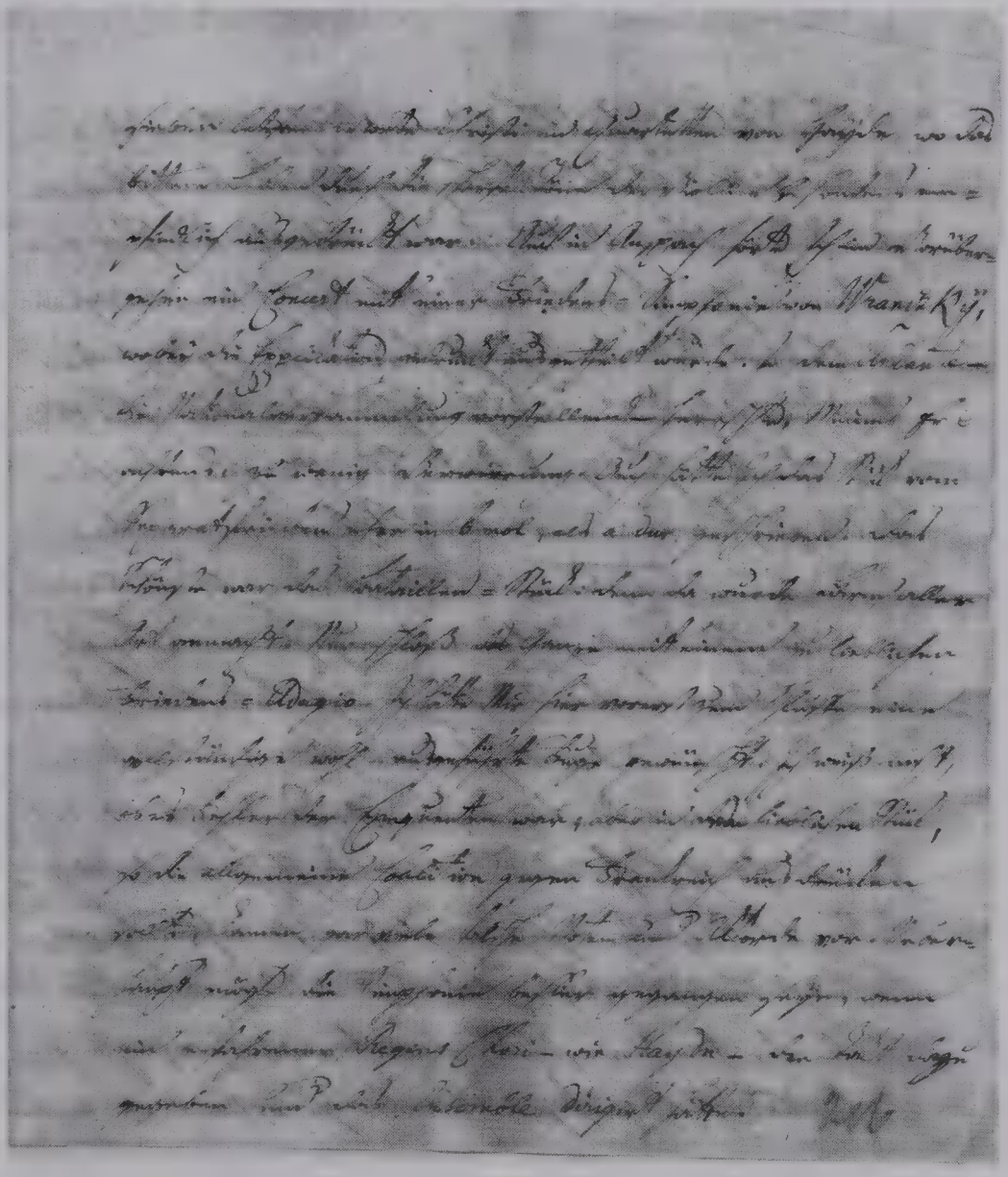

Figure 2. Letter from Elector Max Franz to Chamberlain Freiherr von Schall, dated Ellingen, 11 April 1799. Located in Vienna, HHStA, Habsburgisch-Lothringische Hausarchive, Family Correspondence A, box 51, fol. 216. Reproduced by permission.

> that was supposed to portray the general coalition against France. Indeed, the Symphony would have gone better if an experienced conductor—like Haydn—had kept the beat and directed the ensemble.[33]

This passage not only shows the Elector's noted sense of humor—interpreting political events in musical terms—but also his innate musicality. To understand his comments better, here is the symphony's program, with tempo markings and keys:

Paul Wranitzky's "Grand Characteristic Symphony for the Peace with the French Republic," op. 31, in C Major

(I) The Revolution: Andante maestoso—Allegro molto (C Minor)
March of the English (C Major)
March of the Austrians and Prussians: Tempo di marcia. Maestoso—Più allegro, tempo primo (E-flat Major)
(II) The Fate and Death of Louis XVI: Adagio affettuoso, con sordini (E-flat Major)
Funeral March (C Minor)
(III) March of the English: Tempo di marcia. Movibile (C Major)
March of the Allies (C Major)
Tumult of a Battle: Allegro (C Major)
(IV) The Peace Negotiations: Andante grazioso (G Major)
Rejoicing at the Restoration of Peace: Allegro vivace (C Major)

The key of the Andante, representing the negotiations for the peace treaty, is actually in G major: perhaps the pitch was too high and Max Franz heard the movement in A major, or he thought that the preceding battle with all its noise was in D major, rather than in the written key of C major. In any case, the Elector is alluding here to key characteristics.[34] Because the peace treaty of Campo Formio was such a tragedy for him, Max Franz joked that the dark, gloomy key of B-flat minor would be more suitable for this movement than cheerful A major. Most important, however, is his wish for a well-composed fugue. Is it too far-fetched to believe that when the Elector arrived at the Viennese court of his nephew Francis II(I), on 28 April 1800, he discussed this performance in Ansbach with Wranitzky, the Empress's favored composer, and/or with his former protegé Beethoven, repeating much the same views as in this letter? Beethoven had just given his first public concert on 2 April 1800 at the Burgtheater, which included the Septet, op. 20, dedicated to the Empress, as well as his First Symphony, op. 21. At the same time, Beethoven began composing the music to the ballet *The Creatures of Prometheus* on a subject suggested by the Empress. As is well known, Beethoven two years later used a theme from this Prometheus ballet for the fourth movement of his *Eroica* Symphony. In any case, it was after the Elector's arrival in Vienna that Beethoven announced his intention to dedicate the First Symphony to his former ruler. Of course, he would have had to gain his permission to do this (see Fig. 3).

There are two other clues that point to Beethoven's renewed contact with his former benefactor. In late May 1801, Stephan von Breuning, Beethoven's close friend in Bonn, arrived in Vienna

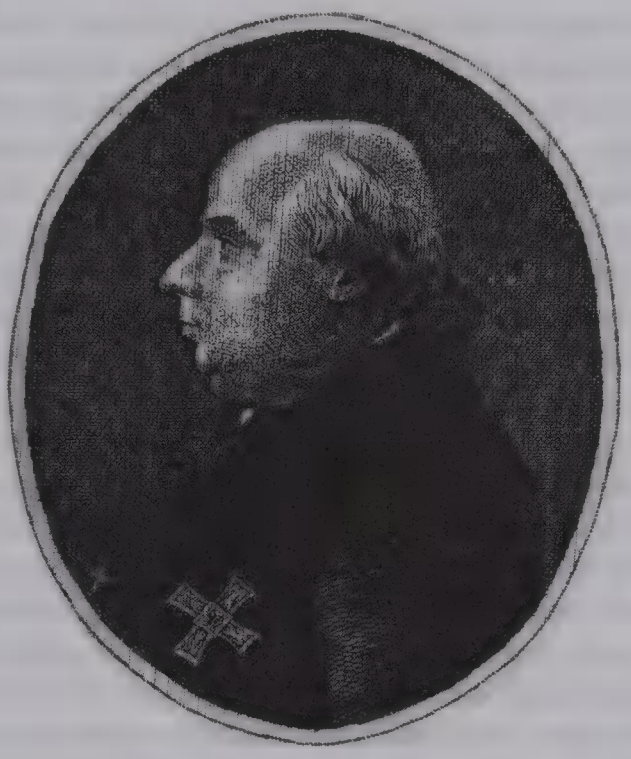

Figure 3. Elector Maximilian Franz (1756–1801). Engraving by Riedel, 1796. Shelf mark NB 508.295B, Austrian National Library, Bildarchiv, Vienna. Reproduced by permission.

to officiate at the election of Max Franz's coadjutor as Grandmaster of the Teutonic Order.[35] A month later, Beethoven wrote to Wegeler that he saw Breuning almost daily and that they had plans to share lodgings. Surely the two friends must have discussed the Elector, whose failing health was the reason for Breuning's presence in Vienna. The second clue is a report that Beethoven spent the summer of 1801 in the Viennese suburb of Hetzendorf, where the Elector was now living and where he died in late July. Thayer wrote in 1892 to Marie Lipsius, better known as 'La Mara':

> Trieste, 22 January 1892
>
> Dear and honored Lady . . . During the summer of 1801, we know that Beethoven lodged in Hetzendorf,—where Ex-Churfürst Max Franz resided and died July 26th that year—and composed his "Christus am Oelberge," in great part in the near Schönbrunn Garden. . . .
> With great respect for the Authoress "La Mara," I am, Madame,
> very sincerely yours, Alexander W. Thayer.[36]

Thayer based his knowledge on an anecdote by Schindler, whereby Beethoven in 1823 had shown him the spot in the garden at

Schönbrunn where he had sketched his cantata *Christus am Oelberge* while spending the summer of 1801 in Hetzendorf.[37]

In spite of his letter to La Mara, Thayer in general painted a negative picture of Beethoven's relations with Max Franz, and this has colored subsequent discussions. For example, after mentioning the Elector's financial support of Beethoven, Thayer asks: "With such facts before us, how is Beethoven to be relieved of the odium of ingratitude to his benefactor?"[38] But as we have seen, Thayer lacked several key bits of information. In my opinion, Beethoven *did* show his gratitude to Max Franz through his intention to dedicate the First Symphony to him, and, after this wish was thwarted, by composing the Funeral March in his memory. I also believe that there are two musical clues that support this conclusion. First, the joyful C-major section may be interpreted as symbolizing Beethoven's happy youth in Bonn, under the enlightened rule of Max Franz. Wegeler wrote in his *Notizen*: "It was a beautiful and in many ways active period in Bonn, so long as the genial Elector, Max Franz, Maria Theresia's youngest son and favorite, reigned there."[39] Beethoven also recalled in his letters to Wegeler from 1801 that he had happy memories of his life in his beautiful fatherland. Second, the double fugue may have been composed in light of the Elector's expressed wish for a well-executed fugue in a characteristic symphony.

Beethoven often had concrete programs in mind when composing his works. Some of these are known: for example, the message of the Piano Sonata in E-flat Major, op. 81a, known as "Lebewohl." The three movements represent the departure, absence, and return of Beethoven's student, Archduke Rudolph, who was forced in May 1809 to seek refuge from the approaching French army at Ofen (Budapest) for nine months. (This member of the Habsburg family, with whom Beethoven would continue to enjoy a close, long-time friendship, was Max Franz's nephew.) The real meanings behind other works, however, are still shrouded in mystery. The slow movement of the Piano Sonata in A-flat Major, op. 26, composed in 1800–1801, has the title "Marcia funebre sulla morte d'un Eroe," and thus offers a precedent for the title given to the *Eroica* Symphony funeral march in 1809. The claim of Beethoven's student Ferdinand Ries, who wrote in his 1838 biographical notes on the composer that Beethoven had been inspired by the funeral march in Ferdinand Paer's opera *Achilles*, was shown by Gustav Nottebohm to be chronologically impossible: Paer's opera was first performed in Vienna on 6 June 1801, long after Beethoven had begun to write the slow movement of op. 26 in mid 1800.[40] For similar chronological reasons, this funeral march could not have been inspired by the death, one year later, of Max Franz. (The hero of the piano sonata is still unknown.)

And yet, the title "on the death of a hero" may be significant for our consideration of the programmatic meaning of the funeral march in the *Eroica* Symphony. The copy from 1804 omits the epithet "composta per celebrare la morte d'un Eroe," using only the bare title: *Marcia funebre.*[41] The death of Elector Max Franz, who died in bed from a condition no doubt made worse by his obesity, was not a "heroic death" in the traditional sense of, for example, Prince Louis Ferdinand who was killed on the battlefield. Perhaps this was the reason for the bare title.

In conclusion, this Funeral March has led to "considerable confusion"[42] in the literature. Sipe, in his recent monograph on the *Eroica*, asks, for example: "Why does Beethoven bury his hero long before the end of the symphony?"[42] If Beethoven himself is the hero, in mourning over his deceased benefactor, then this is no longer a problem. The fact that the whole symphony was to be dedicated to Napoleon does not affect the situation. Napoleon had earlier held a competition for the best funeral march to celebrate the death of General Lazare Hoche, a competition that was won by Giovanni Paisiello.[43] Beethoven, the hero of music, wanted to impress Napoleon, the hero of war, with his musical genius. Thus, he wrote what has become the most powerfully moving funeral march in all of music, and left in its wake a great paradox, with the person being mourned a secret.

Notes

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Musicological Colloquium at the Brno International Music Festival (Colloquia musicologica Brunensia), vol. 40 (Prague: Koniasch Latin Press, forthcoming).

1. Walther Brauneis, "'. . . Composta per festeggiare il sovvenire di un grand uomo': Beethovens *Eroica* als Hommage des Fürsten Franz Joseph Maximilian von Lobkowitz für Louis Ferdinand von Preußen," *Österreichische Musikzeitschrift* 53, no. 12 (Dec. 1998): 4–24, at 6.

2. Martin Geck and Peter Schleuning, *"Geschrieben auf Bonaparte": Beethovens "Eroica": Revolution, Reaktion, Rezeption* (Reinbek: Rowohlt, 1989), 169.

3. Jaroslav Macek, "Die Uraufführung von Beethovens 'Sinfonia Eroica,'" in *Ludwig van Beethoven im Herzen Europas*, ed. Oldřich Pulkert and Hans-Werner Küthen (Prague: České lupkové závody, 2000), 274.

4. See Stefan Kunze, *Ludwig van Beethoven: Die Werke im Spiegel seiner Zeit* (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1987), esp. 50–51 and 61–62. See also the English translation in Wayne M. Senner, ed., *The Critical Reception of Beethoven's Compositions by His German Contemporaries*, vol. 2 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2001), 17, 24–25.

5. Franz G. Wegeler and Ferdinand Ries, *Biographische Notizen über Ludwig van Beethoven* [Koblenz, 1838], ed. Alfred Christlieb Kalischer (Berlin and Leipzig: Schuster & Loeffler, 1906), 93.

6. Anton Schindler, *Biographie von Ludwig van Beethoven* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1840), 55.

7. Carl Czerny, *Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben*, ed. Walter Kolneder (Strasbourg: P. H. Heitz, 1968), 47. The original reads: "Seine 3. Symphonie (Eroica) entstand aus einem Irrtum, insofern, als die ersten Nachrichten, die in Wien von der Schlacht bei Abukir ankamen, besagten, daß Nelson gefallen sei. Der Charakter der Symphonie, ebenso wie das Thema des ersten Satzes, waren sehr geeignet für diese Gelegenheit, obwohl nicht sehr passend für eine Schlacht auf dem Festlande. Die Symphonie erschien jedoch erst einige Jahre später, denn Beethoven arbeitete sehr lange Zeit an seinen Werken."

8. See Friedrich Kerst, *Die Erinnerungen an Beethoven*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart: Julius Hoffmann, 1925), 2: 194.

9. See my forthcoming book with the tentative title *Beethoven's Beloved Josephine, her Personality Revealed: The Marriage Letters with Count Joseph Deym.*

10. See Kerst, *Die Erinnerungen an Beethoven*, 1: 55–56.

11. *Wiener Zeitung*, 6 June 1801, 2078.

12. Johann Schwaldopler [pseudonym for J. B. Schütz], *Historisches Taschenbuch. Mit besonderer Hinsicht auf die Oesterreichischen Staaten. Erstes Bändchen. Geschichte des Jahres 1801*, 2nd rev. ed. (Vienna: Anton Doll, 1808), illus. after page 124. Beethoven is mentioned on pages 252 (*Prometheus* ballet) and 256 (the concert with Giovanni Punto in April 1800).

13. These theories are discussed at length in the following: Constantin Floros, *Beethovens Eroica und Prometheus-Musik* (Wilhelmshaven: Heinrichshofen, 1978); Geck and Schleuning, *"Geschrieben auf Bonaparte"* (footnote 2); and Thomas Sipe,

Beethoven: Eroica Symphony (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998). The individual bibliographic sources are readily available in these books.

14. See the discussion in Scott Burnham, *Beethoven Hero* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), xv. See also Floros, *Beethovens Eroica*, 16–17, Geck and Schleuning, "*Geschrieben auf Bonaparte*," 263, and Sipe, *Beethoven: Eroica Symphony*, 64–65.

15. See Sipe, *Beethoven: Eroica Symphony*, 36–37.

16. Claude V. Palisca, "French Revolutionary Models for Beethoven's *Eroica* Funeral March," in *Music and Context: Essays for John M. Ward*, ed. Anne Dhu Shapiro (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 1985), 198–209, at 208.

17. Richard Burke, "Revolutionary and Operatic Models for the Funeral March of the *Eroica* Symphony," *Beethoven Journal* 19, no. 1 (Summer 2004): 2–9. See also Burke's PhD dissertation "The marche funèbre from Beethoven to Mahler" (City University of New York, 1991), esp. 43, 50, 67, 72, and 85.

18. Maynard Solomon, *Beethoven* (New York: Schirmer, 1977), 140.

19. Sipe, *Beethoven: Eroica Symphony*, 105.

20. Anton Schindler, *Beethoven as I Knew Him*, ed. Donald W. MacArdle, trans. Constance S. Jolly (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1966), 116.

21. See *Thayer's Life of Beethoven*, ed. Elliot Forbes (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967), 403. The original German reads: "Schade! daß ich die Kriegskunst nicht so verstehe wie die Tonkunst, ich würde ihn doch besiegen!"

22. *Thayer's Life of Beethoven*, 107.

23. See the footnote 6 inserted by Elliot Forbes in *Thayer's Life of Beethoven*, 107.

24. See Ludwig van Beethoven, *Briefwechsel: Gesamtausgabe*, vol. 1: *1783–1807*, ed. Sieghard Brandenburg (Munich: G. Henle Verlag, 1996), 76–77. See also the explanation in footnote 1 on 87–88.

25. For the most comprehensive study of Max Franz, see Max Braubach, *Maria Theresias jüngster Sohn Max Franz: Letzter Kurfürst von Köln und Fürstbischof von Münster* (Vienna, Austria and Munich, Germany: Herold, 1961).

26. See *Thayer's Life of Beethoven*, 144–46. These letters were first published by Fritz von Reinöhl in 1935.

27. These letters are located in the Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv (HHStA), Vienna, HA Fam.-Korr. A, box 51, and were discovered by Max Braubach. See the discussion (and translation) in *Thayer's Life of Beethoven*, 184. See also Braubach, *Max Franz von Österreich* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1925), 214–15.

28. These unpublished letters are located in Vienna's HHStA, HA Fam.-Korr. A, box 27.

29. See the program notes by Heinz Anderle in Paul Wranitzky, *Grande Symphonie characteristique pour la Paix avec la République Française (1797)*, music score ed. Josef Wagner (Vienna: Heinz Anderle, 1997). See also Richard Will, *The Characteristic Symphony in the Age of Haydn and Beethoven* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

30. See Czerny, *Erinnerungen*, 13.

31. See Peter Clive, *Beethoven and His World: A Biographical Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 402.

32. See John A. Rice, *Empress Marie Therese and Music at the Viennese Court 1792–1807* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 158–59.

33. HHStA, Vienna, HA Fam.-Korr. A, box 51, folder 216. This excerpt was published in the 1961 book by Max Braubach, *Maria Theresias jüngster Sohn Max Franz*, 255, with an unfortunate error: "Separatfrieden eher in c-moll"—transcribing the original "b-moll" (B-flat minor) as "c-moll" (C minor). See Fig. 2. The whole section reads in the original: "Auch in Anspach hörte Ich im vorübergehen ein *Concert* mit einer Friedens-Simphonie von *Wranizky*, wobey die Explikation gedruckt ausgetheilt wurde. In dem *Andante*—die Nationalversammlung vorstellend—herrschte, Meines Erachtens, zu wenig Verwirrung. Auch hätte Ich das Stück vom Separatfrieden eher in *b mol*, als *a dur*, geschrieben. Das Schönste war das Bataillen-Stück: denn da wurde Lärm aller Art gemacht. Nur schloß das Ganze mit einem zu lieblichen Friedens-*Adagio*. Ich hätte Mir hier vorerst zum Schlusse eine vollständige wohl ausgeführte Fuge gewünscht. Ich weiß nicht, ob es Fehler der Exequenten war; aber in dem lieblichen Stück, so die allgemeine Coalition gegen Frankreich ausdrücken sollte, kamen gar viele falsche Noten und Akkorde vor. Ueberhaupt mögte die Simphonie besser gegangen seyn, wenn ein erfahrener *Regens Chori*—wie *Haydn*—den Takt dazu gegeben und das *Ensemble* dirigirt hätte."

34. "Key Characteristics in the 18th and Early 19th Centuries: A Historical Approach" was the title of my PhD dissertation at the University of Illinois (Urbana-Champaign) in 1981. It was published in expanded form as *A History of Key Characteristics in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1983), and in a 2nd rev. ed. by Rochester University Press in 2002.

35. *Thayer's Life of Beethoven*, 280.

36. Goethe- und Schiller-Archiv, Weimar: Liszt 59/414, U3, Film 36/1994.

37. See Schindler, *Beethoven as I Knew Him*, 99.

38. *Thayer's Life of Beethoven*, 114.

39. English translation in *Thayer's Life of Beethoven*, 75.

40. See Gustav Nottebohm, *Zweite Beethoveniana: Nachgelassene Aufsätze* (Leipzig: J. Rieter-Biedermann, 1887), 237. See also the discussion in Burke's 1991 dissertation, "The marche funèbre from Beethoven to Mahler," 74, and in Helmut Loos, "Beethovens Trauermarsch aus op. 26 und WoO 96," in *Beiträge zu Beethovens Kammermusik. Symposion Bonn 1984*, ed. Sieghard Brandenburg and Helmut Loos (Munich: G. Henle, 1987), 207, 213.

41. Walther Brauneis believes, however, that the words "sulla morte d'un Eroe" were originally written after the title "Marcia funebre" and were erased in connection with the supposed planned rededication of the symphony to Prince Louis Ferdinand (before his death). See Brauneis, "Beethovens *Eroica* als Hommage," 18–19. If these words were in fact originally written on the manuscript copy—they are so smudged that it is difficult to say for sure—then Brauneis's argument for their erasure, that one would not dedicate a funeral march "on the death of a hero" to a living hero, is illogical since

Beethoven originally intended to dedicate the *Eroica* to Napoleon, who was definitely a living hero.

42. Sipe, *Beethoven: Eroica Symphony*, 96.

43. See Geck and Schleuning, "*Geschrieben auf Bonaparte*," 62.

Class, Ideology, and il caso Scelsi

Eric Drott

Il caso Scelsi

In 1987 the opening concert of the International Society for Contemporary Music's World Music Days in Cologne was dedicated to the music of Giacinto Scelsi. This event cemented the iconic status of the eighty-two-year-old Italian composer, and culminated a process of artistic consecration begun just a few years before—a process that had transformed Scelsi from a composer whose works were little-known and seldom performed prior to 1980 into one of the most prominent figures in the European new music community. The beginnings of this re-evaluation of his work can be traced to the early 1980s, specifically to the publication in 1981 of a volume in Heinz-Klaus Metzger's *Musik-Konzepte* series dedicated to Scelsi's life and music. Renewed critical interest in his music helped garner performances—most notably at Darmstadt in 1982—so that by the time of his death in August 1988, Scelsi had become something of a cult figure.[1] In less than a decade, a hitherto marginal figure in the European new music scene had risen to a position of renown that few others have had the privilege or luck of attaining.

Few could have foreseen this turn of events. Though Scelsi had enjoyed some success during the course of his fifty years as a composer, nothing portended such a rapid increase in his prestige or popularity. Born into southern Italian nobility in 1905, Scelsi had been drawn to music from an early age, purportedly spending hours improvising at the piano as a child.[2] During the first phase of his career as a composer—dating from his first work, *Rotative* of 1929, to his large-scale cantata *La nascita del verbo* of 1948—Scelsi's works exhibited a stylistic restlessness, experimenting at one time or another with "machine music," post-Scriabin chromaticism, neoclassicism, and a Second Viennese style heavily indebted to Alban Berg. Following the completion of *La nascita* Scelsi suffered a nervous breakdown and for the next four years confined himself to a Swiss sanitarium (like much of his biography, the details of this particular episode remain murky). He resumed composing upon his return to Rome in the early 1950s, and over the course of the next

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decade Scelsi refined the "single-note" style for which he would become famous. The majority of works written during this second phase of his compositional career—from 1952 until 1975, when he more or less ceased composing—fall within the parameters of this style, in which a single focal pitch or cluster of pitches is animated by means of subtle timbral shifts, registral displacements, and microtonal inflections (his 1959 composition *Quattro Pezzi* [*su una nota sola*] is the work most often pointed to as exemplifying Scelsi's mature style). At the same time, Scelsi largely withdrew from public view, his pieces seldom finding performances. Nonetheless, he remained relatively active in the musical life of Rome, especially through his support of such groups as Nuova Consonanza, and his music continued to arouse the interest of younger composers, including Franco Evangelisti, Alvin Curran, Frederic Rzewski, Gérard Grisey, and Tristan Murail.

As important as the 1987 International Society for Contemporary Music concerts were in certifying Scelsi's arrival as a major figure in postwar European music, it was an interview with the composer Vieri Tosatti published a few months after Scelsi's death, in the January 1989 issue of the magazine *Il giornale della musica*, that helped ensure the latter's continuing notoriety. In the course of the interview, entitled "Giacinto Scelsi, c'est moi," Tosatti recounts how Scelsi had employed him as an assistant over a period of some twenty-five years, from the 1940s to the early 1970s.[3] In this capacity Tosatti, along with a stable of other assistants Scelsi hired over the years,[4] helped produce many of the scores that in the 1980s would win the composer a wide following among critics and aficionados of new music. Despite his claim to have acted more as a ghostwriter than as an assistant, effectively composing much of Scelsi's œuvre himself, Tosatti expresses no desire to claim this music as his own, deeming it to be of negligible artistic value. He insists that his intention is to clear away the "mystification" surrounding Scelsi's compositions, which he attributes to critics either too unscrupulous or incompetent to recognize Scelsi's lack of genuine talent: "If I am now going to say some things that won't cast a positive light on Giacinto Scelsi's figure as a composer, this doesn't mean that I had anything against him. I do have something against the mystification whereby Scelsi's music is taken to be good, just as one hundred percent of what the accredited critics consider to be the music of our time is taken to be good."[5]

Tosatti's account of his work with Scelsi divides into a series of distinct periods. In the 1940s, at the time of Scelsi's short-lived infatuation with twelve-tone music, Tosatti maintains that he and others did much of the composing for Scelsi. He alleges, for instance, to have fashioned String Quartet No. 1 largely on his own, having been given but a few

jottings to work with: "He presented me a group of seven, twelve notes, and said to me: 'This could be a row.' 'Why not?' I answered. And I added a few flats and sharps in a way that would produce a real row. . . . Satisfied with it, I then went ahead and composed the piece."[6] In the second phase, following Scelsi's nervous breakdown, Tosatti's main task was to transcribe recordings Scelsi had made of his improvisations. In the early 1950s, these improvisations were performed at the piano (most likely the basis of the piano suites from this period).[7] In the later 1950s, Scelsi began improvising on an ondiola, a small electric keyboard, since it offered a greater range of timbral and microtonal possibilities than the piano. By means of a primitive form of overdubbing (he would record himself playing a single line, and then record himself on another tape deck playing against this line, and so forth), Scelsi was able to create increasingly complex recordings, which led in turn to increasingly complex scores.[8] Yet Tosatti is unsparing in his evaluation of Scelsi's skills as an improviser, describing his piano playing as little more than doodling: "Scelsi sat himself at the piano and played, which is to say he tinkled much as a child might do; it came as it came."[9] In the last phase of their collaboration—what Tosatti calls the "abstract" period—Scelsi would provide an entirely different point of compositional departure: "He gave me drawings, very simple drawings, a rectangle, a circle. And on the basis of these drawings I had to write music."[10]

Controversy ensued from the publication of Tosatti's interview. For the next few months much ink was spilt on the pages of *Il giornale della musica* and other journals as Scelsi's advocates and critics weighed in on what was soon to be known as *il caso Scelsi*. On the one hand, Scelsi's defenders castigated Tosatti for seeking to discredit the work of a visionary composer, when his own music, though proficient, lacked inspiration. Indeed, for many of Scelsi's advocates his alleged dilettantism was not a shortcoming but an advantage; it was professionalism that instead assumed a pejorative cast.[11] The poet Robin Freeman, contemplating the praise Irvine Arditti and other musicians heaped on Scelsi's string quartets, wonders "what reaction the score of a quartet written in the consummately professional style of Vieri Tosatti would have provoked instead."[12] In addition, by characterizing expertise and craftsmanship negatively, Scelsi's defenders were able to cast the criticisms lodged by composers like Tosatti as motivated by professional self-interest, an attempt to reclaim the prestige accorded to Scelsi's music for himself. On the other hand, Scelsi's detractors denounced what they saw as the corruption of a musical community that would celebrate a figure of such dubious merit. Scelsi became emblematic of the tendency among critics

to valorize novelty and eccentricity at the expense of true compositional craftsmanship. Hence the composer Lorenzo Ferrero remarked,

> In a conception of music that places radical innovation at the highest level of aesthetic value, forgetting all the other qualities that make Beethoven and Mozart, Verdi and Puccini, Mahler and Stravinsky dear [to us], the figure of Scelsi, intently fiddling around on his ondioline, far from being scandalous assumes an almost heroic, sublime dimension: his colleagues . . . seem by comparison wretched artisans, incapable of liberating themselves from the slavery of a by-now useless craft.[13]

What is more, the disclosure of his musical deficiencies suggested that Scelsi himself was a construction, a screen upon which critics could project their aesthetic and intellectual desires. As the author of one letter to *Il giornale della musica* observed, this fetish object took on a life of its own: "The Scelsi myth was a creation of the musicologists [who] no longer wanted or knew how to stop it."[14]

At the same time as *il caso Scelsi* demonstrated the degree to which traditional conceptions of authorship and genius continue to dominate matters of aesthetic judgment, the controversy articulated a number of antagonisms long dormant within the new music community.[15] Tosatti's claims were like a depth charge that brought to surface oppositions that had long set various camps—critics and composers, the avant-garde and moderates, professionals and amateurs—apart from and against one another. Yet superimposed on this set of oppositions lurked the specter of yet another antagonism, one that further animated the debate. Class—in particular Scelsi's rank as a member of the southern Italian nobility—formed an absent center around which much of the debate revolved. The charge of dilettantism is a case in point. Far from being solely a matter of Scelsi's lack of accredited musical training or his deficiencies in notating music, the assertion carries with it a freight of associations pertaining to the aristocracy: Scelsi, in short, is slotted into the familiar role of the cultivated amateur.[16] Resentment toward the figure of the aristocratic dilettante has existed at least since the eighteenth century, when the argument that society was divided into productive and unproductive classes became an ideological weapon in the bourgeoisie's incipient struggle against the old regime.[17] Thus, in response to the aristocracy's perceived disengagement from and disdain for productive activity arises an equal and opposite disdain for the amateurism that this disengagement engenders. By articulating an artistic attribute—amateurism—in terms of Scelsi's social rank, his detractors channel this resentment, bringing it to bear as a means of evaluating his

music.[18] This is particularly evident when they contrast his aesthetic cultivation with his lack of talent or training. Tosatti observes, for instance, that "Scelsi was himself a person of considerable culture and many interests (he took an interest in oriental philosophies as well), but from the practical point of view he was a bit infantile."[19] The same attitude is evinced by Pierre Boulez in his recollections of Scelsi: "Myself, I knew him personally. He was a very intelligent man—nice and cultivated. But, I mean, he was an amateur, simply that."[20]

Such oblique allusions to class are not confined to the polemics of *il caso Scelsi*, but pervade much of the literature that has grown up around this body of work in the last twenty-five years. To maintain, however, that class is the absent center of *il caso Scelsi* is not to say that writers disregard it, but that it is treated as a curiosity, just another of the composer's many peculiarities. Nonetheless, critics and musicologists appear to relish recording the particulars of Scelsi's background, not a few of whom betray a certain bedazzlement in the face of his title and rank. Julian Anderson, in a short article on Scelsi's music, writes that "[Scelsi] vouchsafed what he considered the essentials of his biography in a little free-verse poem printed at the head of Editions Salabert's catalogue of his works. Curiously, he omits to mention his aristocratic title—Count D'Ayala Valva—but *does* put in such exotic details as the reception at Buckingham Palace that followed his marriage in London to a cousin of the Queen, as well as his strange education (comprising "fencing, chess, and Latin") and his travels to Napel [*sic*] and India to study yoga."[21] Similarly, Christopher Fox, in his recent *New Grove* article on Scelsi, writes that "he was born into southern Italian aristocracy, inheriting the title Count d'Ayala Valva, and as a young man traveled extensively, moving within Europe's most elevated social circles."[22] Such comments—usually infused with equal measures of curiosity and awe—abound in the literature. Yet the consequences that this social fact have for the representation of Scelsi's music (including those put forward by Scelsi himself) are left more or less unreflected, noted and then quickly passed over.[23]

In the present article I attempt to disentangle some of the discursive threads woven around the figure of Giacinto Scelsi. What I do not attempt is to resolve the conflicts over the value of Scelsi's music, or to determine the veracity of Tosatti's statements; it will be some time before the exact nature and extent of Scelsi's collaboration with other composers can be clarified. Rather, this article undertakes to show how the reception of Scelsi's music is influenced by broader narratives of the aristocracy's decline. While it is a truism that class plays a significant role in mediating cultural production, the unusual position that Scelsi

occupied within the modern social landscape—an aristocrat living in a post-aristocratic era—makes this particular social determinant all the more pointed in representations of his life and music. Indeed, Scelsi's own self-representations—in interviews, essays, and even in some of his explicitly programmatic works—betray the oblique influence of narratives of aristocratic decline. Yet in tracing the influence exerted by such narratives, be it in the writings of his critics or in those of Scelsi himself, it is crucial to bear in mind that the category of class is not the sole determinant in the reception of Scelsi's music. And even then, the discourses of class exert their influence on its reception only to the extent that they are filtered through the discourses and oppositions peculiar to the field of contemporary music; as I have already noted, a term like "dilettante" is overdetermined, its meaning in the confines of *il caso Scelsi* controlled jointly by its social and its artistic connotations. For this reason I seek to demonstrate at the end of the article how the social antagonisms outlined over its course are mapped onto and refracted by aesthetic antagonisms in the quarrels surrounding *il caso Scelsi*.

Narratives of Decline, Figures of Anachronism

Central to discussions of Scelsi's life and music are a pair of intertwined motifs, decline and anachronism. Taken as a representative of an outmoded and unproductive land-owning aristocracy, Scelsi serves as the embodiment of a class displaced by capitalist modernity. The most pointed expression of this idea comes in Claudio Annibaldi's essay "Der Schuldlose Musiker: Postillen zu einem Verlagskatalog," which highlights the contradiction that exists between Scelsi's faith in the ascendance of nobility—exhibited in the quote from the *I Ching* found on the back cover of a short fictive narrative Scelsi published toward the end of his life, *Il Sogno 101: il Parte e il Ritorno*—and the tenuous situation in which this social group actually finds itself. The passage from the *I Ching* Scelsi cites contrasts the "rising path" of the noble to the "declining path" of the ignoble, a sentiment which, as Annibaldi points out, "enters in direct contact to an expressly particular moment of the inner life of the author."[24] Annibaldi's comment makes clear that although "nobility" may be understood as referring to a spiritual or moral quality, its other connotation as a designation of social rank is hard to ignore. For this reason, Annibaldi views the epigraph as symptomatic of Scelsi's ideologically blinkered vision, a naïve and guiltless belief rooted in his particular social rank. What Scelsi disregards, in Annibaldi's mind, is that "since 1789 there has been no rising path except for that of the commoner."[25]

Seemingly self-evident, Annibaldi's allusion to the French Revolution is predicated on a widespread narrative of modern history, one in which the year 1789 signals the triumph of the rising bourgeoisie over the old regime. Tom Nairn, in his deconstruction of that most glaring example of aristocratic anachronism, the British monarchy, summarizes the main contours of this narrative:

> To locate the *ancien régime* set-up as pre-1789 can imply that it ended at that date—or if not ended (a progressive qualifying cough at this point), that it was at least "fatally undermined," on the slide. Monarchy, aristocracy, religion and rural servitude survived only with the auctioneer's ticket on them, relics to be knocked down at some soon-forthcoming event and made over to the irresistibly rising middle classes. . . . What remained of the *ancien-régime* world was already just a façade or superstructure, material for antiquarians, ready for the rational new forces to (another old favourite) "sweep away."[26]

A kind of shorthand, 1789 marks the symbolic tipping point after which traditional society was doomed, to be dismantled sooner or later by the newly liberated forces of capitalism.[27] That date marks the point at which the new political order's main beneficiaries, the bourgeoisie, take center stage in the unfolding drama of modernity. And perhaps most significantly for understanding the discourses surrounding Scelsi, 1789 signals the dividing line after which the scions of the old regime—the landed aristocracy—are consigned to historical irrelevance. Henceforth marginalized, deprived of a legitimate or meaningful role in society, aristocrats like Scelsi belong to a class who (as the character von Rauffenstein puts it at the end of Jean Renoir's *La grande illusion*) have nothing left to do but finish "dragging out a useless existence."[28]

Though most explicit in Annibaldi's essay, this narrative of aristocratic decline permeates the Scelsi literature. Usually it is expressed obliquely, recast in existential or personal terms instead of socio-historic ones. In biographical accounts of the composer, there are two main ways of intimating decline: one finds symbolic expression in the composer's physical condition, the other in his psychological makeup. Within these two main categories, one can locate four recurring tropes: his physical deterioration, his lack of offspring, his eccentricity, and his social isolation. Unremarkable by themselves, such tropes betray an underlying logic when taken as an ensemble.

1. *Physical deterioration.* Scelsi's advanced age at the time of his "discovery" in the 1980s has been much remarked upon by critics. Descriptions of the composer in liner notes, essays, and the mainstream

press during the last decade of his life often draw attention to his physical frailty; for instance, one of the earliest essays published in America on Scelsi's music relays to the reader the composer's senescence with the title "Giacinto Scelsi at Sunset."[29] The cellist Frances Marie Uitti recalls her first meeting with the composer, recounting how she was approached by "a short, dignified man of quite some age." She continues by describing the "embroidered, mirror-encrusted cap [that] was perched upon a barely visible head, out of which peered two intensely vibrant eyes."[30] Grisey likewise recounts being introduced to "a small man with white hair and blue, dolorous eyes."[31] The abundance of such descriptions suggest that they go beyond a purely objective accounting of the composer's appearance and rather serve a symbolic function, whereby the composer's physical deterioration embodies a kind of social decline. Old age becomes the marker of anachronism. Scelsi's own comments feed these representations, as Freeman's account of Scelsi's reaction to the destruction of his family's hereditary castle attest: "After the Naples earthquake of 1980, which flattened the mediaeval hill town of Valva and with it the family castle and its library, Scelsi said: *crolla il castello, crolla il padrone*. The castle falls to bits and so does its master."[32] Scelsi establishes a circular relationship, whereby the physical decline of his later years simultaneously reflects and is reflected in the collapse of his hereditary home.

2. *The end of the bloodline*. The emphasis that authors place on the fact that Scelsi produced no heirs also appears to assume symbolic weight. Franco Sciannameo recalls how he was told by Scelsi's erstwhile publisher, Renato DeSantis, that the composer was "Count Giacinto Scelsi d'Ayala Valva, the *last* scion of an ancient Sicilian family probably of Spanish ancestry. He lives like a recluse in his house on Via San Teodoro, overlooking the Roman Forum" (emphasis mine).[33] Similarly, Freeman begins a short essay on Scelsi with the statement, "Giacinto Scelsi, *last* Count of Dayala Valva [*sic*] and one of the most extraordinary composers of the century, died in Rome on 9 August 1988 at the age of 85" (emphasis mine).[34] By calling attention to the seemingly irrelevant fact that Scelsi was the final count of D'Ayala Valva, these authors emphasize what might be described as the composer's social age, his status as the final node in a genealogy that reaches back centuries. In a sense, such comments effectively telescope the terminal status of Scelsi's class, such that the end of the bloodline mirrors the trajectory of the landed nobility as a whole. Indeed, one might further take the faint hint at lost sexual or procreative potency present in such comments as standing in for a loss of political power. Such an interpretation would contend that the old regime's inability to reproduce its power in social

or political terms is symbolically transferred to the plane of biological reproduction—a transfer partially compensated by Scelsi's artistic fecundity.

3. *Eccentricity*. Comments concerning the composer's psychological makeup, like those pertaining to aspects of his physical state, also allow for an allegorical reading. Central to the Scelsi narrative are accounts of his mental collapse in the late 1940s, which is treated as the turning point in Scelsi's compositional career. Not only would this episode mark the onset of the composer's general withdrawal from the European new music community (a point I will return to shortly), but more importantly it would also come to be seen as the incubation period during which Scelsi's late style—with its concentration on long, drawn-out sonorities—would first develop. One anecdote from this episode in particular has attained near-mythic status in the Scelsi literature: the story of how the composer, in order to penetrate the depths of a single sound, would sit at the piano for days on end, playing the same note over and over. This anecdote is the linchpin of Scelsi's biography, incontrovertible testimony to the composer's eccentricity—eccentricity understood in its most literal sense of being at a remove from dominant social conventions.[35] In another context this might connote a kind of exaggerated bohemianism, but again, remarks concerning Scelsi's peculiarity feed into perceptions that the composer has been dislocated historically, that he is a bit of flotsam cast up on the shores of the modern world.

4. *Alienation*. Descriptions of Scelsi's ascetic, reclusive lifestyle compound this sense of socio-historical dislocation. His famous disengagement with the broader musical community reinforces the perception that the composer was alienated from contemporary society as a whole. Like other members of the vestigial aristocracy, Scelsi is understood to be an anachronism, living outside his proper epoch. As such he assumes an aura of foreignness. Adriano Cremonese attests to this fact when he notes that "outsiderness" has been "the prevailing key to the interpretation of [Scelsi's] works,"[36] an observation seconded by Gianmario Borio, who writes that "in most interpretative efforts to date he is represented as a loner within music history."[37] Peter Niklas Wilson comments that "Giacinto Scelsi's music is a foreign body in the corpus of new music."[38] Hans Zender describes Scelsi as "a meteorite that has burst into our culture."[39] Curran likewise comments that "it was as if Scelsi had studied music on another planet in order to come here and apply his knowledge and techniques to our comic earthly instruments and voices."[40] In all of these cases, Scelsi is depicted as figuratively removed from the present. His temporal displacement is recast in spatial terms, hence the tendency to view him as "foreign" or extraterrestrial.

The conjunction of these four tropes in the Scelsi literature suggests that interpretations of the composer are caught up in a broader set of representations of the social class to which he belongs. In this way the composer not only comes to function as a symbol for an entire socio-historic formation, but the understanding of his particular situation (as symbol) is in turn conditioned by widely shared perceptions concerning the aristocracy's changing fortunes. Yet the fact that narratives of aristocratic decline should help shape the reception of Scelsi's music, coloring even the most basic of biographical facts, is simply a reflection of the power it exerts on the collective imagination. One can recognize its contours in novels, plays, and films, appearing prominently in works by Honoré de Balzac, Anton Chekhov, Marcel Proust, Hugo von Hoffmannsthal, Giuseppe Tomasi di Lampedusa, and Jean Renoir. In reading Scelsi's biography through this lens, authors work within a relatively durable framework of representations. What is more, this narrative is inscribed within a yet broader metanarrative, one which comprises the ensemble of stories that make up the discourse of modernization. This constitutes what might be described as the outermost rim of social history—that is, the level of the *longue durée*, the shift from one social formation to another, from one mode of production to another. Since, as Frederic Jameson has argued, every narrative utterance operates within multiple historical horizons simultaneously, it stands to reason that comments concerning Scelsi's personal situation stake a position vis-à-vis modernity.[41] Or, to put it differently, the divergent attitudes different groups exhibit with respect to modernization and its consequences will inflect the depiction of aristocratic decline and, by extension, Scelsi's social position.

Perhaps the dominant stance in this regard has been the liberal-progressive paradigm alluded to above, which has habitually overestimated the forces of political and economic liberalization and—as a consequence—has underestimated the capacity of the old regime's social formations to resist change. Yet as Arno Mayer, Perry Anderson, Nairn[42] and others have pointed out, the displacement of the old regime's political, economic, and social formations was hardly a smooth and unilinear process. Political structures and agrarian economies typically understood to be premodern in character were still able to dominate much of Europe through to World War I (and, in some cases, beyond). Deprived of their feudal privileges, the nobility in many cases turned to the political and military institutions of the state to retain their hold on power.[43] And rather than accede passively to a rising industrialist class or succumb to the steady pull of bourgeoisification, the older elite still retained the power of social distinction—the power, that

is, to co-opt by means of ennoblement or to exclude by withholding the symbols of social rank.[44] Even in a country such as England—at the forefront of industrialization and thus presumably on the cutting edge of modernity—these strategies for safeguarding power were so effective that the entrenched aristocracy was perceived throughout the nineteenth century to be as much of an impediment to the assertion of bourgeois power as the working classes: "Alongside the throttling tentacles of the hereditary aristocratic monopoly, the disturbances, disorders and insubordinations of the working classes were but an intermittent nuisance."[45]

In regions where industrialization had not made such advances over the course of the nineteenth century, the resilience of the old order in the face of changing socio-economic conditions was even more pronounced. Such was the case in much of southern Italy, where land-ownership remained concentrated in the hands of a small group of elites well into the twentieth century (some of whom were, like Scelsi, members of the vestigial nobility).[46] Although attempts at land reform were undertaken throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, it was only after World War II, in response to the mass uprisings of peasants in the south—uprisings which often met with violent resistance on the part of the landowners[47]—that legislative measures finally made significant headway in dismantling the large estates. Even then, land-owners more often than not successfully circumvented land reform laws.[48] As late as 1967 an observer could comment that "in a few southern villages one or two families still today can be classified legiti-mately as members of the old feudal nobility. In other villages, such people are only occasional visitors, and serve merely as reminders of an age now increasingly forgotten."[49] Scelsi, a resident in Rome from the 1950s until his death, falls into this category of the urbanized, absentee landowner.

Nevertheless, the image that comes into focus within liberal-progressive accounts of modernization is one in which the dissolution of the old regime proceeds steadily and inexorably, brought on by irresisti-ble, transpersonal forces. By minimizing the resistance thrown up by the landowning classes, this stance suggests that such impediments were mere hiccups in what was an otherwise uniform and, in Mayer's words, "inevitable growth of capitalist industrialization, social leveling, and pol-itical liberalization."[50] What the liberal version of history disregards is that "holdovers" from earlier social formations might not simply be aber-rations within a steady process of modernization, but part and parcel of economic development under capitalism. Such holdovers exemplify what Ernst Bloch termed "nonsynchronicity," the coexistence of different

modes of production within a given historic moment, or what Immanuel Wallerstein and other world-system theorists have described in terms of the global economy's unequal geographic division into a developed core and an economically and politically subordinated periphery.[51] (Within the confines of Italy, such a division has been figured in the historical split between the industrial North and the primarily agrarian South.) In this light, the liberal-progressive belief that the landed elite was trapped in an irreversible downward spiral after 1789 is overly optimistic. Indeed, it can be seen as possessing a strategic value, a means of discrediting the previous social order in order to validate the present one. Likewise, the continuing existence of anything associated with or representative of the old regime—such as Scelsi—is treated within this framework as a historical quirk. In any event, this accounting of modern history plays a crucial role in the allegorical structure of the Scelsi literature: for the farther back on the historical horizon that the landed nobility's relegation may be situated, the greater the sense of dislocation that adheres to the person of Scelsi. Therein lies the symbolic resonance of Annibaldi's closing comment. By citing 1789 as the point at which the "rising path" is henceforth barred to the nobility, he casts Scelsi in a tragic light. It is as though the latter's fate is sealed from the outset, doomed to marginalization.

Of course not all accounts of modernization are affirmative. To the extent that authors adopt a critical stance toward modernity and its consequences, their depiction of aristocratic decline may assume a mournful tinge. Dissatisfaction with industrial (or postindustrial) society may lead to an identification with the various classes perceived to be antagonistic to the primary agents of industrialization, the bourgeoisie, which may in turn translate into a more sympathetic portrayal of a figure such as Scelsi. Following Michael Löwy and Robert Sayre, we might refer to this as a form of "romantic anti-capitalism," an outlook defined by its "opposition to capitalism in the name of pre-capitalist values."[52] Indeed, a good deal of the Scelsi literature—especially that which extols the composer's virtues—exhibits aspects of this position, treating the composer as the incarnation of "pre-capitalist values," so that both he and his music absorb a host of sentiments, simultaneously nostalgic and utopian. For instance, Zender valorizes Scelsi's pursuit of both poetry and music, because this diversity of artistic endeavors evinces a premodern attitude, one that eschews specialization in favor of a holistic view of art: "Scelsi's music stems from an archaic art, established prior to the differentiation of the arts."[53] Henk de Velde, on the other hand, views Scelsi's music as hearkening back to a time before the rationalizing forces within Western, post-Enlightenment culture had metastasized. His narrative, in

large measure derived from Max Weber's sociology of music, traces a progressive regimentation of Western musical practice, from the time of the Carolingian reforms through the adoption of equal temperament, culminating in postwar serialism. Within this overarching framework, Scelsi's music cannot help but seem like a backlash: "For the first time in the Western tradition we have a genuine musical œuvre which has brought to light the underside of this musical tradition. The system of constraining rational control was transgressed in order to make room for a subtly sensuous, almost organic connection to sound."[54] Finally, Wilson defends Scelsi's compositional process against its detractors by arguing that it partakes of an older practice, predating musical notation. The fact that Scelsi hired assistants to transcribe his improvisations does not reflect a lack of skill or effort, but draws upon a different kind of musical discipline, one based in improvisation. The problem thus lies not in Scelsi's practice per se, but in the fact that the composer was born into "an age of paper music."[55]

According to such accounts Scelsi's music recollects a premodern, precapitalist world, one that precedes rationalization, specialization, and the reifying effects of notation. As Sayre and Löwy put it, such accounts hearken back to a "period when the alienations of the present did not yet exist."[56] This helps explain why Scelsi's defenders fought so vigorously on his behalf in *il caso Scelsi*. At first glance, the debate merely rehearses the long-standing struggle between class fractions over the apportionment of cultural capital, a struggle that has surfaced time and again within the artistic field during the modern period. The debate exemplifies, in almost textbook fashion, Pierre Bourdieu's model of the cultural field's "chiasmic" structure: on one side stands Tosatti, a traditionalist, who possesses institutional recognition but lacks critical validation; on the other side stands Scelsi, a radical composer, who possesses critical validation but lacks institutional recognition (or at least did so until late in life).[57] Because the field is structured by two competing principles—economic/institutional success on the one hand and critical acclaim on the other—each side of the dispute can see itself with justification as unfairly excluded from some resource or another. Scelsi's defenders decry their opponents' access to and control over various institutional channels (e.g., radio and publishing houses), at the same time as Tosatti's defenders decry their opponents' access to and control over the means of critical evaluation.[58] But the struggle regarding Scelsi engages in addition his value as a receptacle for the nostalgic sentiments described above. Seen by his detractors as a typically facile dabbler, Scelsi is praised by his defenders for embodying values that have eroded since the advent of modernity. In fact, for his supporters he

is more than this: for at the same time as Scelsi figures as an emblem of a romanticized precapitalist past, his alienation from present-day society vouchsafes his (very modern) status as an individual genius chafing against the constraints of convention. His radical musical aesthetic is understood to point toward the future,[59] while his social rank ties him to the past. Either way, his music always points elsewhere, never anchored in the here and now.

Man of Extremes

If critics have drawn upon widespread representations of aristocratic decline in their portrayals of Scelsi, it should come as no surprise that his own utterances—musical as well as verbal—betray the influence of these representations as well. Needless to say, his response to depictions of his class's purported dissolution is mediated by his position as a member of this class. Consequently, his ideological enunciations assume a defensive air, either distorting or deflecting the narrative's most threatening aspects in order to safeguard his identity. Two strategies in particular emerge. One is to imaginatively circumvent the narrative of aristocratic decline by disavowing the potency of the medium through which this decline takes place—that is, by disavowing history itself, by placing himself beyond its grasp. I will address this strategy in the next section of the article.

The other, more curious strategy is to exaggerate the imagery of decline. We have already seen an example of this in his linking of the collapse of the familial castle to his physical deterioration. Yet it is in two anecdotes he related in an interview conducted shortly before his death where such exaggeration is most readily apparent. Both recount his experiences in Paris during the 1920s and 1930s, and both concern his encounter with White Russian émigrés—dislocated nobility *par excellence*. In one anecdote he addresses himself (in the second person) as a "man of extremes," cavorting with individuals from both ends of the social spectrum. He remarks that in Paris "you spend an evening . . . sitting beside a tramp. And he tells you that he was an officer of the guard under the Tsar of all Russians, that he helped in the murder of Rasputin, killed by Prince Ioussoupov." But on the other hand, when in London "you eat strawberries and cream with the Queen of England."[60]

In the other anecdote, his recollections of a German princess trigger by association the memory of an impoverished Russian prince:

> There was a woman who was the natural daughter of the German crown prince. She was married to Prince Löwenstein. She would leave Paris in

> order to go and dine in London, and then she would return to Paris in order to go to the theater. Because in London they dine early. I met her one time at the Ritz. Why was I at the Ritz? Once again, it's one of my extremes. . . . I had an appointment with Daniel Volkonsky, who was leaving for America. He was one of the Russian refugees after the October Revolution, having fled to Europe. He was without money, he and his father, a prince who was more than two meters tall. They had cut off his gas and electricity, [but] then I intervened. But they couldn't stay here, they had to leave for America. They still had their titles, [and] even if the titles were Russian, all the same they were of importance. And this woman, Bianca Löwenstein, arrived. "What are you doing here?"—"I'm waiting for Fritz, who must come to London to have dinner with me there." Then a chap from the hotel came up: "Madame has a call on the telephone." Then she returned: "Fritz isn't coming. Then it's just me who's going, I have phoned the airport, the plane is waiting for me."—"Well, this I can't swallow," I said to her, "airplanes don't wait for anyone."—"Yes, but they wait for me because they know me."[61]

In both of these anecdotes aristocratic decline is personified. And while they evince Scelsi's awareness that such a change in fortunes was at least possible—though not certain, as the counterexample of the princess indicates—what is particularly striking about them is how drastic they are. The degradation of the nobility portrayed here is absolute; the only thing that Daniel Volkonsky can retain is his title. The aristocrat (or his placeholder, in the case of the tsar's guard) is reduced to a state of abject destitution, homeless or about to be so. Such apocalyptic inflections of this narrative may be understood as defensive measures, a way of de-realizing it, of attenuating its implicit threat by rendering decline a fantastic—and thus less probable—eventuality. Yet Scelsi's evocation of absolute degradation resonates as well with his self-description as a "man of extremes": in conjoining high and low in the figures of Volkonsky and the tsar's guard, what Scelsi scrupulously avoids is reference to the middle, to that which stands between aristocracy on the one hand and penury on the other. In this way Scelsi is able to deny what is, perhaps, the more immediate threat to his class position, the threat of a relative decline into the ranks of the bourgeoisie. His self-representation as a man of extremes brings together opposing poles, the high and the low, insofar as both are defined in opposition to the bourgeois middle.[62]

Indeed, the very nature of Scelsi's relationship with his assistants may well have exacerbated his sensitivity to the potential drag on his rank. For in appropriating the surplus artistic value that his assistants'

transcriptions bestowed upon his music, Scelsi became a cultural capitalist, one who profits from the unrecompensed—in this case unacknowledged—artistic labor of others. As the employer, Scelsi reserved the right to claim sole authorship over the music and thus ownership of whatever (cultural) capital they might subsequently accrue, notwithstanding his protestations to have been more a medium than a composer. In this sense the exploitation of the assistants' compositional labor takes place on two planes simultaneously: not only at the material level (leading Friedrich Jaecker to describe the relation between Scelsi and his assistants as one involving the "exchange of alienated work for money"), but also at the symbolic level, in terms of the accumulation of prestige.[63] At both levels, a contradictory relationship comes into being between Scelsi's avowed class identity and the process entailed by his working relationship with Tosatti and others.[64] In this light, Scelsi's adamant assertion in his writings and interviews that the artist was of a qualitatively superior order relative to the artisan, the simple craftsman, can be understood less as the prerogative that drove him to employ assistants in the first place, than as a means of justifying, after the fact, the compromises that this relationship forced upon him.[65] This assertion reinscribes an absolute, ontological difference in what would otherwise appear as an exchange between two formally equal agents. Rather than acknowledge that the value of his music stems in part from the contributions made by his assistants, Scelsi's adherence to this symbolic division permits him to discount their labor even as he enjoys its fruits.[66]

The Disavowal of History

The second strategy Scelsi adopts to counter the narratives of decline is to deny history its potency, at least at a noumenal level. History becomes a mere appearance, thereby removing a sense of existential threat from the prospect of his class's socio-historic marginalization. This may be understood as an extreme version of the conservative ideology, especially its proclivity to celebrate allegedly eternal values, seen to be rooted in an abstract, dehistoricized past. As such, Scelsi's disavowal of history is akin to other components of the conservative ideology: its fatalism, its nostalgia for a romanticized medieval epoch, and its interpretation of modernity as a form of degeneration or fall from grace.

What is striking is that Scelsi's disavowal of history came only later in life, following his breakdown in the late 1940s. Prior to this, his writings on music exhibit what Gregory Reish has described as a "historicist" inclination, a faith in the inevitable progress of Western music toward higher technical and spiritual planes.[67] In three essays written in the early 1940s,

"Sens de la musique," "Evolution du rythme," and "Evolution de l'harmonie," Scelsi expatiates at length on the relationship between music and "essential" human qualities. Heavily influenced by Rudolf Steiner's anthroposophy, Scelsi's nascent aesthetic holds that music possesses four basic dimensions—rhythm, harmony, melody, and form—which correspond to the four "creative forces" of the human being—vitality, "psyche" (i.e., the unconscious), emotion, and intellect, respectively.[68] He argues further that Western music has developed the last two of these dimensions (melody and form) at the expense of the others, an aesthetic imbalance that reflects the innate disposition of Western consciousness to emphasize emotion and intellect above all else.[69] The essentialism underpinning his argument becomes manifest in his subsequent assertion that African and "Oriental" musics are likewise weighted toward particular dimensions (rhythm and harmony) as a consequence of their alleged racial traits. Scelsi remarks that the "extraordinary rhythmic language of the Africans" and the "subtle Oriental harmonies of quarters, eighths, or sixteenths of a tone" express "the rhythmic and psychic characters that generally dominate these races."[70] With the advent of modernism, however, the hitherto neglected dimensions of rhythm and harmony gain greater weight in Western music. Although Scelsi attributes this in part to the increasing exposure of composers to non-Western music, he assigns it primarily to immanent transformations in Western consciousness itself. Musical progress is viewed as an index of spiritual progress, so that any change that music might undergo is ultimately an effect of intrinsic causes rather than extrinsic influences.

In any event, Scelsi's aesthetic at this point in his career displays a striking optimism with respect to the future, which, in his eyes, promises a reawakening of dimensions long dormant within European culture. Not surprisingly, Scelsi reserves terms like evolution and progress solely for Western music, with the consequence that everything outside the purview of European culture is deemed to stand outside history as well.[71] The Other is robbed of agency. But in the writings and interviews that postdate his breakdown—what Reish calls his "spiritualist" texts—the relationship between Western music and its Others changes. Downplaying the idea that music's transformations reflect the evolution of a collective historical subject, he emphasizes instead music's potential to act as a vehicle for personal spiritual development.[72] In this respect, Asian music comes off better than its European counterpart, which, in Scelsi's estimation, lacks comprehension of sound's innate power:

> I will say only that in general, western classical music has devoted practically all of its attention to the musical framework, which it calls the musical form. It has neglected to study the laws of sonorous energy, to

> think of music in terms of energy, which is life. Thus it has produced thousands of magnificent frameworks which are often rather empty. . . . I will give you an example. Throughout Europe we have quite beautiful church bells, though many of them were melted to make cannons or shells. The rest of them, however, whether ancient or modern, are treated in the same manner, that is, mistreated by sacristans who pull the rope however they wish, without rhythm, in any manner, and the heaviest ones are made to work by an electric motor.[73]

Although he does not say so explicitly, Scelsi's association of this alleged spiritual emptiness with machinery and technology (that is, the destruction of church bells to make the artillery necessary for mechanized warfare, and the operation of remaining bells by electrical means) makes it clear that he sees modernity itself as the culprit that is to blame for the degradation of the European ethos. He compares this to the "respect" accorded to gongs in Asian cultures, cultures that have presumably avoided the "disenchantment of the world" evident in the West: "In the Orient, in India, Japan, China or Tibet, gongs—which have the same role in temples [as bells have in churches]—are struck with the greatest respect."[74] The Orient is thus celebrated as a site of timeless, utopian refuge from the depredations of European modernity.

By inverting the values he attached to different cultures in his earlier writings, Scelsi embraces the very absence of history that he had formerly located in non-Western music—a maneuver that nonetheless still operates according to the logic of orientalism's unequal distribution of representational power. (As Matthew Head has observed, "Orientalism does not diminish, the more 'sympathetically' a non-Western or indigenous Other is portrayed.")[75] It is difficult to say what caused this loss of faith in the progressive evolution of European music and culture. The fact that it follows upon his separation from his wife on the one hand and his nervous breakdown on the other suggests two possible biographical causes. Another, more suggestive reason may be that the immediate postwar period saw the long-deferred decline of the southern Italian nobility begin in earnest, with the enactment of land reforms and the abolition of titles.[76] Whatever the cause, the newfound desire to dissociate himself from the modernity he had formerly celebrated required him to declare his independence from both historic and geographic constraints. Hence Scelsi insists in his later writings upon the capacity of both art and artist to transcend social and historical conditions: "[The artwork] can be created without regard to nationalistic or foreign influence, or the influence of a group or of individuals. It is necessary to consider the artist in and of himself, with his own

faculties, and [to consider] the artwork more as the result of the creative faculties of the artist."[77] While he admits that "it is difficult to isolate the artist from his milieu," Scelsi nonetheless argues that such factors are secondary to our understanding of art: "Even ignorance of all these factors does not destroy the really essential quality of the work that proceeds from the fundamental elements of the artist himself."[78] Although it may appear that Scelsi adheres to a kind of latter-day romanticism, where the autonomy of the artwork is vouchsafed by the transcendent authority of the individual artist, it is important to stress that for him the artist's creativity is ultimately an expression of a cosmic, transpersonal force. Thus he defines the "creative faculty" as the "crystallization of an instant of *durée* and its projection by the artist out of himself," noting that with the term *durée* he designates "motion, and all that creates the phenomenology of the universe and its life."[79]

Having freed the artist from fixed geographical and historical boundaries, Scelsi is now able to realign himself with various non-Western Others, one of the major preoccupations of his late work. Textually, this is apparent in the eclectic titles given to his compositions beginning in the early 1950s, which refer the listener to a vast, somewhat indiscriminate array of non-Western cultures. To name a few: *Ko-Tha (Three Dances of Shiva)*; *Aion (Four Episodes in a Day of Brahma)*; *Uaxuctum (The Legend of the Mayan City Which They Themselves Destroyed for Religious Reasons)*; *Anahit (A Lyrical Poem Dedicated to Venus)*; and *Pwyll*, whose title supposedly refers to a Welsh druid ritual. Musically, this identification with a timeless Other is apparent in his adoption of various "sonic" orientalisms—especially the drones that populate his later works—that complement the "conceptual" orientalism of his aesthetic.[80] The conjunction of these textual and musical cues helps Scelsi figuratively to relocate his music, so that it no longer appears to participate in the historical evolution of European music celebrated in his earlier writings. Instead it is positioned outside this bounded geographical space and, as a result, beyond the reach of historical time.

The longing to overcome the constraints of culture and history finds its most succinct expression in a short text written around 1980, in which he describes his residence on Via San Teodoro in Rome. "This is Rome. Rome is the boundary between East and West. South of Rome, the East starts, and north of Rome the West starts. This borderline now, runs exactly over the Forum Romanum. There's my house, this explains my life and my music."[81] Annibaldi rightly detects in this comment a quintessentially aristocratic identification of self with property.[82] But I would point out in addition that this remark tellingly conflates a

variety of spaces (so that east and south represent traditional, premodern societies, while north and west represent modern ones), at the same time it places Scelsi above—and thus outside—the very divisions it describes. By asserting that his residence rests exactly at the borderline where these different geographical and cultural regions converge, Scelsi signals to the reader that he inhabits all of them equally and belongs to none in particular. Less obvious perhaps is the corresponding transcendence of historical time, which his reference to the Roman Forum intimates. That is, he locates his apartment not just at the point where the lines demarcating north, south, east, and west intersect, but at the point where past and present seemingly coexist. Geographical proximity acts to signify Scelsi's profound, organic connection to the past.

Scelsi's reference to the Forum, like his embrace of ostensibly premodern cultures, exemplifies one particular form that his disavowal of history may take—what I would describe as the archeological form of disavowal, which seeks a return to (if not a resuscitation of) some distant, antediluvian past. The fact that the titles of his works often have their provenance not just in Asian languages but in dead ones as well is a reflection of this particular inclination; *Konx-Om-Pax* is but the most extreme case, with its stringing together of Assyrian, Sanskrit, and Latin words for peace. Similarly, Scelsi's conviction that music, if it is not to be devoid of spiritual content, must tap into sound's latent energies partakes of this same mentality, to the extent that he identifies sound with the mythic origins of the universe: "Yes, one might consider sound the cosmic force that is the basis of everything. There is a beautiful definition that says: 'Sound is the first movement of the unmovable,' and this is the beginning of creation."[83] This conception of sound as a primordial force, one that precedes history as such, implies that all music that succeeds in capturing and "crystallizing" a moment of cosmic "*durée*" does so by channeling this originary sound, by making the mythic past present.[84]

The complement to this archeological attitude is a teleological one, in which Scelsi envisions an escape from the temporal world to a plane of spiritual transcendence. While he hints at such an escape in his essay "Sound and Music" when he describes how a small number of the spiritual elect are granted the privilege of reaching higher planes of consciousness (a number that would no doubt include himself),[85] the teleological disavowal of history emerges most clearly in the programmatic depiction of transcendence that can be found in a number of his works. In the String Quartet No. 3, for instance, the headings given each of its five movements, taken together, describe a quest for liberation and catharsis:

Movement 1: "with great tenderness"

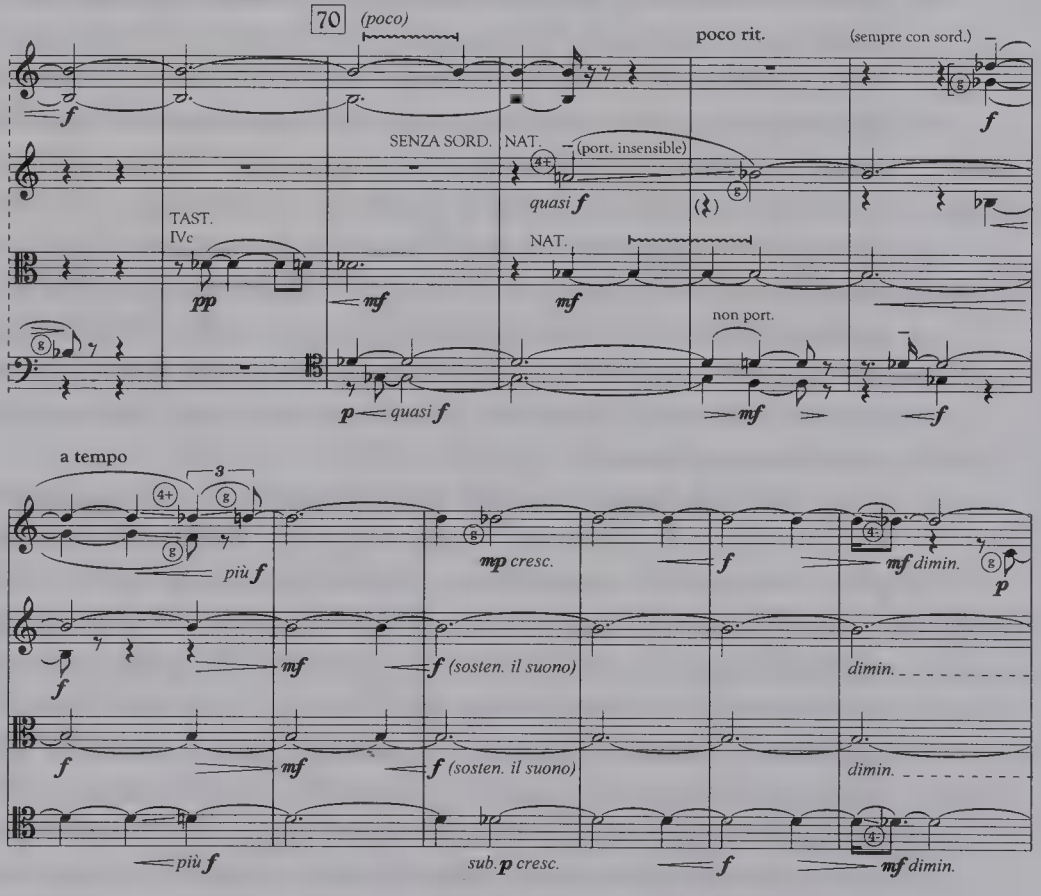
Movement 2: "the spirit calls: dualism, ambivalence, conflict (drammatico)"

Movement 3: "the soul awakens"

Movement 4:" . . . and falls once more into pathos but now with a sense of imminent release (con tristezza)"

Movement 5: "liberation, catharsis"

How then does Scelsi depict this journey toward enlightenment? A first hint is given at the climax of the first movement (mm. 70–74), at which point a series of triads emerges unexpectedly (see Ex. 1). The alternating major triads, with roots on G-flat and B-flat might not seem all that remarkable in another context; but in terms of Scelsi's mature style, where the music rarely strays far from a given drone, the appearance of a harmony—even one as banal as a major triad—seems like a momentous event. Indeed, for much of the first movement melodic and harmonic motion is restricted, remaining close to the focal pitch-class B-flat (the exception is a melody in mm. 48–60, which circulates within

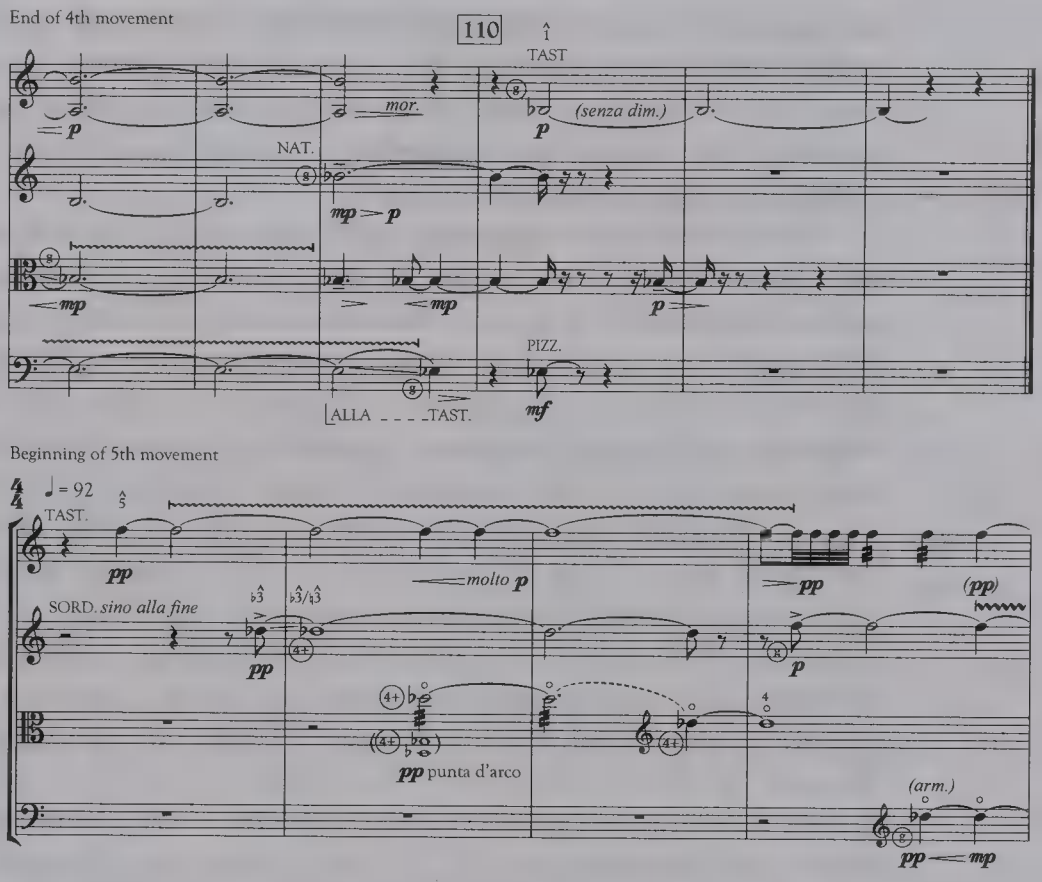


Example 1. Scelsi, Quartet No. 3, first movement, mm. 68–79. Edition Salabert.

the span of a tritone). Given the rather ascetic harmonic and melodic profile of the preceding music, the triads of mm. 70–74 at the very least stand out as a marked event. In this regard, one may tentatively construe them as signifying sensuality, a musical figuration of enthrallment to the material world.[86]

This tentative interpretation of the triads in the first movement is apparently confirmed in the fourth, where the music's lapse back into pathos is signaled by a return to the alternating harmonies. In fact, the entire fourth movement is a slightly modified retrograde of the opening movement, with the most important alteration to the original being the insertion of additional harmonies throughout the movement: beyond those present in the first movement (which now, due to the retrograde, occur at the beginning of the movement, in mm. 31–36), further triads materialize in m. 19, m. 85, and mm. 100–03.[87] Yet this setback proves to be temporary, as the final movement of the work attains the liberation promised by the movement's programmatic heading. According to Wolfgang Thein, the closing movement's drone on F presents an upper partial of the first and fourth movements' B-flat, one that has finally "become 'free'" of its fundamental (although he is quick to point out that its detuning by a quarter-tone at the end of the movement precludes "an affirmative close.")[88] To put it somewhat differently, the F serves as a symbol of the music's ultimate transubstantiation. This implication is reinforced by the fact that D-flat, which accompanies F at the opening of the movement as a sort of secondary pitch center, inexorably gravitates toward the F, merging with it by the end. The trajectory traced by the final two movements—as the triads of the fourth movement give way to a dyad at the opening of the fifth movement, which in turn gives way to a single note at the end—likewise spells out a process of musical dematerialization. From three to two to one—the winnowing away of the notes graphically represents a release from the material enticements that abound earlier in the work.[89]

Yet this depiction of spiritual release is scarcely unequivocal. Traces of harmony persist into the fifth movement of the quartet, albeit in a less overt fashion. It is hard not to hear the B-flat drone still lingering in the ear after the end of the fourth movement, so that the F and D-flat that enter at the opening of the final movement are infused with the faint yet nonetheless identifiable aroma of B-flat minor (see Ex. 2). The shift from the B-flat-major tonality of the prior movement to its parallel minor in the finale once again undermines the point when catharsis is reached. The music soon strikes an even more ambiguous tone, as the second violin pushes the D-flat up a quarter tone so that it comes to rest exactly halfway between a minor third and major third above



Example 2. Scelsi, Quartet No. 3, end of fourth and beginning of fifth movement. Edition Salabert.

the implied B-flat. If in the fourth movement the triad epitomizes the emotional bonds that need be discarded for enlightenment to be attained, then the implied B-flat triad in the fifth movement, with its unusual neither-major-nor-minor quality, suggests that such bonds are not easily relinquished. The final movement of the work may describe liberation, but it is liberation tinged with melancholy.

The uncertain affect assumed at the close of the String Quartet No. 3 can be heard elsewhere in Scelsi's music from roughly the same period: the finale of the String Quartet No. 2 or the explicitly autobiographical work for solo cello, *Trilogy*, both present similar moments of release, likewise undercut by a vaguely minor-mode coloration.[90] What one might expect to end with a figurative bang—or, if not a bang, then at least with a sense of tranquil achievement—ends with a whimper. This faltering, ambiguous tone can be read in a number of ways. One possibility is to hear the minor-mode inflection as conveying a hint of nostalgia for the very world that the work's implied protagonist leaves behind.[91] But it may just as well mark the moment when the outlines of the very narrative that he seeks to write over resurface, piercing the

ideological veil. In this interpretation, Scelsi's attempt to surmount the problem of his perceived historical dislocation by imaginatively placing himself at a spiritual remove from the disenchanted world of modernity meets with mixed results. The narrative that Scelsi's programmatic headings project onto the work may depict an escape from the temporal world, one that recasts the end imagined by dominant narratives of aristocratic decline in a decidedly more positive light, but the music hints at a different interpretation of events—an interpretation in which the moment of putative transcendence is haunted by the prospect that the claims of someone like Annibaldi might be true, that the "rising path" is indeed henceforth barred to him.

Positions

Over the course of this essay I have tried to demonstrate how class refracts the reception of Scelsi's music. This is most evident in the heated exchanges of *il caso Scelsi*, where struggles within the cultural sphere overlap with and, to some extent, correlate with struggles in the sphere of class relations. In this regard, the correspondence of these various antagonisms instantiates what Bourdieu has described as the "effect of homologies," where oppositions within a particular field (new music) draw symbolic force from their structural correspondence with oppositions in other fields (class relations):

> The field of cultural production produces its most important effects through the play of the *homologies* between the fundamental opposition [i.e., between economic and cultural capital] which gives the field its structure and the oppositions structuring the field of power and the field of class relations. These homologies may give rise to ideological effects which are produced automatically whenever oppositions at different levels are superimposed or merged. They are also the basis of partial alliances.[92]

He continues by giving an example of such a partial alliance, namely the linkage commonly made between the artistic and political vanguards:

> The cultural producers [i.e., the avant-garde], who occupy the economically dominated and symbolically dominant position within the field of cultural production, tend to feel solidarity with the occupants of the economically and culturally dominated positions within the field of class relations [i.e., the working class].[93]

What is vital to stress is that the overdetermination of aesthetic positions described by Bourdieu is a two-way street: not only do perceived

similarities with certain classes or class fractions in the social domain color how aesthetic positions are framed, but the particular dynamic of the cultural field will in turn mediate how such affiliations take shape in aesthetic debates. In other words, to simply say that class ideologies shape aesthetic positions does not give enough credit to the ways that such ideologies, when drawn into the relatively autonomous sphere of culture or the aesthetic, are in turn re-shaped, molded to fit the circumstances at hand. To give an example, when Scelsi is charged with dilettantism, this aspersion draws (as I noted at the opening) upon an articulation of amateurism with long-standing resentments concerning the aristocracy's status as an unproductive class; thus a homology is drawn between Scelsi's position in the artistic sphere and his position in the social sphere, such that the faults of the latter can be marshaled to discredit the former. But at the same time, the homology drawn is necessarily distorting, to the extent that in serving the exigencies of a particular cultural struggle, it selects and highlights certain aspects of aristocratic subjectivity while eliding others.

Bearing this in mind, a more comprehensive accounting of the ideological positions assumed by the various actors involved in the Scelsi controversy can now be undertaken.

Scelsi: The overdetermination of Scelsi's aesthetic stance is easiest to see, given the sheer overtness of his class position. Indeed, a good portion of this article (as well as Annibaldi's) is given over to pointing out the various ways in which the aristocratic ideology suffuses Scelsi's mature aesthetic (the distinction he draws between the spiritual elect and the benighted masses, as well as the one he draws between the artist and the artisan; the disavowal of history; and his disdain for the manual labor of notating his improvisations). Rather than re-examine every facet of this relationship, let it suffice to say that Scelsi's general strategy involves forging a connection between one form of symbolic capital (his inherited social rank) and another (cultural capital). As an aristocrat—seen as dispossessed of the politically and economically dominant position his class once commanded—Scelsi assumes an aesthetic position where such dispossession is a boon: the position of a marginal, outsider artist who, faithful to his artistic vision, renounces any short-term material gain he might derive from his work.

Tosatti (and his supporters): In the case of Tosatti, the overdetermination of his aesthetic position emerges at the intersection of two axes of antagonism. On the one hand, Tosatti sets himself against Scelsi, the dilettante, contrasting the latter's lack of skill and training with his own facility as a composer. On the other hand, he sets himself against the critics, who are responsible for valorizing Scelsi's music. Thus he

positions himself between one lacking in expertise (Scelsi) and those whose expertise is restricted solely to the intellectual plane (the critics). This suggests that Tosatti's aesthetic stance places him in a position homologous to that of the traditional artisan, one who possesses a relatively rare (and therefore valuable) set of skills, which—moreover—interweave both mental and manual labor.[94] This in turn suggests why he should express such hostility toward critics supportive of Scelsi. The critic—by forsaking strictly musical values in favor of intellectual ones—is seen as the agent responsible for instituting this same division of labor into the musical sphere. This is the gist of the claim that Scelsi was a "creation" of the critics. To the extent that his music has any value, this line of argument goes, it is because the critics have intellectualized it, imposed an extrinsic theoretical significance upon it which makes up for its lack of intrinsic musical significance. Without such intellectual investment, Scelsi's music would not rise above the level of inert and senseless sonic matter. But by converting such artistic lead into gold, the critics (from this perspective) demonstrate that their job is not so much to recognize greatness as to create it *ex nihilo*. As such, they represent a threatening force, one whose capacity to intellectually inflate the value of any object whatsoever, regardless of its merits, effectively devalues the hard-won artisanal skills possessed by Tosatti and other conventionally trained composers.

The critics (Scelsi's supporters): As previously noted, Scelsi's defenders tend to adopt the ideology of "romantic anti-capitalism." That many critics would use Scelsi as the vehicle through which a critique of capitalist modernity may be performed is not surprising, given the fact that many of the authors cited above are clearly steeped in Adornian critical theory. Upon further reflection, the affiliation with a representative of the old regime seems curious, precisely because of the generally leftist, critical stance of most of Scelsi's supporters (in particular Metzger). Indeed, some of the more disquieting elements of Scelsi's aesthetic (such as its elitism) are passed over in silence or excused. Yet there is a logic to this affiliation, which may itself be explained as an "effect of homologies." As many have noted, members of the "new class" of intellectuals, professionals, and culture workers tend to occupy an ambiguous position: at one and the same time they enjoy a privileged position in the social sphere, often benefiting from relatively high incomes, workplace autonomy, and prestige, all of which is a function of the fact they possess knowledge, education, and (most importantly) the credentials that formally legitimize their expertise. Nevertheless they are subordinate, a function of the fact that the resource they command (expertise) is subsidiary to the primary, ultimately determining resource

under capitalism (economic capital). This explains Bourdieu's description of the intellectual as the "dominated fraction" of the dominant class, or Erik Olin Wright's of the expert as occupying a "contradictory class relation," or Alvin Gouldner's of the "new class" as a group whose ascendancy is "blocked" by the continued dominance of the old class of property owners.[95] Regardless of how this position is characterized, its contradictory character bears a structural affinity to the position of the aristocracy, especially as imagined in the narrative of decline: a group who possesses symbolic power but lacks economic and political power (as Scelsi would say of Volkonsky: he may be impoverished, but he still has his title). In short, what draws Scelsi and his advocates together is their structural homology, in that both possess a form of symbolic capital (be it based in social rank or education), which partly but not totally compensates for their dearth of economic capital.

So it is that the aesthetic antagonisms of *il caso Scelsi* are magnified by their homology with social antagonisms. Two observations may be made regarding the function of these homologies. First, they may be understood as the mediating link whereby the specifically cultural disputes of *il caso Scelsi* are inscribed into the broader trajectories of social history. By articulating aesthetic positions in terms that tap into the long-standing resentments and the ongoing conflicts between different classes, cultural oppositions cannot help but assume an allegorical function.

Second, because the homologies drawn by each participant in this struggle are selective, determined by cultural–political exigencies, they are prevented from recognizing the points where their respective positions in fact overlap. But such points of overlap doubtless exist. One need only consider the temporality inscribed in each opposition to see that, at the broadest level, all three ideologies—the aristocratic, the romantic anti-capitalist, and the artisanal—are oriented toward the past. Tosatti and his supporters, by advocating an artisanal conception of the composer, celebrate a figure associated with an earlier moment in the historical development of capitalism, prior to the onset of industrialization and its concomitant destruction of craft traditions.[96] The critics, those who champion Scelsi as the incarnation of romantic anti-capitalism, instead celebrate a figure associated with a moment prior to capitalism itself, and thus prior to the reification, alienation, and specialization capitalism brings in its wake. Finally, Scelsi himself reaches the farthest back of all, hearkening to an ancient, quasi-mythological past, seemingly outside the reach of history itself. Three different ideologies are presented, each promoting an idealized vision of the past, all arrayed against the contemporary social reckoning. Yet, locked as they are into the binaristic logic of the Scelsi controversy, the supporters and

detractors of Scelsi's music are unable to acknowledge such points of contact. Rather, each side treats its adversary as complicit with the hegemonic social order. Tosatti, identified with the establishment, becomes a handy vessel into which critics may channel whatever hostility they harbor against it; while the critics, deemed responsible for the devaluation of genuine compositional craftsmanship, are vilified for creating the conditions wherein the works of a dilettante can be held in higher esteem than those of a professional.

Notes

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1. Indeed, Peter Niklas Wilson has described Scelsi, along with Morton Feldman and Luigi Nono, as a composer whose works have acquired a cult status, their popularity a result of their appeal to irrational, ritualistic, and mystical sensibilities. See Peter Niklas Wilson, "Sakrale Sehnsüchte: Der Scelsi-Feldman-Nono-Kult," *Musiktexte* 44 (Apr. 1992): 2–4. (My thanks to Amy Beal both for bringing this essay to my attention and providing me with a copy.)

2. Scelsi's biography is notoriously sketchy, due in part to his own tendency to either romanticize or obscure elements of his life story. In addition, until recently (2005), the archives of the Fondazione Isabella Scelsi in Rome—which presumably holds materials that would shed light on Scelsi, his works, and his compositional process—has been inaccessible to all but a handful of scholars. Nonetheless, useful accounts of his life and works can be found in Christopher Fox, "Giacinto Scelsi," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie, vol. 22 (New York: Grove, 2001), 420–21; Julian Anderson, "*La Note Juste*: Julian Anderson Appraises the Work of the Enigmatic Giacinto Scelsi," *Musical Times* 136, no. 1823 (Jan. 1995): 22–27; Robin Freeman, "Tanmatras: The Life and Work of Giacinto Scelsi," *Tempo* 176 (March 1991): 8–18; and Gregory Nathan Reish, "The Transformation of Giacinto Scelsi's Musical Style and Aesthetic, 1929–1959" (PhD diss., University of Georgia, 2001).

3. Vieri Tosatti, "Giacinto Scelsi, c'est moi," *Il giornale della musica* 5, no. 35 (Jan. 1989): 1, 10. Translated into German as "Giacinto Scelsi, das bin ich" in *Musiktexte* 28–29 (Mar. 1989): 111.

4. Tosatti names Sergio Cafaro and Riccardo Filippini as other composers who periodically assisted Scelsi. Cafaro confirms Tosatti's account and has described his collaboration with Scelsi in the early 1950s; however, he is much more tempered in his assessment of Scelsi's music: "I am in no position here to pass judgment on the 'officialization' of Scelsi's works, which have appeared together in various albums (like *I capprici di Ty*, *Hispania* and others), and which can thus present a certain interest" (Non sono

qui in grado di esprimere giudizi sulla 'ufficializzazione' delle musiche di Scelsi, che sono apparse riunite in vari album [come *I capprici di Ty*, *Hispania* ed altri], e che possono anche presentare un certo interesse). Cafaro, "Io, Sergio Cafaro, dichiaro . . . " *Piano Time* 7, no. 72 (Mar. 1989): 36. The composer Roman Vlad has also asserted that he had a hand in writing Scelsi's music, in particular the cantata *La naissance du verbe*, though this claim has been disputed. See Vlad, "Quelle 'lezioni' di Vlad a Scelsi," *Giornale della Musica* 5, no. 37 (Mar. 1989): 1. Aldo Brizzi, who helped organize the Scelsi archives at the Fondazione Isabella Scelsi, estimates that twelve to fifteen assistants worked with Scelsi during the course of his career. To this number we should also add performers such as Frances-Marie Uitti and Michiko Hirayama, who played an integral role in the revision of certain scores; unlike assistants such as Tosatti, Scelsi acknowledged the role that these performers played in the creation of the scores. See Brizzi, "Abschlußdiskussion," in *Giacinto Scelsi: Im Innern des Tons*, ed. Klaus Angermann (Hofheim: Wolke, 1993), 104 ff. For an extremely useful overview of the various actors involved in *il caso Scelsi*, see Friedrich Jaecker, "'Der Dilettant und die Profis': Giacinto Scelsi, Vieri Tosatti & Co.," *Musiktexte* 104 (Feb. 2005): 27–40.

5. "Se adesso dirò qualcosa che certo non getterà luce positiva sulla figura di compositore di Giacinto Scelsi non significa che io abbia alcunché contro di lui. Io ce l'ho con quella mistificazione per cui è stata presa per buona la musica di Scelsi, così come viene preso per buono il cento per cento di ciò che oggi la critica accreditata considera musica del nostro tempo." Tosatti, "Giacinto Scelsi, c'est moi," 1. Tosatti reasserts this basic argument against the critical establishment in a subsequent letter to *Il giornale della Musica*: "Con pari coscienza mi sento di affermare che le opere di questo *dilettante* sarebbero degne, e più che degne delle più accreditate firme di tanti *professionisti* che dalla critica contubernale vengono imposte usualmente sotto la mendace etichetta 'Nuova Musica.'" Tosatti, letter printed in "Caso Scelsi: il dilettante e i 'professionisti'," *Il giornale della musica* 37 (Mar. 1989): 31.

6. "Lui mi presentava un gruppo di sette, dodici puntini, e mi diceva 'potrebbe essere una serie'. Perché no, rispondevo io. E aggiungeva qualche bemolle e qualche diesis in maniera che davvero queste dodici note fossero una serie. . . . Io dunque l'accontentavo e con questo gli facevo il pezzo." Tosatti, "Giacinto Scelsi, c'est moi," 1. Tosatti's account is supported by Roman Vlad's story of the composition of the cantata *La naissance du verbe*. According to Vlad, in 1947 Scelsi asked for his help in arranging some sketches into a cantata during the course of their composition lessons. Vlad, suspicious of Scelsi's intentions, broke off their relationship, but maintains that some of the initial work he did on the cantata made its way into the final version. See Vlad, "Quelle 'lezioni,'" 1.

7. These include the Suite No. 8, "Bot-ba" (1952); *Quattro illustrazioni sulla metamorfosi Visni* (1953); *Cinque incantesimi* (1953); Suite No. 9, "Ttai" (1953); Suite No. 10, "Ka" (1954); *Action Music* (1955); and Suite No. 11 (1956).

8. Scelsi's most acclaimed works—the *Quattro Pezzi* for orchestra (1959), the String Quartet No. 4 (1964), and *Anahit* for violin and chamber orchestra (1965)—date from this period.

9. "Scelsi si metteva al pianoforte e suonava, cioè pestava come può pestare un ragazzo, quello che veniva veniva." Tosatti, "Giacinto Scelsi, c'est moi," 1.

10. "Allora lui mi faceva dei disegni, dei disegni molto semplici, un quadrato, un cerchio. E io in base a questi disegni dovevo scrivere delle musiche." Tosatti, "Giacinto Scelsi, c'est moi," 10.

11. Rather than denigrate professionalism, another, less common tack that Scelsi's defenders adopted was to testify to the count's innate talent as an improviser, so as to deflect questions concerning his compositional (read: notational) skills. Brizzi claims that recordings of Scelsi's improvisations held by the Fondazione Isabella Scelsi reveal the professional level of his talents as a performer: "I suoi migliori interpreti hanno ascoltato alcune di quelle registrazioni e sono concordi nell'affermare che finora nessun pianista professionista è in grado di eguagliare il livello di esecuzione raggiunto da Scelsi." Aldo Brizzi, "Altre verità su Scelsi," *Il giornale della musica* 5, no. 36 (Feb. 1989): 1.

12. "Mi chiedo che reazione avrebbe provocato invece la partitura di un quartetto scritto in modo sommamente professionale da Vieri Tosatti." Robin Freeman, letter printed in "Caso Scelsi: il dilettante e i 'professionisti'," *Il giornale della musica* 37 (Mar. 1989): 31. Similarly, Harry Halbreich valorizes the capacity of the amateur to overcome entrenched habits of listening: "Such 'borderline' music, the old master's most radical advance into the next century, demands a new way of listening, for which an accomplished training in 'contemporary music' is utterly useless, but which lies open to the well-disposed and open-minded amateur, also receptive in mind and spirit." Halbreich, liner notes, Giacinto Scelsi, *Les Cinq Quatuors à Cordes*, Salabert Actuels SCD 8904-5 (compact disc), 35. More recently Alex Ross has written in the *New Yorker* (apropos a recent performance of the string quartet cycle by the Flux Quartet) that Scelsi's "imaginative leaps" were enabled by his lack of academic training, adding, "It's something for university composition departments to ponder." Ross, "The Messenger: Giacinto Scelsi Discovered a World in One Note," *The New Yorker*, 21 Nov. 2005, 99.

13. "In una concezione della musica che pone al più alto livello della valutazione estetica l'innovazione radicale, l'invenzione allo stato puro, dimenticando tutte le altre qualità che ci rendono cari Beethoven e Mozart, Verdi e Puccini, Mahler e Strawinsky, la figura di Scelsi intento ad armeggiare con la sua ondioline, lungi dallo scandalizzare, assume quasi una dimensione eroica, sublime: i suoi colleghi . . . sembrano al confronto meschini artigiani, incapaci di liberarsi della schiavitù di un ormai inutile mestiere." Lorenzo Ferrero, "Il re è nudo," *Piano Time* 7, no. 72 (Mar. 1989): 36.

14. "Il mito di Scelsi è stata una creazione dei musicologi . . . essi non hanno più voluto o saputo contrastarlo." Federico Biscione, letter in "Caso Scelsi: il dilettante e i 'professionisti,'" *Il giornale della musica* 5, no. 27 (Mar. 1987): 31. Cafaro expresses a similar sentiment: "I am well aware of the notoriety that Scelsi's music . . . has acquired in the contemporary music milieu in the following years . . . in the end creating a kind of myth" (Sono comunque al corrente della notorietà che le musiche di Scelsi . . . avavano acquistato negli ambiente della musica contemporanea negli anni successive . . . fino a creare quasi un mito). Cafaro, "Io, Sergio Cafaro," 36.

15. The conception of the world of contemporary music as an agonistic field, where artists compete for symbolic capital, is inspired in large part by Pierre Bourdieu's work on the cultural field. See Bourdieu, *The Rules of Art: Genesis and Structure of the Literary Field*, trans. Susan Emanuel (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1996); and *The Field of Cultural Production*, ed. Randal Johnson (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993).

16. Zoltan Pesko takes note of the negative class associations that cluster around allegations of dilettantism in *il caso Scelsi*, though he sees them as peculiarly Italian: "Les artistes et les intellectuels romains ne peuvent en général souffrir l'aristocratie (d'habitude 'noire') et tous les Romains se méfient des excentriques. . . . On sourit ainsi de sa naïveté, on comprit sa vie retirée et ses airs distants comme un snobisme, son ardeur

artistique comme une forme de *dilettantisme aristocratique* et son mysticisme comme une mystification destinée à cacher ses déficencés techniques" (emphasis mine). Pesko, "Giacinto Scelsi: en voyage après dictée," *Inharmoniques: musique et authenticité* 7 (1991): 159.

17. Raymond Williams, for instance, describes how in the early nineteenth century groups opposed to the aristocracy adopted the aegis of "productive" or "useful classes" to set themselves apart from—and at the same time to disparage—the idle rich. Williams, *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), 63–64.

18. The crucial point to note is that the ideological valence "amateurism" acquires in *il caso Scelsi* is the product of its conjugation with social position. Hence, when articulated in terms of a different class location, amateurism will take on a radically different political connotation (such is the case with numerous anti-art movements, ranging from Dada to Fluxus and Punk, all of which make an ideological virtue out of anti-professionalism). The same applies when amateurism is articulated instead in terms of other social determinants, such as gender or race (as, for instance, in the figure of the amateur female musician of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries).

19. "Il fatto è che Scelsi era si una persona di notevole cultura e di molti interessi (si interessava anche alle filosofie orientali) ma dal punto di vista pratico era un po' infantile." Tosatti, "Giacinto Scelsi, c'est moi," 1.

20. Rocco DiPietro, *Conversations with Boulez* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2001), 20.

21. Anderson, "*La Note Juste*," 22.

22. Fox, "Giacinto Scelsi," 420. This curiosity is explicit in Franco Sciannameo's account of working with Scelsi as a member of the Quartetto di Nuova Musica in the 1960s. He recounts how the cellist in the group, Donna Magendanz, delighted in the opportunity of working with Scelsi: "One of the job's attractions was for her the fact that the composer was a real Count. Scelsi, sincerely amused . . . (he had a soft spot for foreign ladies), gave all of us permission to address him as Count Scelsi; he did not like to be called Maestro." Sciannameo, "Remembering Scelsi," *Musical Times* 142, no. 1875 (Summer 2001): 23.

23. The exception is Claudio Annibaldi's essay, "Der schuldlose Musiker: Postillen zu einem Verlagskatalog," in *Giacinto Scelsi*, vol. 31, *Musik-Konzepte*, ed. Heinz-Klaus Metzger and Rainer Riehn (Munich: Edition Text + Kritik, 1983), 96–110. In the course of the essay, Annibaldi sheds light on many of the ways that Scelsi's class ideology influences his aesthetic: his division of musicians into artists and artisans (i.e., the elite versus the masses), his disregard for technique as being beneath him, and his fatalistic identification with his land. Another incisive essay, one that addresses many of the issues raised by *il caso Scelsi*, is Pesko's "Giacinto Scelsi" (see note 16).

24. Annibaldi, "Der schuldlose Musiker," 109.

25. Annibaldi, "Der schuldlose-Musiker," 110.

26. Tom Nairn, *The Enchanted Glass: Britain and Its Monarchy* (London: Hutchinson Radius, 1988), 373.

27. Although the juxtaposition of liberal and Marxist ideologies may appear incongruous, both share the fundamental assumption that 1789 represented the death knell for the old regime. For a discussion of the underlying similarities of these oftentimes antagonistic ideologies, see Immanuel Wallerstein, "Three Ideologies or One? The Pseudobattle of Modernity," in *After Liberalism* (New York: The New Press, 1995), 72–92.

28. Quoted in Andrew Sinclair, *The Last of the Best: The Aristocracy of Europe in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Macmillan, 1969), 61.

29. Tom Johnson, "Giacinto Scelsi at Sunset," *Village Voice*, 26 May 1980. Reprinted in *The Voice of New Music: New York City 1972–1982 (A Collection of Articles Originally Published in the Village Voice)* (Eindhoven: Apollohuis, 1989), 243–44; available in a new digital version [Paris: Editions 75, 2002] at http://www.tom.johnson.org/English/booksenglish.html

30. Frances-Marie Uitti, "Preserving the Scelsi Improvisations," *Tempo* 194 (Oct. 1995): 12.

31. "Un petit homme aux cheveux blancs et au regard bleu et douloureux." Gérard Grisey, "Autoportrait avec l'itinéraire," in *Vingt-cinq ans de creation musicale contemporaine: L'itinéraire en temps reels*, ed. Danielle Cohen-Lévinas (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1998), 41. Both Grisey's and Uitti's reference to Scelsi's eyes is intriguing. Its apparent function is to offset the latter's physical frailty and diminutive stature by turning the reader's attention to his spiritual vitality, conveyed by his "vibrant" gaze. For another example of this juxtaposition, see Marc Texier's description of the composer: "Der alte Herr mit den ironischen blauen Augen und den höflichen Manieren." Marc Texier, "Im Schoße der Musik: Ein kritisches Scelsi Porträt in vier Teilen," *Musiktexte* 81–82 (Dec. 1999): 48.

32. Freeman, "Tanmatras," 8. Freeman highlights the significance of this comment by putting it toward the beginning of his posthumous profile of the composer (it is in fact the second sentence of the essay). Any doubt of this is put to rest by the next sentence, which reads: "Those of us who knew him in his last years remember above all the frail figure sitting below the two portraits that Dali had given the Eluards for a wedding present, doing ironic and at times testy battle with the world and old age" (8).

33. Sciannameo, "Remembering Scelsi," 22.

34. Freeman, "Tanmatras," 8.

35. The earliest and perhaps most forceful expression of this position may be located in Heinz-Klaus Metzger's essay, "Das Unbekannte in Musik: Versuch über die Kompositionen von Giacinto Scelsi," in *Giacinto Scelsi*, ed. Metzger and Riehn. Metzger highlights a few key anecdotes that exemplify Scelsi's eccentricity, his negation of the quotidian world's conventions. One is his refusal as a child to let his mother or anyone else comb his "langen blonden, goldenen Haare," save when he was improvising at the piano (11). Another is the sanitarium episode described above, which Metzger describes as "der Eintritt des 'schöpferischen Winkels' in Scelsis gesamte Produktion" (12).

36. "Der vorherrschende Schlüssel zur Interpretation seines Werks [war] jener des radikalen Außenseitertums und der absoluten Originalität seines musikalischen Denkens." Adriano Cremonese, "Radikales Außenseitertum: Für eine Lektüre des Werkes von Giacinto Scelsi," *Musiktexte* 26 (Oct. 1988): 49. Elsewhere he notes that

Scelsi "always lived on the fringe of the official music scene." Cremonese, liner notes, *Les Cinq Quatuors à Cordes*, 22. His loneliness is also alluded to in the title to Ernstalbrecht Stiebler's homage to Scelsi, "Einsam zwischen den Welten," *Musiktexte* 26 (Oct. 1988): 25.

37. "Er in den bisherigen Interpretationsversuchen meistens als Einzelgänger der Musikgeschichte dargestellt wird." Gianmario Borio, "Klang als Prozeß: Die Komponisten um *Nuova Consonanza*," in *Giacinto Scelsi: Im Innern des Tons*, 11. Borio's essay is exceptional within the Scelsi literature insofar as it seeks to move past such motifs of outsiderness in order to situate Scelsi's later music in the milieu of Roman new music of the 1960s.

38. "Giacinto Scelsis Musik ist ein Fremdkörper im Korpus der Neuen Musik." Peter Niklas Wilson, "Entsubjektivierung und Subjektivität: Scelsis Provokation," *Musiktexte* 81–82 (Dec. 1999): 57.

39. "Wie ein Meteorit in unsere Kultur eingeschlagen war." Hans Zender, "Intuition, Zeit, Archaik: Vermutungen über Giacinto Scelsi," *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 2 (1990): 21.

40. "Es war, als ob Scelsi Musik auf einem anderen Planeten studiert hätte, um hierherzukommen und sein Wissen und seine Techniken auf unsere komischen irdischen Instrumente und Stimmen anzuwenden." Alvin Curran, "Lachen oder verschwinden," *Musiktexte* 26 (Oct. 1988): 23.

41. The notion that every narrative is circumscribed by multiple historical horizons derives from Frederic Jameson. He contends that any narrative utterance is contained within "three concentric rings," which "mark a widening out of the sense of the social ground of the text." Jameson, *The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1983), 75.

42. Besides Nairn's work on the British monarchy (cited above), see also Arno Mayer, *The Persistence of the Old Regime: Europe to the Great War* (New York: Random House, 1981); and Perry Anderson, *English Questions* (London: Verso, 1992). For an account of the persistence of the old regime in Italy, see Anthony Cardoza, *Aristocrats in Bourgeois Italy: The Piedmontese Nobility, 1861–1930* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

43. As elsewhere in Europe, the officer corps of the military remained a preserve of the Italian nobility through the early part of the twentieth century. As Cardoza notes, "the loss of legal privileges greatly accentuated the importance of the officers corps in maintaining and revitalizing traditions critical to the nobility's social cohesion and sense of purpose in the nineteenth century." Cardoza, *Aristocrats*, 149. Prestigious branches of the military—such as the cavalry (and, later on, aviation)—were particularly attractive because of their capacity to draw symbolic distinctions (Scelsi's father was himself an officer in the Italian military).

44. According to Mayer, the aristocracy successfully muted the bourgeoisie's own class consciousness by means of "selective co-optation": "By absorbing outstanding members of the fledgling counterelites of the third estate—notably of the *grande bourgeoisie*, bureaucracy and professions—the nobilities preserved not only themselves but also the aristocracies." Mayer, *The Persistence of the Old Regime*, 81. However, Cardoza notes that there was a widespread perception in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century

that the proliferation of noble patents in Italy had cheapened their value, though evidence suggests that ennoblement was not as widespread as many believed. See Anthony Cardoza, "The Enduring Power of Aristocracy: Ennoblement in Liberal Italy, 1861–1914," in *Les noblesses européennes au XIXe siècle*, vol. 107, *Collection de l'École Française de Rome* (Milan: Università di Milano, 1988), 595–605, esp. 598.

45. F. M. L. Thompson, "English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century," in *The Power of the Past: Essays for Eric Hobsbawm*, ed. Pat Thane, Geoffrey Crossick, and Roderick Floud (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 198. David Cannadine likewise contends that "even in the third quarter of the nineteenth century, when Britain was the workshop of the world, it was the country house not the counting house that was still emphatically in charge." Cannadine, *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy* (New York: Vintage, 1999), 18.

46. Most authors treat the primary unit of agricultural organization in southern Italy through the mid-twentieth century, the latifundia, as a hybrid form of agricultural production, situated in a gray zone between feudalism and capitalism. The precise nature of this semi-feudal socio-economic organization is, however, a matter of dispute. Anna Cento Bull argues that to call this system "semi-feudal" is "inappropriate . . . given the transition of the latifundia system to a market-oriented economy," though she does remark that "the term [semi-feudal] does convey a sense of the social distance between landowners and peasants." Bull, "Social and Political Cultures in Italy from 1860 to the Present Day," in *The Cambridge Companion to Modern Italian Culture*, ed. Zygmunt G. Baranski and Rebecca J. West (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 39. Pino Arlacchi provides a more extensive account of the latifundia's economic organization, which he deems to be a wholly "original form of organization," despite the fact that the "internal organization of the latifondo had features in common with the feudal estate" (134). In particular, he points to the absence of lifetime tenure in the latifundia (the guarantor of a modicum of economic security for the peasant under feudal bondage), which is replaced by short-term rent agreements. This, combined with the landowners' chronic failure to modernize cultivation techniques and the existence of a huge reserve army of peasant labor, led to a situation that fused chronic economic insecurity (characteristic of capitalism) with open political and cultural domination (characteristic of feudalism). See Arlacchi, *Mafia, Peasants, and the Great Estates: Society in Traditional Calabria*, trans. Jonathan Steinberg (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 132ff.

47. For instance, Paul Ginsbourg relates how in October 1949 police broke up peasant revolts in the provinces of Cosenza and Catanzaro by firing upon protestors, killing three and wounding fifteen. Ginsbourg, *A History of Contemporary Italy: Society and Politics, 1943–1988* (New York: Penguin, 1990), 124. In Abruzzi the following year, peasants sought to reappropriate land under-utilized by the absentee landowner, Prince Torlonia; as Ginsbourg notes, "here as elsewhere, the landowning class replied with killings and bloodshed." Ginsbourg, *A History of Contemporary Italy*, 128.

48. Ginsbourg relates that landowners prevented the government from parceling out their property by distributing small plots among family members, circumventing land reform. In addition, the land reform boards were often peopled by relatives of the great landowners: "In Calabria, a relative of the Marquis of Tropea, one of the great landowners affected by the reform, became president of the reform board." Ginsbourg, *A History of Contemporary Italy*, 133.

49. Joseph Lopreato, *Peasants No More: Social Class and Social Change in an Underdeveloped Society* (San Francisco, CA: Chandler Publishing Co., 1967), 163.

50. Mayer, *Persistence of the Old Regime*, 5.

51. For Ernst Bloch's idea of nonsynchronicity, see Bloch, "Nonsynchronism and the Obligation to Its Dialectics," trans. Mark Ritter, *New German Critique* 11 (Spring 1977): 22–38. For a handy introduction to "world-systems" analysis, see Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Essential Wallerstein* (New York: The New Press, 2000), in particular the essays "The Rise and Demise of the World Capitalist System: Concepts for Comparative Analysis" and "World Systems Analysis."

52. Robert Sayre and Michael Löwy, "Figures of Romantic Anti-Capitalism," *New German Critique* 32 (Spring–Summer 1984): 46.

53. "Scelsis Musik entspringt einer archaischen Konzeption von Kunst, die noch vor der Differenzierung in Einzelkünste angesiedelt ist." Zender, "Intuition, Zeit, Archaik," 20. He goes on to relate this to Scelsi's psychological makeup, which hearkens back to a time prior to the formation of the modern, individuated ego: "Scelsis Botschaft ist ich-los, weil sie psychologisch gesehen einem Punkt entspringt, der *vor* der Differenzierung des modernen Ich liegt" (20).

54. "Zum ersten Mal in der abendländische Tradition haben wir ein genuin musikalisches Œuvre, in dem die Schattenseite dieser Musik ins volle Licht gerückt worden ist. Das System einer zurückhaltend rationalen Kontrolle wurde durchbrochen, um einer subtil sensorischen, fast organischen Bindung an den Klang Platz zu machen." Henk de Velde, "Auf der Suche nach dem verlorenen Klang: Die Musik Giacinto Scelsis in der abendländischen Tradition," *Musiktexte* 26 (Oct. 1988): 37. He makes a similar point in an earlier essay, where he contrasts the dominant drive of Western music—the drive toward rationalization—with a subordinate, mimetic drive. See De Velde, "Giacinto Scelsi: Ein Meister des noch kleineren Übergangs," in *Giacinto Scelsi*, ed. Metzger and Riehn, 83.

55. Wilson, "Entsubjektivierung und Subjektivität," 58. Marc Texier links this privileging of premodern orality back to Scelsi's own aesthetic proclivities: "Seine Sehnsucht galt der Oralität, einer überaus romantischen Vision des Mittelalters, das mit der gotischen Schrift, den Quadratnoten unterging." Texier, "Im Schoße der Musik," 52.

56. Sayre and Löwy, "Figures of Romantic Anti-Capitalism," 56.

57. For a concise description of his model of the cultural field, see Bourdieu, *The Rules of Art*, 215–23. Similar ground is covered in *The Field of Cultural Production*, esp. 38–40 and 115–20.

58. Scelsi's supporters contrast Scelsi's exclusion from various institutional resources with Tosatti's access to them. Anderson describes how after World War II Scelsi "became totally cut off from Italian musical institutions, notably the RAI." Anderson, "*La Note Juste*," 23. Freeman notes that "Tosatti's music is in favour with one of the directors of Italian Radio (an institution that has done everything possible to hold up Scelsi's acceptance in Italy)." Freeman, "Tanmatras," 17. On the other hand, comments such as Biscione's (see note 14)—that Scelsi was a creation of musicologists and critics—demonstrate the belief that the advocates of Scelsi's music, the critical vanguard, dominate the field of criticism. The symmetry of these accusations is wryly observed by Pesko: "Pour les uns, c'étaient les éditeurs italiens (une maffia comme on

sait . . .) qui sabotaient son oeuvre et en empêchaient le succès, pour les autres, les éditeurs étrangers (autre maffia, comme on sait . . .) avaient soutenu sa musique au dernier moment provoquant et décrétant son succès pour des raisons commerciales." Pesko, "Giacinto Scelsi," 156.

59. Thus Halbreich treats the opposition between the vanguard (Scelsi) and the rear guard (Tosatti) as a generational division: "Mi sembra semplicemente che si tratti di un conflitto di generazioni (artistiche, s'intende, non fisiche!)." Similarly, Aldo Clementi poses the conflict as one between younger critics and older composers: "I critici e musicisti (per fortuna non tutti!) fra i trenta e i cinquant'anni ci fanno sapere che tutti quelli della mia età hanno sbagliato sul vero volto della musica italiana: in realtà è il Signor G.S. che . . . etc., etc. . . .!" See "Caso Scelsi: intervengono Halbreich e Clementi," *Il giornale della musica* 5, no. 39 (May 1989): 30.

60. "Si . . . vous allez à Paris . . . vous passez une soirée . . . assis à côté d'un clochard sous les ponts. Et celui-là vous raconte qu'il était un officier de la garde du tsar de toutes les Russies, qu'il a assisté au meurtre de Raspoutine, tué par le prince Ioussoupov. . . . Si vous allez à Londres, vous allez manger les fraises à la crème chez la reine d'Angleterre." Marie-Cécile Mazzoni, Franck Mallet, and Marc Texier, "Entretiens avec Giacinto Scelsi," *Dissonanz* 43 (Feb. 1995): 7.

61. "Il y avait une femme qui était la fille naturelle du Kronprinz allemand. Elle épousa le prince Löwenstein. Elle quittait Paris pour aller dîner à Londres, puis elle revenait à Paris pour aller au théâtre. Parce qu'à Londres, on dîne tôt. Je l'ai rencontrée une fois au Ritz. Pourquoi étais-je au Ritz? C'est encore une fois, l'un de mes extrêmes. . . . J'avais rendez-vous avec Daniel Volkonsky, qui partait pour l'Amérique. C'était l'un des ces réfugiés russes d'après la révolution d'Octobre, venu en Europe. Ils étaient sans argent, lui et son père, un prince qui faisait plus de deux mètres de haut. On lui avait coupé le gaz et l'électricité, alors j'étais intervenu. Mais ils ne pouvaient pas rester ici, alors ils partaient pour l'Amérique. Ils avaient encore leurs titres, même si c'étaient des titres russes, ils avaient quand même de l'importance. Et cette femme, Bianca Löwenstein, est arrivée. 'Que fais-tu ici?' — 'J'attends Fritz, qui doit venir de Londres pour dîner avec moi ici.' Puis arrive un type de l'hôtel: 'Madame est appelée au téléphone.' Puis elle revient: 'Fritz ne vient pas. Alors c'est moi qui vais aller, j'ai téléphoné à l'aéroport, l'avion m'attend.'—'Alors, ça je ne gobe pas' lui dis-je, 'les avions n'attendent personne.'—'Oui, mais moi, ils m'attendent parce qu'ils me connaissent." Mazzoni, Mallet, and Texier, "Entretiens avec Scelsi," 6.

62. This recalls Raymond Williams's comments on the political ambiguity of much modernist art, which, by defining itself negatively as anti-bourgeois, allows for strange alliances and affiliations: "No question is more important . . . than the ambiguity of the bourgeois. The underlying ambiguity is historical, in its dependence on the variable class position from which the bourgeois was seen. . . . But in different and variable ways [artists] could overlap with the complaints of each class against the bourgeois reckoning of the world." Williams, "The Politics of the Avant-Garde" in *The Politics of Modernism: Against the New Conformists* (London: Verso, 1989), 53–54.

63. Jaecker, "'Der Dilettant und die Profis'," 37. A quote from Serge Cafaro cited in the essay points to the two-sided nature of such alienated artistic labor: "Meine Arbeit wurde stundenweise bezahlt: Ich notierte die Zeit, die ich mit der Rekonstruktion und Transkription beschäftigt gewesen war und Scelsi gab mir einen Scheck. Wohlbedacht, damals konnten acht-tausend Lire pro Stunde viel erscheinen, aber am Ende dieser Art

von Arbeit, die ich machte (und Vieri vor mir), war sie sehr unterbezahlt, wenn man den Ruhm und das Ansehen berücksichtigt, das sich Scelsi dadurch aneignete" (37).

64. This reading of the Scelsi/Tosatti relationship is informed by J. K. Gibson-Graham's, Stephen Resnick's, and Richard Wolff's processive conception of class. Instead of seeing class as a static category to which one belongs, they contend that it is constantly in process, dependent upon the particular dynamic that comes to exist between agents in the act of producing value: "By defining class simply in terms of the processes of performing, appropriating, and distributing surplus labor, we have detached it from an a priori social structure ... and freed it from the intractable and unrewarding problems of class-ification. How class processes relate to individual and collective identities, the formation of social groups, and to other complexities such as power and property becomes an open question, something to be theorized rather than assumed." Gibson-Graham, Resnick, and Wolff, "Introduction: Class in a Poststructuralist Frame," in *Class and Its Others*, ed. J. K. Gibson-Graham, Stephen Resnick, and Richard Wolff (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000), 9.

65. In an essay from the early 1950s, "Art and Knowledge," Scelsi notes that "the work of art results from the creative artist's own psychophysical operations, which allow him to halt the course of *durée* and to project an instant of it through some medium. If the artist is not able to accomplish this, the work that results might be anything, except art. It could be a piece of craftsmanship, something academic, a work of deception, of exploitation, of plagiarism—any of these—but it is not art." Scelsi, *Art et connaissance*, ed. Luciano Martinis (Rome and Venice: Le parole gelate, 1982); translated into English by Gregory Reish as "Art and Knowledge," in Reish, "The Transformation of Giacinto Scelsi's Musical Style," 297–313, quote on 301–02. Elsewhere in the same essay Scelsi states that "if the artist were restricted by technique, he would be like any other conscientious craftsman, but he would be unaware of these particular faculties that allow him to come into contact with schemes and forces that transcend technique and that only he can manifest" (312).

66. How to apportion the authorship of works attributed to Scelsi alone is a tricky question, one that can only be resolved by careful archival study of the recordings of Scelsi's improvisations and the sketches of the notated scores (an undertaking has been all the more difficult given that until recently the Scelsi archives have been inaccessible). Jaecker has provided one of the most thoughtful assessments of this question; he contends that the simple division of labor (with Scelsi improvising, Tosatti and others transcribing) is complicated by the fact that Scelsi oversaw and intervened in the transcription process for many of his works for solo instruments. See Friedrich Jaecker, "Explodierende Asteroiden: Giacinto Scelsi: 'Aitsi' und 'Quartetto no. 5,'" *Musiktexte* 100 (Feb. 2004): 65–66. However, his involvement in the transcription process does not diminish the fact that much of the appeal of the finished scores derives from the orchestrational inventiveness of the transcribers.

67. See Reish, chap. 2, "Scelsi's First Phase: The Historicist Texts," in "The Transformation of Giacinto Scelsi's Musical Style," 25–58. In addition to providing the most detailed overview of Scelsi's aesthetic and stylistic development during the 1940s and 1950s, Reish's dissertation helpfully provides an appendix containing translations of Scelsi's essays, to which I will make frequent reference in the following.

68. "One can find ... in every artistic expression the manifestations of these creative forces in various appearances. Since we are dealing with music, we may say that rhythm

[i.e., vitality], emotion, intellect and the psyche are manifested and realized by rhythm, melody, form or structure, and harmony." Scelsi, "Sens de la musique," *Suisse contemporaine* 1 (Jan. 1944): 31– 38; translated into English by Gregory Reish as "The Meaning of Music," in Reish, "The Transformation of Giacinto Scelsi's Musical Style," 260–67, quote on 261–62. Shortly thereafter Scelsi clarifies what he means by "rhythm" as a creative force: "The rhythmic language is the expression of the profound rhythms emerging from vital dynamism" (262).

69. "A different balance is induced each time by a particular human orientation and by various artistic expressions. In other words, all works, all aesthetics, all art are determined by the projection of the images resulting from the particular balance of the fundamental elements." Scelsi, "The Meaning of Music," in Reish, "The Transformation of Giacinto Scelsi's Musical Style," 267.

70. Scelsi, *Évolution de l'harmonie*, ed. Adriano Cremonese (Rome: Fondazione Isabella Scelsi, 1992); translated into English by Gregory Reish as "The Evolution of Harmony," in Reish, "The Transformation of Giacinto Scelsi's Musical Style," 267–74, quote on 269. Scelsi's imagination of African and Asian music requires greater scrutiny than the scope of the present article can afford. Beyond identifying in the Orient an imaginary refuge from modernity, which I discuss below, a more complete study of the role of race in Scelsi's musical thought would need to consider the almost complete lack of reference to African music in Scelsi's late works (the exception being *Taiagarù* [1962], a collection of vocal pieces inspired by the "dark continent"; see Annibaldi, "Der schuldlose Musiker," 106). I would suggest that this telling absence is symptomatic of the generally guarded stance he adopts vis-à-vis African music, a stance that is in evidence even in his early writings. For instance, his comments on jazz in "The Evolution of Rhythm" are haunted by the thinly veiled fear of miscegenation. While he concedes that jazz has its origins in black American music, he decries what jazz has evolved into: "Indeed, Jazz is not an African product. One does not find it in Africa; the blacks of the tropical forests do not know it. Musicologists concur in the opinion that jazz had its origin in Mississippi. It was invented by the slaves of the families of French origin. The blacks instinctively superimposed the rhythms of their tam-tams on the European songs they heard, for the black is not an inventor of melody." Scelsi, *Évolution du rythme*, ed. Adriano Cremonese (Rome: Fondazione Isabella Scelsi, 1992), translated into English by Gregory Reish as "The Evolution of Rhythm," in Reish, "The Transformation of Giacinto Scelsi's Musical Style," 274–84, quote on 281. Contemporary jazz, as Scelsi sees it, is a commercialized product, made by and for whites: "Thus spreads out over all the earth the plague of the 'crooners,' who sob with the voices of saxophones the deformed European songs with syncopated rhythms that have become standardized and conventional. In reality, the very great majority of these productions are the product of whites and much more appreciated by them than by blacks. The latter, when exposed to such songs, return quickly to the less eviscerated songs and to the more original rhythms. A lot of European composers have not realized this, so this questionable *brown* exoticism has emerged, in entire concertos, even in some operas" (emphasis mine). Scelsi, "The Evolution of Rhythm," in Reish, "The Transformation of Giacinto Scelsi's Musical Style," 282.

71. John Corbett, drawing on the work of Edward Said, notes the appeal of the "oriental" for experimental composers lies in part in its "shock of the ancient." That is, non-Western cultures "are seen as having values that were lost over the course of European art music history, or perhaps were never there in the first place. It is

important, then, that these traditions be configured as old. . . . Of course, this means that those traditional musics must not change, and never have." Corbett, "Experimental Oriental: New Music and Other Others," in *Western Music and Its Others: Difference, Representation and Appropriation in Music*, ed. Georgina Born and David Hesmondhalgh (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 167.

72. He does not drop this idea altogether, but stresses that the development of society is guided by an elite group of individuals: "It is through these pioneers that the evolution of the world and of art continues, through their thought and their works. Sooner or later, this produces in the whole society a new *Weltanschauung* and consequently a new *modus operandi*." Scelsi, *Son et musique*, ed. Luciano Martinis (Rome and Venice: Le parole gelate, 1981); translated into English by Gregory Reish as "Sound and Music," in Reish, "The Transformation of Giacinto Scelsi's Musical Style," 292. Specifically, he acknowledges the strides that Anton Webern, Edgard Varèse, and the composers of electronic music have made in "investigating sound and its energy," but he dismisses much of this work because it treats music as an "intellectual or scientific pursuit" (290).

73. Scelsi, "Sound and Music," in Reish, "The Transformation of Giacinto Scelsi's Musical Style," 289–90.

74. Scelsi, "Sound and Music," in Reish, "The Transformation of Giacinto Scelsi's Musical Style," 290.

75. Matthew Head, "Musicology on Safari: Orientalism and the Spectre of Postcolonial Theory," *Music Analysis* 22, nos. 1–2 (2003): 215.

76. Noble titles were officially abolished on 1 January 1948. See Jens Petersen, "Der italienische Adel von 1861 bis 1946," in *Europäischer Adel, 1750–1950*, ed. Hans-Ulrich Wehler (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990), 258; and Luigi Rossi, "La 'Rivista Araldica' e la corporazione nobiliare nella prima metà del xx secolo," *Nuova Rivista Storica* 82, no. 2 (1998): 338.

77. Scelsi, "Art and Knowledge," in Reish, "The Transformation of Giacinto Scelsi's Musical Style," 300.

78. Scelsi, "Art and Knowledge," in Reish, "The Transformation of Giacinto Scelsi's Musical Style," 301.

79. Scelsi, "Art and Knowledge," in Reish, "The Transformation of Giacinto Scelsi's Musical Style," 300.

80. The terms come from Corbett, "Experimental Oriental," 170–73.

81. Scelsi, "Ohne Titel," in *Giacinto Scelsi*, ed. H. K. Metzger, 111; English translation in *Perspectives of New Music* 22, nos. 1–2 (Fall 1983–Summer 1984): 265.

82. "Denn die Textstelle, wo die Lage des Hauses am Foro Romano mit dem persönlichen Schicksal seines Besitzers identifiziert wird . . . bringt . . . eine spezifische Hommage an einen der archaistischen Aspekte der abendländischen aristokratischen Kultur zur Geltung: die Personifikation des Grundeigentums als des anorganischen Körpers dessen, der es besitzt." Annibaldi, "Der schuldlose Musiker," 107.

83. Scelsi, "Sound and Music," in Reish, "The Transformation of Giacinto Scelsi's Musical Style," 287.

84. Reish notes that the idea of limitless sound (anahata) that Scelsi draws from Hindu sources is central to the new aesthetic that he formulated in the late 1940s and early 1950s. Another term Scelsi adopts is "nada-brahman," translated as causal, supreme, sacred or primal sound (Reish, "The Transformation of Giacinto Scelsi's Musical Style," 68–69). This primal sound is atemporal, without beginning or end, which, as Reish notes, distinguishes it from "worldly sound," which is temporal: "This differentiation between temporal music and atemporal sound emerges as a fundamental tenet of Scelsi's developing aesthetic. . . . His use of this term ["anahata"] presupposes a fundamental dichotomy between cosmic sound that is latent and infinite (anahata: unstruck), and worldly sounds that are actual and finite (ahata: struck)" (73).

85. He mentions in this regard accounts of "supernatural choirs" in Emanuel Swedenborg and Jacob Boehm, noting that "these sonorous illuminations resemble certain mystical states of consciousness, in which the realities of the greater, super-terrestrial, perhaps divine worlds are manifested." He goes on to state: "In certain moments these manifestations make us conscious of the super-worldly realities which sooner or later men are chosen to reach." Scelsi, "Sound and Music," in Reish, "The Transformation of Giacinto Scelsi's Musical Style," 296. Note that Scelsi restricts this achievement to a small group of the chosen, which allows him to reinstate into his imagined spiritual realm.

86. Other authors have also seen the harmonies in this passage as representing pathos. Referring to Scelsi's contention in "The Meaning of Music" that harmony constitutes the psychic dimension of music, Wolfgang Thein writes that "zur Verdeutlichung des 'Pathos,' der Gefühlsebene also, werden zusätzliche akkordische Zustände (Harmonie als dem Psychismus zugehöriges Element!) eingefügt." Thein, "Botschaft und Konstruktion—nichtimprovisierte Momente in der Musik Giacinto Scelsis," in *Giacinto Scelsi: Im Innern des Tons*, 63. Joachim Noller also points to this passage as a signifier of pathos, drawing attention in particular to the half-step motion in the outer voices, which he describes as a "sigh" motive. See Noller, "Scelsi und das Geistige in der Musik," in *Giacinto Scelsi: Im Innern des Tons*, 99–100.

87. Scelsi would occasionally play his improvisations backwards and have these transcribed if he was unsatisfied with the initial result. See Uitti, "Preserving the Scelsi Improvisations," 13.

88. Specifically, Thein notes that "nach der Rückbesinnung auf den Basiston in Satz IV wird diese f‴ als der aus der Reihe der oberen Partialtöne noch nicht auskristallierte, nunmehr 'frei' gewordene und als natürliche Folge des b erscheinenden Tons zur Achse des Schlußsatzes." Wolfgang Thein, "Drama und Katharsis: Giacinto Scelsis Quartetto no. 3 (1963)," *Melos* 47, no. 4 (1985): 37. He goes on to say that the raising of the closing F by a quarter tone opposes an affirmative ending.

89. Noller's interpretation of the Third String Quartet's program more or less accords with the interpretation presented to this point. He contends that pathos (i.e., expression) dominates the piece up through the fourth movement, which then gives way to ethos (i.e., spirituality). However, as I argue in the continuation, the division between pathos and ethos is not as stark as Noller would have it: "Hier Pathos, dort Ethos; hier Affekt, dort Geistigkeit. Das eine wird denunziert, das andere gepriesen, ein Teil des Menschlichen wird ausgeklammert, ein anderer hypostatiert." Noller, "Scelsi und das Geistige in der Musik," 102.

90. *Trilogia* for solo cello is particularly intriguing in this regard, since it is expressly autobiographical. Uitti, who worked closely with Scelsi in editing the piece, notes that "he considered [it] an autobiography in sound representing his own passage through life: the energy of youth, reflection and drama in the middle years, and finally liberation in old age." Uitti, liner notes, *Trilogia*, Etcetera Records KTC1136 (compact disc), n.p. The work comprises three separate three-movement pieces, each of which represents, as the subtitle of the work states, "The Three Ages of Man" (youth, adulthood, and old age). The final piece, *Ygghur* (which means catharsis in Sanskrit) is, like the conclusion of the Third String Quartet, curiously somber in tone, "composing out" a B-flat/A-sharp minor triad over the course of its three movements.

91. It is perhaps this quality that Tristan Murail refers to when he describes the triadic harmonies that crop up in Scelsi's music as possessing "l'effet étrange, nostalgique, à la fois familiers et inconnus, proches et comme inaccessibles." See Murail, "Scelsi, dé-compositeur," in *Modèles et artifices*, ed. Pierre Michel (Strasbourg, AT: Presses Universitaires de Strasbourg, 2004), 83.

92. Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production*, 44.

93. Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production*, 44.

94. Wilson incisively notes that Scelsi's opponents adhere to a "Handwerks-Ethos," which sets them against the avant-garde: "Die inszenierte Aufregung um den 'Fall' Scelsi war kaum mehr als ein Sturm im Wasserglas, eine durchsichtige Kampagne konservativer Zeitgenossen, um eine mißliebige, da nicht dem tradierten Handwerks-Ethos verpflichtete Musik zu diskreditieren und persönliche Aversionen gegen 'die Avantgarde' im allgemeinen und den adligen Tonsetzer im besonderen zu ventilieren." Wilson, "Entsubjektivierung und Subjektivität," 57.

95. Alvin Gouldner, *The Future of Intellectuals and the Rise of the New Class* (New York: Seabury Press, 1979), 60–63. For a sketch of Bourdieu's multidimensional mapping of class relations, see Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984), 114–25. For an outline of Wright's theory of contradictory class positions, see Erik Olin Wright, "Intellectuals and the Class Structure of Capitalist Society," in *Between Labor and Capital*, ed. Pat Walker (Boston: South End Press, 1979), 191–211. Wright has since revised his theory, arguing that different class positions are defined according to access to a number of different assets (property, skills, organization). Nonetheless, to the extent that some groups may control some assets and not others, they will effectively occupy a contradictory position. See Wright, "A General Framework for the Analysis of Class Structure," in *The Debate on Classes*, ed. Erik Olin Wright (London: Verso, 1989), 3–43, esp. 24 ff.

96. Consider in this regard Tosatti's statement, after having given up composing because of his failing eyesight, that "I am glad to be linked to the authors of the past: for I too am an author of the past, I am a survivor, [and it is] not without reason that I have ceased composing" (Ich knüpfe lieber an die Autoren der Vergangenheit an: Auch ich bin ein Autor der Vergangenheit, ich bin ein Überlebender, nicht umsonst habe ich aufgehört zu komponieren). See Jaecker, "Der Dilettant und die Profis," 36.

Some Images of Creation in Music of the Viennese Classical School

Maynard Solomon

In the Adagio–Allegro gambit that opens his String Quartet in C Major, K. 465 ("Dissonance"), of 1785, Mozart established an archetypal cluster of musical procedures that, whatever their manifold representational potentialities, could also serve to evoke ideas of universal creation. Of course, Mozart's innovative archetype may legitimately be understood in a variety of other ways; at the least, common informed opinion has accepted it as a special kind of slow introduction in a churchly style or as a musical metaphor for every sort of progression from obscurity to clarification (Ex. 1). The opening of the "Dissonance" Quartet can also be regarded simply as a set of simultaneous transitions—from Adagio to Allegro, from an indeterminate key to an unmistakable one, from an arduous and gnarled rhetorical texture to an open and unobstructed musical vista (Ex. 2).

But the archetype is not unitary, inflexible, or monolithic; indeed, its very openness encouraged later composers to enter the lists with variant approaches to the issues, hoping to develop implications that Mozart may have overlooked or considered extraneous. Whatever their similarities, later attempts differ from Mozart's model in crucial details; and these perhaps constitute the hallmarks by which we can recognize each composer's enrichment of the archetype, an expansion of its scope. What they retain are such prominent features of the original as the slow introduction, an austere rhythmic pace, an ambiguous initial tonality, a variety of chromaticized harmonic progressions, and an ultimate arrival at a simple open texture and an unmistakable primary tonality.

The "Dissonance" Quartet does not open with a dissonance. Instead, its first measure establishes the opportunity for dissonance by sounding an uninflected, repeated C-natural in the cello, marked *piano*. These four Cs may imply a state of undisturbed simplicity or potentiality, a condition that is as yet undefined, one that will not last a full measure, for on the fifth eighth note the music plunges into deep ambiguity and

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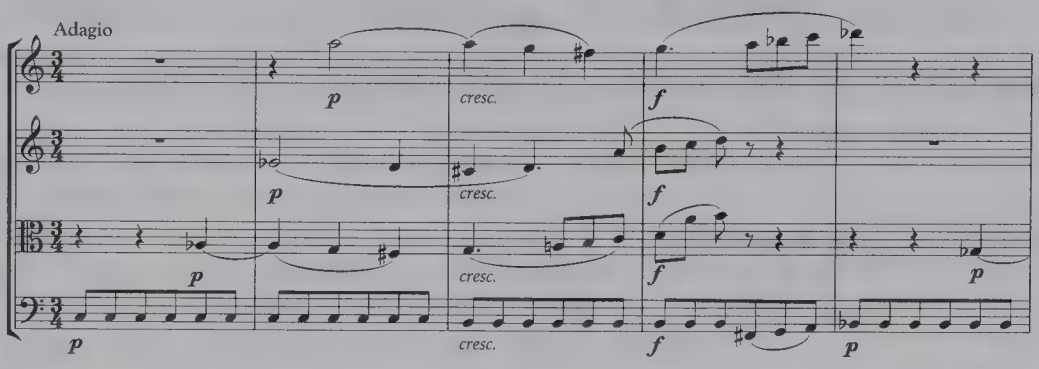
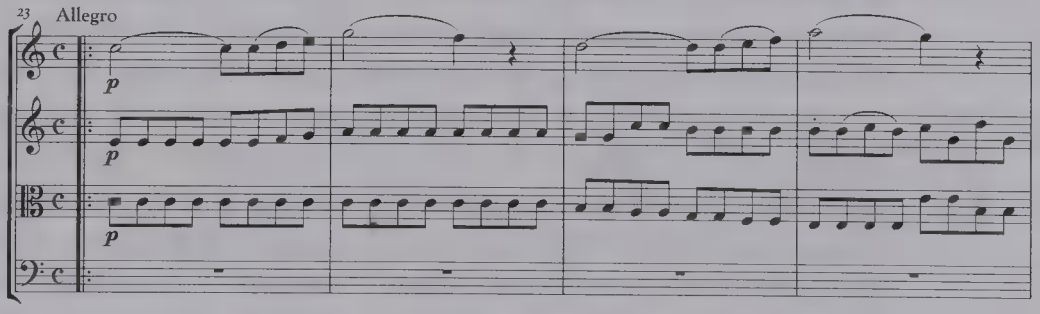
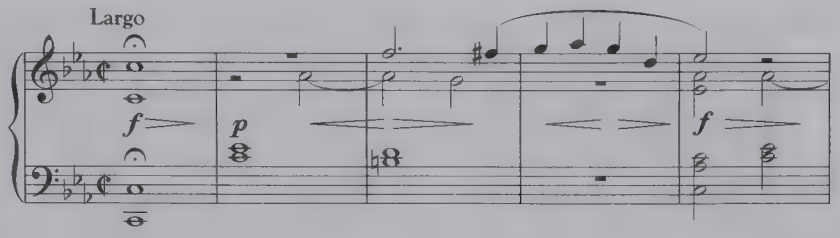
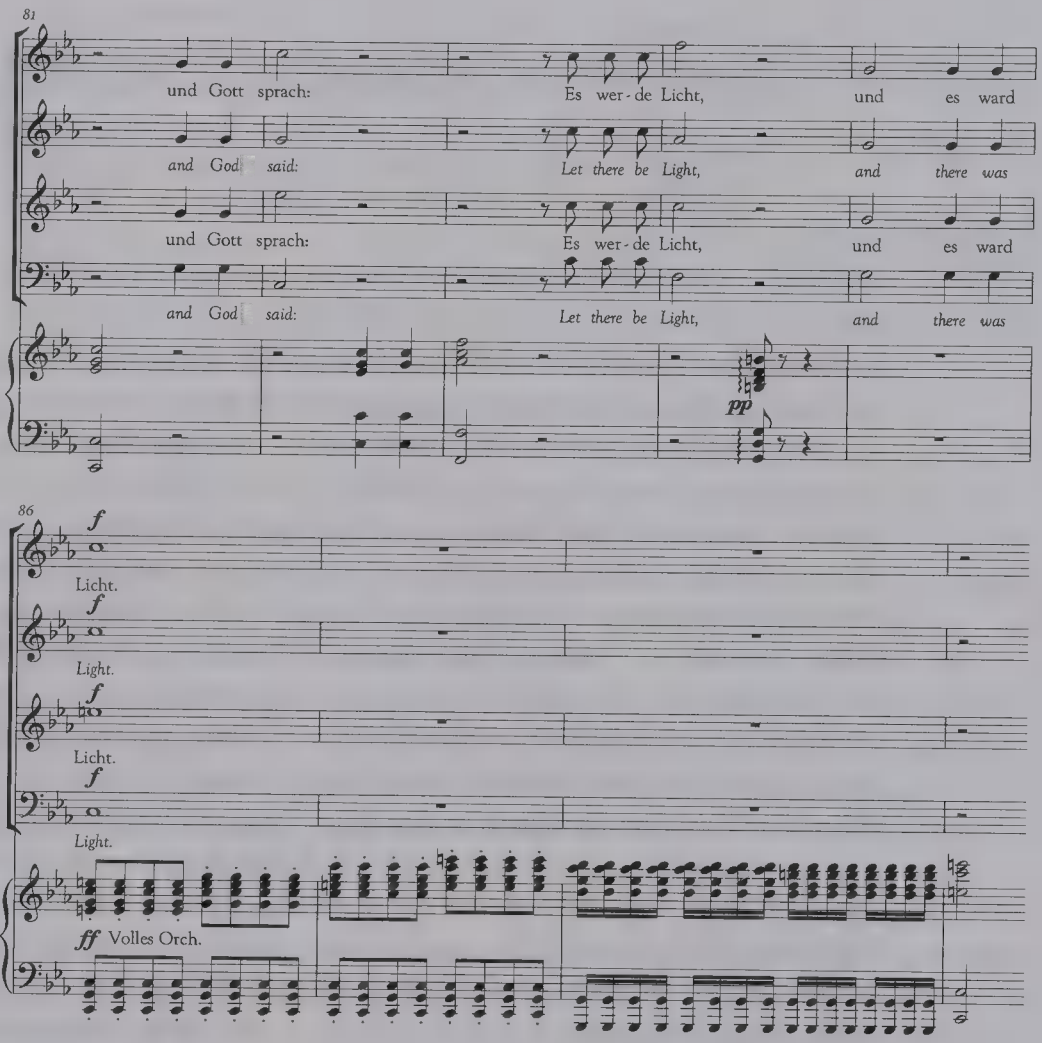

Example 1. Mozart, String Quartet in C Major, "Dissonance," first movement, Adagio, mm. 1–5.

dislocation. The twenty-two–measure Adagio pursues a circuitous route that proceeds from these Cs to C major, suggesting, perhaps, an attempt to restore a lost or misplaced equilibrium. It generates a powerful momentum, driven, observes László Somfai, by Mozart's use of "the inner voices to bridge every rest."[1] Mozart's archetype awakens a multiplicity of metaphors—not only disorder dissolving into form or darkness into radiance, but also reason and harmony prevailing over anxiety and discord of every kind. Its aims include restoration of the initial state of simplicity and discovery of a concealed tonal center.

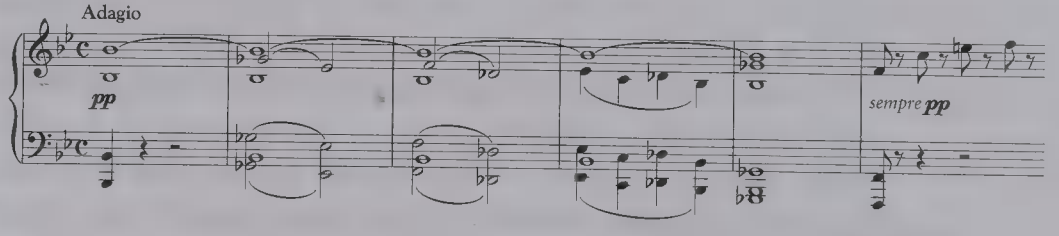
Mozart's intentions are not specified: even the "Dissonance" nickname is not his own. But in retrospect the music's aptness as a metaphor for the process of divine creation or a related cosmogonic narrative, and in particular for the materialization of order out of chaos, seems to have been transparent to Joseph Haydn, who made its creation symbolism altogether explicit in the first measures of his oratorio, *The Creation* (*Die Schöpfung*), completed in 1798. He did so by limiting the implications of the metaphor and by linking it to a specific title and explanatory text. The oratorio opens with an overture for orchestra alone, plainly labeled "Representation of Chaos" (*Vorstellung des Chaos*), written in a stately

Example 2. Mozart, String Quartet in C Major, "Dissonance," first movement, Allegro, mm. 23–26.

Example 3. Haydn, *The Creation*, No. 1, Largo, "Representation of Chaos," mm. 1–5.

largo tempo appropriate for grand ceremonial occasions. A mighty unison chord on C, *forte* and diminuendo, initiates the action, designating the instant at which the cosmos makes its appearance (Ex. 3): "Here is your infinite empty space," exclaimed Donald Francis Tovey, who clearly understood that Haydn and his librettist Gottfried van Swieten did not define chaos as a state of disorder but rather opted for its alternative meaning—the infinity of space or the formlessness of matter prior to creation.[2] Thus, unlike Mozart's, Haydn's archetype does not rely primarily on a move from discord to concord;[3] instead, Haydn starts with a minimalist unison, decrescendo, and then proceeds to flesh out or populate this bare, skeletal universe, as though to enact the very process of creation by filling in the void.[4] Thereafter, Haydn's music closely tracks the scriptural account, in a virtuoso display of the manifold varieties of musical representation. In the first vocal number, "In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth," Haydn may even have trumped Mozart's chromatic quasi-initiatory passage, with its implied move through darkness, by setting the climactic word of the phrase "And there was light" (*Und es ward Licht*) with a crashing, pulsating C-major chord to a tremendous accompaniment of kettledrums (Ex. 4).

The opening of Haydn's *Creation* tells of the formation of the universe out of nothingness through the operation of a supernatural agency. It is not concerned with multiplying other kinds of significance. Rather, the oratorio is satisfied merely to confirm the account in the book of Genesis, celebrating the glories of God and the wonders of his works. Thus, Haydn's overture may be taken as a simplification of the mystifying, suspension-propelled passage that opens Mozart's "Dissonance" Quartet. In turn, the Adagio introduction to Beethoven's Symphony No. 4 in B-flat Major, op. 60—written in 1806—can be interpreted either as a reversion to Mozart's model or as a sibling of the instrumental opening of Haydn's *Creation*. It may owe something to both. Unlike Haydn, Beethoven does not try to make connections to a text or an extramusical image; perhaps there was no need, because even a faint allusion to the famous oratorio would have been instantly recognized.



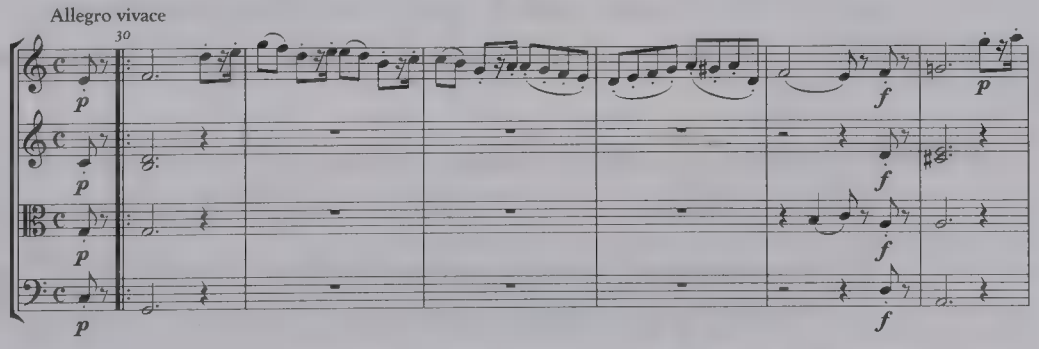
Example 4. Haydn, *The Creation*, No. 1, Largo, mm. 81–89.

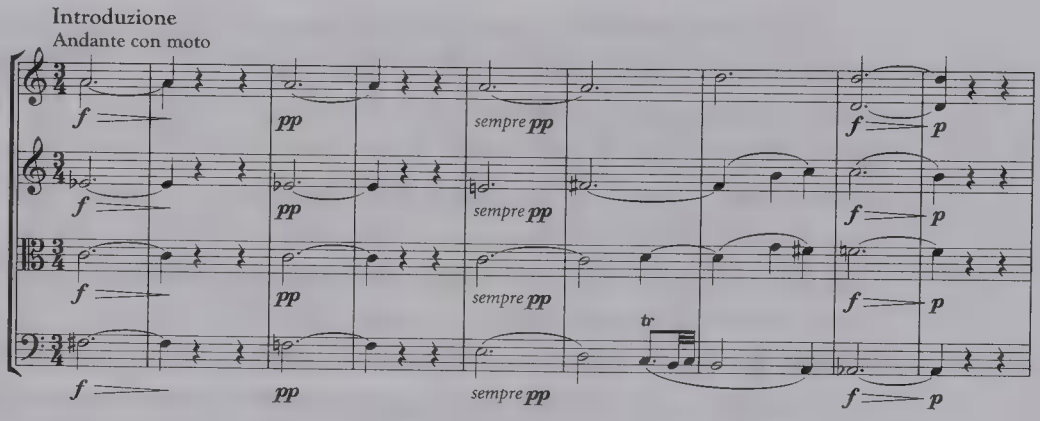
Like Mozart, Beethoven provides a hint of the enigmatic that may have been irrelevant to Haydn's sublime purposes, employing distant harmonies and ambiguous tonalities to evoke remote or unfamiliar regions. The Adagio is *pianissimo* throughout, save for an occasional atmospheric pizzicato or *forte* interjection to accentuate the sense of a ceremonial process (Ex. 5).

Example 5. Beethoven, Symphony No. 4 in B-flat Major, Adagio, mm. 1–6.

Another traversal of very similar issues occurs in the Introduzione to Beethoven's String Quartet in C Major, op. 59, no. 3 ("Razumovsky"), written almost simultaneously with the Fourth Symphony in 1806. Here again, the primary model seems to be the opening Adagio of the "Dissonance" Quartet,[5] though Haydn's precedent is also close at hand in the opening chord's diminuendo. And here again there are implications of a creation scenario, but now also conveying the feeling of being cut adrift in an alien or inchoate region, groping toward wakefulness, moving from one key center to another, attempting somehow to overcome the sense of uncertainty and to emerge into a more familiar, friendlier territory. As in the "Dissonance" Quartet and *The Creation*, the labyrinthian or chaotic world is decisively transcended by a move toward a decisive arrival in C major (Ex. 6). But, surprisingly, neither Mozart nor Haydn chose the option of starting with a dissonance, so, as Joseph Kerman noted, it was left to Beethoven to begin "in limbo," with a powerful diminished-seventh chord, "utterly vague" as to its intended harmonic trajectory, because the chord can potentially be resolved "to any one of eight triads" (Ex. 7).[6] (When it came Schubert's turn, in the opening measures of his String Quartet in G Major, D. 887, he embraced the available option of reversing the dynamics of the opening chord, which proceeds in a single whip-like stroke from *piano* to *fortissimo*.)

To summarize: Mozart's radical opening move in the "Dissonance" Quartet left its mark on Haydn's *Creation* and several of Beethoven's middle-period compositions. By the second decade of the nineteenth century, however, the Mozartian archetype may have appeared to have lost much of its force, which depended in large part on the startling effect of novelty.

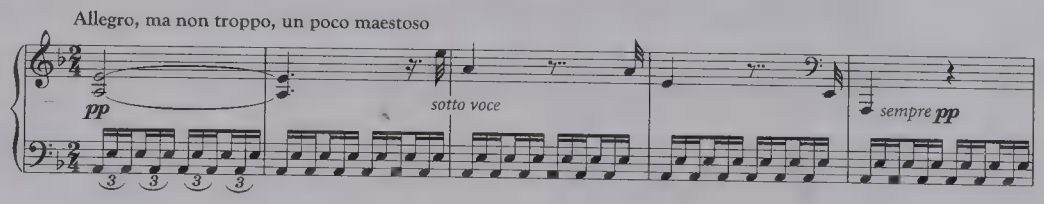
Still, Beethoven was not done with the idea of representing the conversion of chaos into order, which is an underlying template of many



Example 6. Beethoven, String Quartet in C Major, op. 59, no. 3, "Razumovsky," first movement, Allegro vivace, mm. 30–35.

Example 7. Beethoven, String Quartet in C Major, op. 59, no. 3, "Razumovsky," Introduzione, Andante con moto, mm. 1–9.

characteristic creation scenarios. In the Ninth Symphony he launched an ambitious rival model, with creation evoked as a questing process that is encoded into the gargantuan design of its four-movement structure. Drenched in mythic imagery, the narrative arc of the symphony ends with the finding of a place beyond the stars where an invisible father-deity, assisted by an Elysian goddess named Freude, presides over a band of heroic brothers plying a heavenly course. Beethoven began that symphony with a newly minted sign for disclosure of the most remote—and most sacred—regions of the firmament (Ex. 8).[7]

Here, the entire process of creation is swiftly condensed into a handful of measures. Harmonic indeterminacy, represented by oscillating open fourths and fifths, stands for the indeterminacy of a universe as yet devoid of form. And then the symphony, faced with a fateful choice between major and minor, proclaims itself in a hammer-like cadence at mm. 20–22 as D minor, an unwelcome key to which Beethoven has assigned negative connotations that will ultimately, after many false starts and detours, be supplanted by D major. For it is D major that Beethoven designated as worthy to embody the sentiments and ideals of the "An die Freude" melody, whose much-delayed and much-foreshadowed appearance marks the fulfillment of several converging

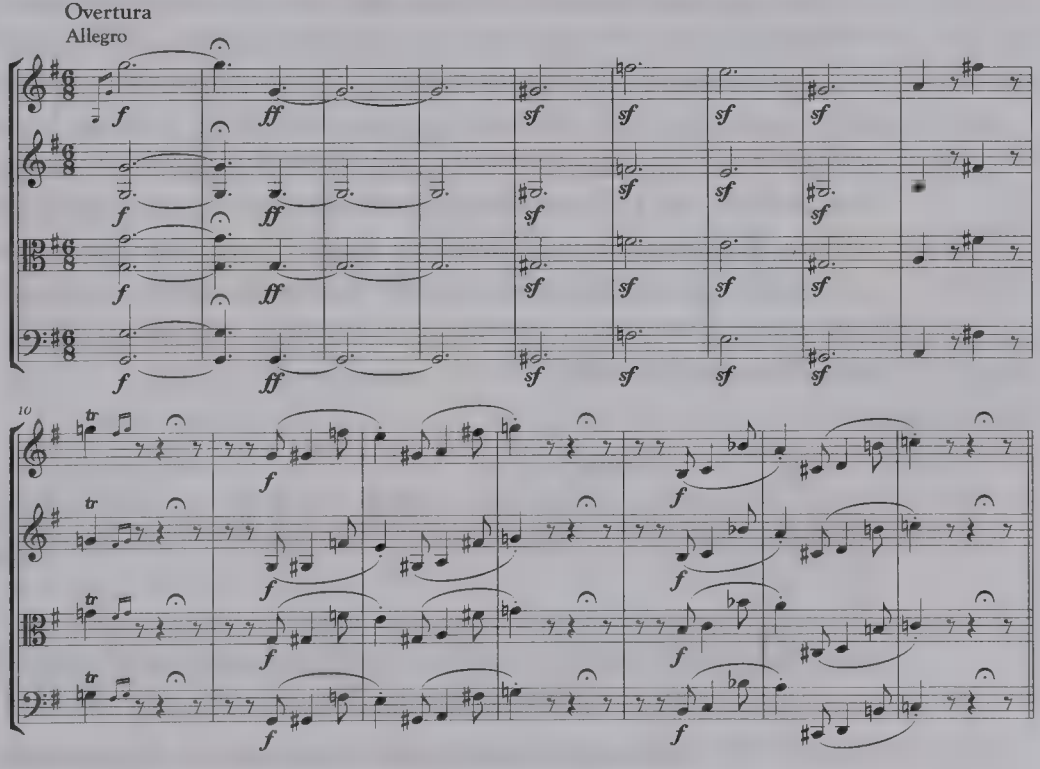


Example 8. Beethoven, Symphony No. 9 in D Minor, Allegro ma non troppo, mm. 1–5.

quests. In the Ninth Symphony, creation has taken a wrong turn, one that at the beginning of the finale must eventually be corrected by the baritone's rejection of the first three movements—"O Freunde, nicht diese Töne"—but this will not happen without a prolonged consideration of the alternatives.

Whatever else it may be, the Grosse Fuge, op. 133, the gigantic contrapuntal movement originally intended to close the String Quartet in B-flat Major, op. 130, may also be considered as an ingenious creation simulation. Beethoven's innovation in the thirty-measure Overtura to the fugue is to picture an initial state of fracture, "a splintered chaos," as I have suggested elsewhere, from which "a coherent universe" will eventually be put together.[8] Clearly punctuated by an emphatic series of fermatas, we hear disjunctive elements bursting into life and then breaking off or abruptly falling silent, like a shower of meteors burning out in the atmosphere (Ex. 9).

Later, in the fugue itself, these elements will be revealed as the rough-hewn building blocks of a new universe that now needs to be assembled—or reassembled. In the long run, a triumphal ordered design—a blending of the learned style with the expressiveness of



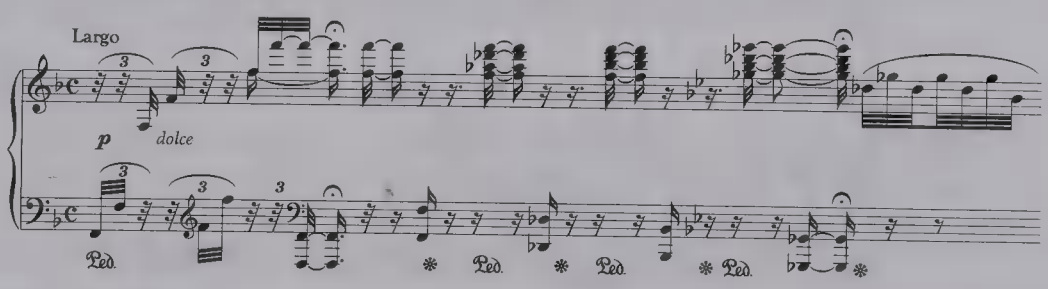
Example 9. Beethoven, Grosse Fuge, op. 133, Overtura, Allegro, mm. 1–16.

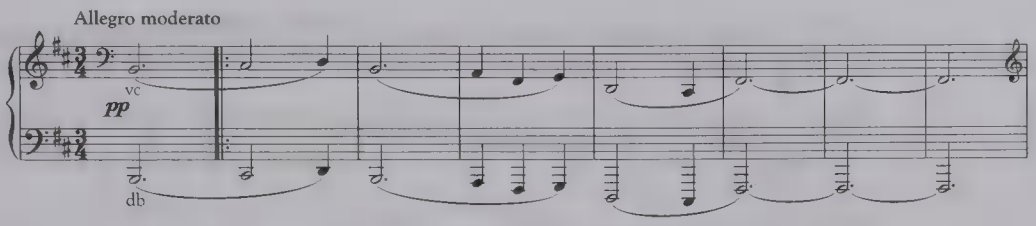
songful melody—emerges from these musical splinters. The central idea: everything that is now separated will be united. In other words, the Grosse Fuge may be read as a variant of a crucial thought in the opening verse of Friedrich Schiller's "An die Freude": "Thy magical powers will again bind together that which custom has sternly separated."

In the B-flat String Quartet's original form, the Fugue bears the implication of a "new beginning," of starting over after having reached the ultimate state of nightmarish disintegration that the Cavatina traverses. Thus, here too the Fugue pursues a structural idea similar to that of the Ninth Symphony scenario, albeit without the symphony's dismissive review of the themes of the prior movements.

Earlier in his last decade Beethoven used a very similar idea for the finale of the Sonata in B-flat Major, op. 106 ("Hammerklavier"), where a Largo overture composed of improvisatory and even disordered materials runs its course and then culminates in a colossal multisectional fugue, the Allegro risoluto. Here, too, the juxtaposition calls up an image of a shattered world in search of wholeness. But we should not overlook the open octaves with which the Largo opens (m. 1) and to which it reverts toward the close (mm. 8–9), for here Beethoven has absorbed Haydn's lesson in how music is capable of representing—and then occupying, filling in—an infinite, empty space (Ex. 10).

Of course, inasmuch as both the Overtura of the Grosse Fuge and the Largo of the "Hammerklavier" Sonata are preludes to finales, it is reasonable to ask whether an ending can also serve as a beginning. But when he severed the Grosse Fuge from the B-flat String Quartet, opting for its separate publication as opus 133, and authorized the publication (but only in the London edition) of the sonata's Largo and Allegro risoluto as a separate, self-standing work, Beethoven may already have undercut the objection. For thereby he cobbled both endings into beginnings—with their potential to limn the idea of creation unexpectedly disclosed.



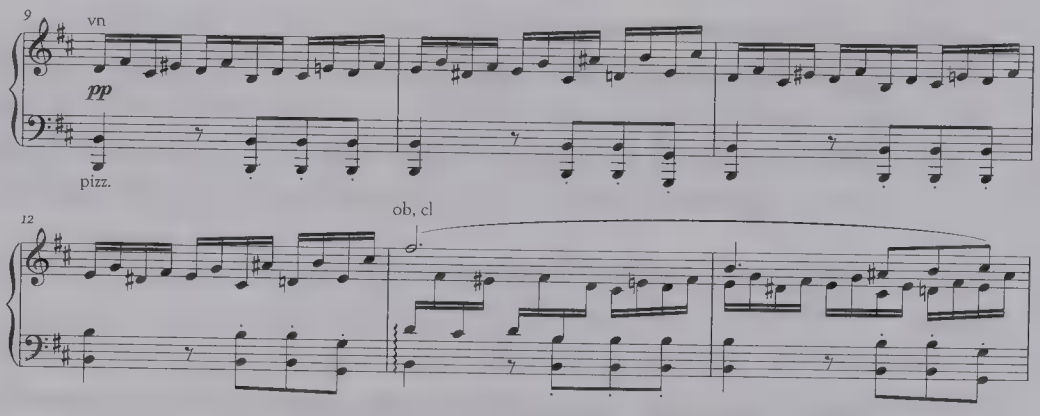
Example 10. Beethoven, Sonata in B-flat Major, op. 106, "Hammerklavier," Largo, m. 1.

Example 11. Schubert, Symphony in B Minor, "Unfinished," Allegro moderato, mm. 1–8.

Clearly, up to the very end of his life, Beethoven had not exhausted the possibilities of finding fresh musical imagery evocative of the idea of creation. But despite his overflowing imagination he never came close to anticipating Schubert's extraordinarily novel essay on the representation of emergence and kindred ideas. It is in the first eight bars of the Symphony in B Minor, D. 759 ("Unfinished"), of 1822, where the stirrings of creation are relocated, not to a chaotic, unformed universe, but to a primordial time and place (Ex. 11).

The opening theme, sounded *pianissimo* by the cellos and double basses, seems to represent an awakening in the depths—or some equivalently obscure locale, such as darkness, the interior of the mind, or the unexplored regions of the heavenly vault. There is something mysterious, even uncanny, about this low voice: its unharmonized unison melody speaks of an archaic, undifferentiated state of being, prior to the invention of harmony, counterpoint, and complex sonorities. The theme traces a twisting path from tonic to dominant, falling to touch a C-sharp just short of the lower boundary of the orchestral range, then resolving upward to a sustained F-sharp, which lasts for three measures and appears poised to complete its narrative.

Instead, with a single pizzicato at the beginning of m. 9 signaling the close of the overture, the dark-hued theme suddenly inaugurates a different kind of motion—an insistent drumbeat pattern in the lower strings; a scherzo-like rippling of the violins in sixteenth notes; a dispersal of the unison into two, three, and still more voices, all clamoring to be heard (Ex. 12). And now, at m. 44, against a lightly pulsing syncopated pattern, the cellos unveil a G-major melody that seems to mark a passage from the primordial to the human, the arrival of voice, feeling, and beauty (Ex. 13).

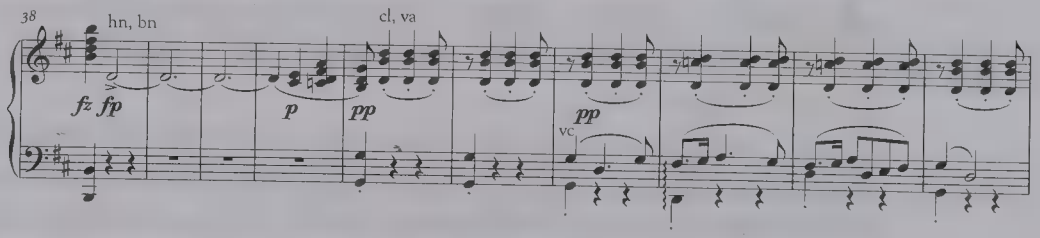
As in the unveiling and discovery of the "An die Freude" melody in the Ninth Symphony, the melody is withheld before it is revealed. But Schubert finds his Grail-melody near the outset rather than, like Beethoven, only in the closing movement, after considerably extended trials, rejections, and the overcoming of obstacles; Schubert has arranged

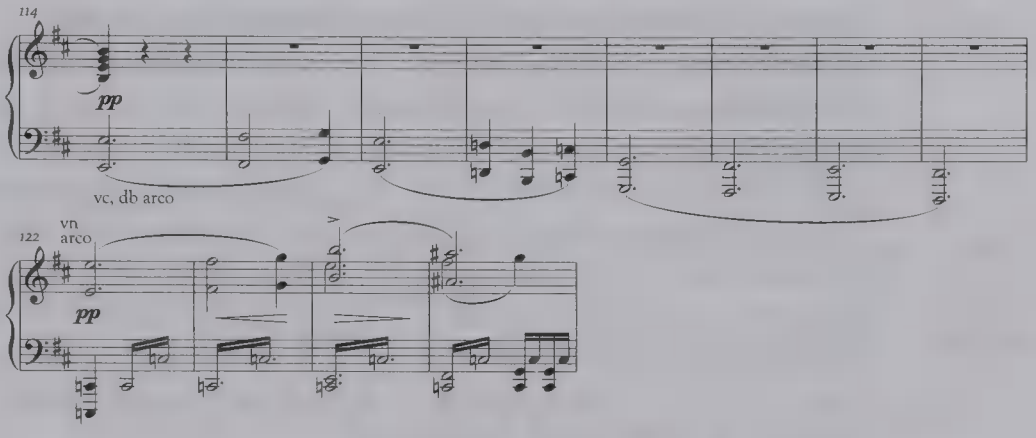


Example 12. Schubert, Symphony in B Minor, "Unfinished," Allegro moderato, mm. 9–14.

things so that the melody can participate in a fateful clash of opposing ideas in the opening Allegro moderato.

For Schubert, unlike his predecessors, creation is not solely a prelude to the onset of action but a vital element of action itself, more akin to an account of an epic battle than to a recitation of a Biblical chronicle. In the course of the development, the opening theme will renew its bid for sovereignty over the G-major theme, ignoring the upward pull of the expected dominant harmony as the cellos and double basses press insistently downward through E minor into C minor, and sound the low C-natural in seven measures of tremolo strokes that underscore the power of these fathomless forces, which will then commence a chromatic ascent, heedless of every impediment. The ensuing conflict can be viewed in many ways, but prominent among them is a clash between a relentless descent to the nethermost regions and a countermove toward the celestial (Ex. 14). The crux of the action is the downward breakthrough to the C-natural at m. 122, heard against a rising figure in the first violins, when the outcome is still completely open. The exposition has offered sonic portraits of irreconcilable forces; the development unleashes the struggle between them. The contest and its outcome constitute an implied narrative of the movement as a whole.



Example 13. Schubert, Symphony in B Minor, "Unfinished," Allegro moderato, mm. 38–47.

Example 14. Schubert, Symphony in B Minor, "Unfinished," Allegro moderato, mm. 114–25.

The structural outline of Schubert's symphony implied here is analogous to what literary critic Northrop Frye catalogued as one of the "primary narrative movements" in myth and literature, namely, the permutations of descents and ascents from and to higher and lower worlds.[9] These include descents from the celestial to the terrestrial and subterrestrial, and ascents that travel in the opposite direction, along with spatial confrontations between these competing entities. The Commendatore's return from the tomb to fetch Don Giovanni is such a vertical permutation of this musical topic, compounded of Gothic tropes and trickster myths. Similarly, many are delighted but none are surprised by Pamina and Tamino's arduous journey through darkness to the light in *Die Zauberflöte*, for this was a period of Masonic cultural ascendancy, which provided an easy familiarity with the initiation rituals of the mystery religions. Beethoven, too, seems to have set out to inscribe several of these narrative designs in his own music, as in the fluttering descent from heaven to the altar pictured by flutes and a solo violin in the Benedictus of the *Missa solemnis*; the descent in *Fidelio* to a subterranean world in search of the imprisoned and entombed Florestan; and the ascent to the loftiest region of the universe—"above the starry firmament" where a loving father surely dwells—in the finale of the Ninth Symphony. A journey to the underworld may also be implied in the Symphony No. 3 in E-flat Major, op. 55 ("Eroica"), if we take its funeral march as a descent to an infernal place where death traditionally holds sway, but where, after utter disintegration at the close, the possibilities of reascending to a realm of illumination (or of reinhabiting a lost Arcadia) are not lost.

Typical symphonies by Haydn and Mozart—and also such early Apollonian works as Schubert's Symphony No. 5 in B-flat Major,

D. 485—are often characterized as exhibiting ideas of order, connectedness, and benevolence, and sometimes seen as celebrations of a harmonious world or a good society. Haydn's classicism is even held to exemplify Pope's rationalist aphorism in his "Essay on Man": "What is, is right." And Swieten's libretto for *The Creation* reinforces this reading: "The earth and heavens, O Lord and God, are filled with thy goodness. The universe, so great, so wonderful, is thy handiwork" (no. 30).[10] Schubert's momentous innovation in the first movement of the "Unfinished" Symphony was to provide a skeptical response to these sorts of optimistic assumptions; he did not take reason, divine planning, harmony, or faith's power for granted.

For Schubert's precursors, creation characteristically issued from the will of a rational divinity, personified as the supreme architect of the universe. But Schubert's narrative does not presuppose or imply an initiating godhead mapping a divine blueprint; nor does he accept as a given that order will inevitably replace chaos. Rather, whether by conscious design or creative happenstance, he seems to have located a powerful antagonistic force warring against a rational and consoling theological principle, thereby undermining the assumptions of conventional Hebraic and Christian ideas of genesis.[11] In contrast to Biblical descriptions of creation, where we know the favorable result from the beginning, here nothing is preordained, everything is open to question, and there are even good grounds to wager one's money on the subterranean powers.

Later in the nineteenth century, the belief in creation as an endowment from above found itself challenged by narratives drawn from Darwin's theory of evolution, which implied, in cultural historian Gillian Beer's description, a "difficult ascent from swamp, from an unknown progenitor" rather than a "descent from a lofty deity."[12] "Evolutionary theory," Beer continued, "implies a new myth of the past: instead of the garden at the beginning, there was the sea and the swamp."[13] But it did not take a prefiguration of Darwinism to arrive at the concept of a creation from below, for that idea was already widespread in pre-Socratic philosophy and pre-Biblical mythologies of the ancient Near East that describe the origin of the cosmos as arising from a combat between a divine protagonist and a primordial entity or substance (such as fire, flood, or chaos).[14] Creation legends of the most ancient nations also frequently featured accounts of a universal cataclysm or deluge, with destruction so total that a second creation was required to restore the human world. Thus, cataclysm was seen as the occasion for a new, post-calamity creation, a second creation.[15]

Nor were such conceptions of creation unfamiliar even to readers of the Psalms:

> Thou didst divide the sea by thy strength: thou brakest the heads of the dragons in the waters.
>
> Thou brakest the heads of leviathan in pieces, and gavest him to be meat to the people inhabiting the wilderness.
>
> Thou didst cleave the fountain and the flood: thou driedest up mighty rivers. . .
>
> Thou hast set all the borders of the earth: thou hast made summer and winter.
>
> (Psalms 74.12–17)

In this brief survey we have seen, in turn, each of the leading composers of the Viennese School seeking to locate unsolved problems and to reveal unexplored possibilities in the implied creation scenarios that were set in motion with the opening Adagio of Mozart's "Dissonance" Quartet. The problems inherent in this rare and atypical kind of beginning were thereby placed on the agenda of the Classical style, and Haydn and Beethoven quickly tracked down some of their implications. In the course of time Schubert, perhaps sensing that the most interesting implications of Mozart's model had by then been drawn, grasped the possibility of starting from scratch, and he wrote a beginning that could itself represent many beginnings—of time, history, the primeval, music, creation itself—and he did so in ways that his predecessors and contemporaries had overlooked, by abandoning the conventional assumption of an omnipotent shaping divinity. Thereby he was free to situate the concept of creation within a symphonic treatise on the musical representation of Manichean conflict. That in this process he would, like Beethoven in the opening of the Ninth Symphony, also be compelled to dispense with the Mozartian musical archetype is self-evident.

Notes

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March 15–17, 1979, ed. Christoph Wolff and Robert Riggs (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Department of Music, 1980), 221.

2. Donald Francis Tovey, *Essays in Musical Analysis*, vol. 5, *Vocal Music* (London: Oxford University Press, 1937), 115.

3. For learned discussions of the issues and implications, see James Webster, *Haydn's "Farewell" Symphony and the Idea of Classical Style* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 230–31 and passim; James Webster, "*The Creation*, Haydn's Late Vocal Music, and the Musical Sublime," in *Haydn and His World*, ed. Elaine Sisman (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997), 57–102, esp. 64–66; Lawrence Kramer, "Haydn's Chaos, Schenker's Order; or, Hermeneutics and Musical Analysis: Can They Mix?" *Nineteenth-Century Music* 16 (1992): 3–17; Lawrence Kramer, "Music and Representation: The Instance of Haydn's *Creation*," in *Music and Text: Critical Inquiries*, ed. Steven Paul Scher (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Nicholas Temperley, *Haydn: "The Creation"* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 47–51 and passim; Bruce C. MacIntyre, *Haydn: "The Creation"* (New York: Schirmer, 1998), 67–80; A. Peter Brown, "Haydn's Chaos: Genesis and Genre," *Musical Quarterly* 73 (1989): 18–59; and Richard Kramer, "Haydn's *Chaos* and Herder's *Logos*" (a chapter of a work in progress).

4. See Kramer, "Music and Representation," 148; MacIntyre, *Haydn*, 79.

5. See Joseph Kerman, *The Beethoven Quartets* (New York: Knopf, 1967), 139–40, also 135. Michael Steinberg connects the Introduzione with both the "Dissonance" Quartet and with Haydn's "Representation of Chaos" in *The Creation*. See Michael Steinberg, "Notes on the Quartets: Early Quartets, Middle Quartets, Late Quartets," in *The Beethoven Quartet Companion*, ed. Robert Winter and Robert Martin (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 189.

6. Kerman, *Beethoven Quartets*, 135, 136; see also Lawrence Kramer, *Music and Poetry, the Nineteenth Century and After* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 57–90, esp. 58 and 60–64.

7. For earlier interpretations of the Ninth Symphony as a mythopoeic creation scenario, see Wilhelm von Lenz, *Beethoven. Eine Kunst-Studie*, vol. 4, part 4 (Hamburg: Hoffmann & Campe, 1860), 177, 183, 208, and Otto Baensch, *Aufbau und Sinn des Chorfinales in Beethovens neunter Symphonie* (Berlin and Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter, 1930), 94–95; see also Maynard Solomon, "Beethoven's Ninth Symphony: A Search for Order," in *Beethoven Essays* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988), 3–32, esp. 9–13.

8. Maynard Solomon, *Late Beethoven: Music, Thought, Imagination* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 240–41.

9. Northrop Frye, *The Secular Scripture. A Study of the Structure of Romance* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1976), 97.

10. The German text reads: "Von deiner Güt', o Herr und Gott, ist Erd' und Himmel voll. Die Welt, so groß, so wunderbar, ist deiner Hände Werk." See Temperley, *Haydn*, 62.

11. Haydn emphasized the purposes of *The Creation* as a spur to faith—to make the listener "most susceptible to the kindness and omnipotence of the Creator," thus magnifying the individual's "adoration and worship" of the deity. Letter to Charles Ockl,

24 July 1801, in *The Collected Correspondence and London Notebooks of Joseph Haydn*, ed. H. C. Robbins Landon (London: Barrie and Rockliff, 1959), 187; also H. C. Robbins Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle and Works*, vol. 5: *Haydn: The Late Years, 1801–1809* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1977), 71.

12. Gillian Beer, *Darwin's Plots: Evolutionary Narrative in Darwin, George Eliot and Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 106.

13. Beer, *Darwin's Plots*, 106.

14. For several examples, see "Creation," in *Harper's Bible Dictionary*, ed. Paul J. Achtemeier (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1985), 192–93.

15. For examples of the blending of creation and deluge in ancient myths, see "Lecture 5," Rev. George R. Oliver, *Signs and Symbols: Illustrated and Explained in a Course of Twelve Lectures on Freemasonry* (London: John W. Leonard, 1856), 55–72, esp. 58–59, 67–69.

Edward MacDowell's Mysterious Malady

Arnold T. Schwab

During the last two decades of the nineteenth century, the fair-haired boy of serious American music was Edward MacDowell, the first native composer to become internationally famous. Only twenty-one when he was praised by Liszt, his works were published soon afterward and frequently performed in both Europe and America. Theodor Thomas, Arthur Nikisch, Anton Seidl, and other important conductors added MacDowell to their repertoire, as did Ignacy Paderewski, Teresa Carreño, and many of the leading pianists of the era. The most influential American critics, including James Gibbons Huneker, Philip Hale, and Henry T. Finck, acclaimed him as the country's chief contributor to music. Joachim Raff, Jules Massenet, and Edvard Grieg applauded him, and young American composers took pride in his stunning success and hoped to emulate him. His breakdown at age forty-five (he was born in 1860, not 1861)[1] and his illness of almost three years was a major blow to American music.

It was not surprising that a biography of MacDowell, about whom so much had been written, appeared less than a year after his death in 1908. But what is surprising is that no thorough, musically authoritative, balanced biography has yet appeared. *Edward MacDowell: A Study* (1908), by the then young music critic Lawrence Gilman (1878–1939), does not pretend to be a full biography, as the title indicates. Only about half of its fewer than two hundred small pages is strictly biographical and some of it, including MacDowell's birthdate and illness, is inaccurate. The second half of the book, dealing with MacDowell's work, is musically sound though dated, but it has been criticized as being too favorable to MacDowell and unfair in its comments on other American composers of the period. Alan H. Levy's *Edward MacDowell: An American Master* (1998),[2] the most recent biography of the composer, is a little longer and contains a fuller picture of his personality and his tribulations with Columbia University, but it, too, is not free of

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errors and is the work of a cultural historian rather than a musicologist. The definitive, critical biography of MacDowell remains to be written.

"In years to come," Marian Nevins MacDowell wrote her husband's closest friend, composer Templeton Strong, on 4 June 1914, "someone may think it worth while to gather material for a new life [of MacDowell]."[3] She herself wrote her memoirs and carefully saved papers and other memorabilia indispensable for a thorough biography of her husband, but she refused to make them available, during her lifetime, to several potential biographers (including John Erskine)[4] who enlisted her cooperation. After her death in 1956, her archives passed into the hands of her longtime companion and foster-daughter, Nina Maud Richardson, who, she had hoped, would undertake the biography of herself and MacDowell. Perhaps Miss Richardson intended to at one time, but realizing eventually that she had neither the training nor the strength for such a project, and unwilling, I think, to reveal certain facts about MacDowell, she gave much of the material to the Library of Congress. (Several years after her death in 1969, the Library acquired the rest of it.)

In 1965, having completed a biography of MacDowell's friend and critical champion, James Huneker,[5] about whom I had corresponded briefly with Mrs. MacDowell not long before she died, I thought of writing a biography of MacDowell and then of his widow, but eventually abandoned both projects. But I did write a less ambitious, still unpublished, study of MacDowell and Huneker. While revising the manuscript, I suddenly realized why there had been no adequate biography of MacDowell. Now, after extensive research, I am convinced that he was a victim of syphilis and that Mrs. MacDowell wanted to bury the fact with her husband.[6]

I

In all but one of the published accounts of MacDowell's mental and physical breakdown that I have seen, the breakdown is described vaguely and mysteriously. Gilman writes: "There were indications of an obscure brain lesion, baffling but sinister. . . . A disintegration of the brain-tissues had begun—an affection [*sic*] to which specialists hesitated to give a precise name, but which they recognized as incurable."[7] According to Gilman, MacDowell "began to manifest alarming signs of nervous exhaustion" in the spring of 1905.[8] Gilman says nothing about a horse-cab accident, which MacDowell's friend, the writer Hamlin Garland, mentioned in his diary in the fall of 1904: "The immediate contributing cause of his breakdown was a fall in the street—or rather

an accident in the street. He was struck by a cab, so his wife tells me, and the concussion stunned him so that he was dazed for some time. He was able to walk home, but this shock, coming upon him at a time when he was worn with his teaching and suffering from his controversy with Columbia [University], undoubtedly caused the collapse."[9] (MacDowell had resigned from Columbia early in 1904 and had engaged in public recrimination with president Nicholas Murray Butler and the trustees.) Yet when Garland issued a press release about MacDowell's condition in November 1905, he did not refer to any accident.[10]

MacDowell himself wrote to Templeton Strong on 4 January 1904, that he had strained his right wrist in a "street car collision"; but if this was the accident that bulked large in hindsight, it did not seem very serious to MacDowell at the time, for he added, in the same letter, "we are in fine health and spirits."[11] Though she did not date it, Mrs. MacDowell supplied details about this accident (or another one?) in her unpublished memoirs, written long afterwards. It happened, she recalled, when MacDowell was escorting his parents to a streetcar, and she included the important point that the wheels of the cab crossed his spine.[12] In an unpublished letter to Mrs. Robert Underwood Johnson, written on 19 June 1905, Mrs. MacDowell mentioned the "accidents" to which "the doctors are beginning to attach much importance"; but what they were—or what the other one was—she does not say.[13] Margery Morgan Lowens, author of an excellent doctoral dissertation on MacDowell, tried to find police records of an accident involving MacDowell but was unsuccessful.[14] On 4 October 1905, it was probably Henry T. Finck, music critic of the New York *Evening Post* and an old friend and admirer of MacDowell (Gilman's book is dedicated to him), who gave the first public account of the horse-cab accident: "A year ago last spring, Mr. MacDowell, while crossing the street one evening, was run down by a cab; the horse had slipped on the sleet, and the driver was unable to check it. The wheels passed over the composer's neck, and evidently injured the spinal nerves."[15] Another old friend of MacDowell's, T. P. Currier, confirmed the incident but dated it in the spring of 1905 rather than 1904.[16] An accident could have played some part in MacDowell's illness, but it was not the main cause.

In November 1905, Garland stated that MacDowell's doctor, an "eminent specialist" (his name was not given) had concluded that the composer's "oversensitive, highly wrought brain [had burned] itself away in overwork."[17] Such an opinion is medically dubious, but overwork at Columbia was, indeed, the cause publicly pinpointed by Mrs. MacDowell. The first book on MacDowell to appear after Gilman's, Elizabeth Fry Page's slight, sentimental 1910 panegyric, *Edward*

MacDowell: His Work and Ideals, also attributes his death to "a mental collapse brought on by overwork."[18] That this was not the real cause was suggested much later by John Erskine, who reported that those who had studied with MacDowell at Columbia could not understand his breakdown "in spite of explanations offered by Hamlin Garland and others."[19]

The only published account I know of which hinted that MacDowell had syphilis was James Huneker's. In his moving article on "The Passing of Edward MacDowell," written eighteen months before MacDowell died, and published in the New York *Herald* on 24 June 1906, Huneker seems at first to accept overwork as the reason for MacDowell's breakdown. The composer was "reckless of the most precious part of him, his brain," Huneker writes. "He killed that organ by overwork. . . . He burned away the delicate neurons of the cortical cells." Then comes this sentence: "He suffers from aphasia and *locomotor ataxia* [italics mine] has begun to manifest itself." Elsewhere in the article, he makes two allusions intended, no doubt, for the *cognoscenti*. Referring to MacDowell's piano teacher, Karl Heymann, Huneker remarks that Heymann "went quite mad and died young in an asylum." And describing MacDowell's symptoms, he reports that

> he reads slowly and, like the unfortunate Friedrich Nietzsche, he rereads one page many times. I could not help recalling what Mrs. Elizabeth Foerster-Nietzsche told me in Weimar of her brother. One day, noticing that she silently wept, the poet philosopher exclaimed: "But why do you weep, little sister? Are we not very happy?" MacDowell is very happy and his wife is braver than Nietzsche's sister.[20]

Huneker was far more interested in and knowledgeable about the sex life of artists than most Americans were in 1906. He had read the studies of his friend Havelock Ellis and those of other sexologists, had gossiped about the sexual peccadilloes of celebrities, and later (in 1913) even wrote a newspaper article about the latest research in the treatment of syphilis.[21] As the *Musical Courier*'s "Raconteur" from February 1888 to October 1902, he had probably retailed in his column more scandals about musicians than any man in America. He had heard, I suspect, that Heymann was a victim of syphilis.

The source of his information is unknown, but considering how little has yet come to light about Heymann after MacDowell stopped studying with him in 1880 or 1881, one is not surprised that Huneker's statement about him is largely incorrect: Heymann did not die young, nor did he die in an insane asylum; according to his death certificate

(which does not list the cause of death), he died on 5 December 1922, at the age of sixty-nine in a hospital in Haarlem, the Netherlands.[22] This does not mean, of course, that he might not have spent time in an asylum. Gilman states that by 1881, when Heymann left the Frankfurt Conservatory, he "had already begun to show symptoms of the mental disorder which ultimately overcame him."[23] He may have been under care by early May 1884, when MacDowell visited him in Wiesbaden.[24] Thereafter Heymann seems to disappear, and he could have been in an institution. After MacDowell himself broke down, his nurse Anna Baetz recorded in her diary that he used to speak of Heymann as being "in a madhouse," a fact which, Baetz added, Mrs. MacDowell confirmed.[25] Huneker, at any rate, apparently discovered his mistake, for when he reprinted the *Herald* article in his book *Unicorns* (1917), he deleted the reference to Heymann.

With Nietzsche, whose life has been studied thoroughly, Huneker was on firmer ground. He probably knew by 1906 that Nietzsche's insanity and death were caused by syphilis. In the one essay on Nietzsche he had already published[26] (and, indeed, in the two he wrote afterward)[27] Huneker, to be sure, did not state that Nietzsche had syphilis; overwork or eye trouble were the causes he seemed to accept. He had even described as "careful and convincing"[28] a now discredited study of Nietzsche's illness which appeared early in 1904, by Dr. George M. Gould, the well-known ophthalmologist, who maintained that bad eyesight was responsible for Nietzsche's ill-health and denounced the "silly and nauseating attempt of Moebius to fasten upon [him] the stigma of . . . syphilis, a charge utterly without justification, medically, scientifically, individually, or socially."[29] But Huneker did not really agree with Gould—or perhaps he changed his mind. "You don't suppose that I would be allowed to print the truth about Nietzsche!!!" he remarked in a letter to Benjamin De Casseres on 21 March 1904, after his first study of the philosopher had been reprinted.[30] And in an unpublished letter dated 12 June 1914, Huneker told his friend John Quinn, the art patron, that the Nietzsche case was "a classic one. I had a book written 20 years ago by Dr. Moebius in German. Of course it was syphilis."[31] (In Paul Möbius's *Über das Pathologische bei Nietzsche* [1902] the "explanation of syphilis was first ably and completely put forward."[32])

Indeed, Huneker must have realized that in addition to reading the same page over and over, the ill MacDowell resembled the stricken Nietzsche in other ways. Both men, who had done much of their work while walking, spent their last years sitting in a chair, staring vacantly. Both seemed like children at times. Both suffered from paranoia, which

may be a symptom of late syphilis, MacDowell showing signs of it, perhaps, in his dispute with Columbia, and Nietzsche, according to Huneker, in his later dealings with Richard Wagner. Both were unaware of their surroundings during their illness: a year after his collapse, MacDowell did not know he was at his summer home in Peterborough, New Hampshire; in February 1890, a year after his breakdown, Nietzsche was not aware where he was. Neither seemed to suffer much pain. By a curious coincidence, though, a cab horse figured in the fate of both, for Nietzsche broke down after running across a square and putting his arms around a horse that was being beaten by its owner.[33] That Huneker's reference to Nietzsche had not been accidental or insignificant is clear from a letter he wrote Mrs. MacDowell a year after her husband's death. On 11 January 1909, Mrs. Arthur Symons, wife of the English poet-critic, wrote Huneker that the doctors had diagnosed Symons's illness—he had collapsed the previous fall—as "general paralysis," though, curiously, they could find no trace of syphilis (which sounds like a contradiction in terms, since "general paralysis" is—now, at least—a synonym for cerebral syphilis or paresis). It was probably a misdiagnosis, as Symons survived, though somewhat impaired, until 1945, but when Huneker wrote Mrs. MacDowell on 15 January 1909, he was obviously struck by the apparent similarity in the fate of three men he had admired so much. Tactfully ascribing their downfall to overwork, he all but came out with what he surely believed was the real cause:

> First Nietzsche went and his sister, Frau Foerster, who was so interested in Edward, described his last days to us in a way that irresistibly suggested dear Edward's last year. And now my best friend in Europe, the most brilliant writer and poet in England, Arthur Symons, is in a private sanitarium, brain crumbled, body dying; and all from protracted intellectual labors. . . . Isn't it sad that three such brilliantly gifted natures should pass away alike; and Nietzsche, MacDowell and Symons were not dissipated. Nature is cruelly revengeful at the least attempt to transcend her laws.[34]

It is not certain what Huneker meant to convey in his newspaper article on MacDowell's passing by "locomotor ataxia." Although today the term is synonymous with *tabes dorsalis* and usually denotes syphilis, when Huneker was writing, the use of the term "ataxia" was "practically restricted to inco-ordination of muscular action, a difficulty or inability in co-ordinating voluntary movements. Furthermore, as locomotor ataxia is the most common form of the disorder . . . locomotor ataxia is

the most characteristics symptom of a disease of the spinal cord known as tabes dorsalis."[35] Unless Huneker was pointing to syphilis, however, it seems likely that he would have been content to say simply—as he in fact does later in the article—that MacDowell "moves with difficulty."

Most of what is known about MacDowell's illness comes from notes by Anna Baetz, the practical nurse Mrs. MacDowell engaged on 15 November 1905, and who remained her companion for many years thereafter. Taking care of MacDowell until his death twenty-six months later, Baetz kept a detailed record of his condition over this entire period, a record which is now included in the MacDowell Collection in the Library of Congress. In it she mentioned the following symptoms in the order listed; where she gives a date, it is indicated in parenthesis:

> Fever, followed by noticeable improvement (February 1906)/Inability to walk (by late May 1906)/Recurring flashes of recognition, but he failed to recognize his mother (November 1906)/Noisy objections when being undressed and put to bed Weak spells, which left him very white and cold (January 1907)/Chronic stomach distress, bronchial trouble, and fever/Inability to sit up (August 1907)/Weak heart/Crying spells/ Seizures of "twitching"/Discoloration of body; swelling of legs and right hand (November 1907)/Delusions of grandeur ("I am a Prince," he used to say) (November 1907)/Grinding of teeth[36]

Although some, if not all, of these symptoms, together with those mentioned previously, are compatible with paresis, it is not certain whether this combination and sequence (to which, based on Mrs. MacDowell's letter to Garland, MacDowell's disinclination to eat can be added) conclusively indicates the disease. As Deborah Hayden points out, "indications of syphilis must each be looked at and balanced with caution in the context of the life; retrospective diagnosis is a dangerous game."[37] But when, in addition, two final pieces of evidence are introduced, the presence of syphilis seems incontrovertible: in a letter to Strong, dated 7 October [1905], Mrs. MacDowell writes that "general paralysis seems as near as any name I can give [to MacDowell's illness], his mind as well as his body failing."[38] This letter was, at her request, to be kept sealed, together with more than a hundred letters from MacDowell to Strong, none of which contains any reference to syphilis, until fifty years after MacDowell's death. The crucial piece of evidence is that on MacDowell's death certificate, his physician, Dr. Loomis LeGrand Danforth, who treated him from 1905 until his death, listed the cause of death as "Paresis (Dementia Paralytica)." According to his doctor, MacDowell died of syphilis.[39]

Only about five to fifteen per cent of persons with untreated syphilis develop paresis, formerly known as general paralysis of the insane or dementia paralytica.[40] The condition usually becomes manifest ten to fifteen years after the initial infection; those infected in their early years develop it after a longer interval than those first infected at a later age. The peak incidence occurs between the ages of forty and fifty-five. Since trauma, especially to the head, and emotional as well as physical strain are sometimes precipitating factors, MacDowell's cab accident and his dispute with Columbia could have triggered the paresis. "He really has not overworked this past year," Mrs. MacDowell wrote Strong on 31 October 1905, "but the worries and heart-burnings at Columbia, and the bad accident, seem to have pushed him over the edge—*possibly this might have come anyway* [italics mine]."[41]

The earliest symptoms of the disease are mental:

> It may mimic any form of neurosis or psychosis. . . . The patient becomes more irritable and finds it difficult to concentrate. . . . Judgment is impaired, and ethical and moral standards deteriorate. Emotional instability become manifest. The patient may become unwarrantedly anxious, fearful, or euphoric. He may show restlessness and agitation and complain of insomnia and headaches. He fatigues easily. Often the appetite is diminished and a loss in weight ensues. . . . His speech is aphasic, dysarthric, unintelligible, or completely absent. He becomes bedridden, incontinent, and paralyzed. Convulsions are frequent. . . . The average life expectancy is about two years after the onset of symptoms. Physical signs maybe minimal or absent even when the psychiatric abnormalities are quite conspicuous. Later they become more obvious. The patient's facial expression is often vacant, silly, or mask-like.[42]

Since serologic tests of blood and spinal fluid were not available during MacDowell's lifetime, Dr. Danforth's diagnosis must have been based on psychiatric symptoms or on an autopsy (of which there is no record). Without seeing his notes, which were probably destroyed, no one can tell when he diagnosed paresis. Judging from Mrs. MacDowell's letters to Strong in October 1905—"The consensus [is] . . . that it seems now absolutely useless to worry him and that we shall only make him [as] happy and comfortable as we can," she wrote on the 31st—and from Garland's press announcement, in the following month, that MacDowell's career was ended,[43] the diagnosis probably emerged before the composer's death.

Unless Mrs. MacDowell tried to conceal it from the very beginning, it is possible that no one knew what was wrong with MacDowell when he first fell ill. Although his collapse is usually dated in the spring of

1905, Mrs. MacDowell recalled that when he had difficulty walking in the late fall of 1904, he consulted two doctors, who reported that his problem was a "breaking down of the brain after the terrible strain he had gone through at Columbia."[44] On 3 May 1905, within a month after Dr. Danforth had begun to treat MacDowell, Mrs. MacDowell wrote Edmund C. Stedman, the poet, that her husband was "very far from well, and is struggling with the discouraged feeling attendant on the fact that the Doctor has absolutely commanded a year's rest. Fortunately nothing wrong has been found, organically, but his vitality is alarmingly low, and work must stop."[45] The fact that Dr. Danforth, an obstetrician (he was Professor of Obstetrics at New York Homeopathic College from 1885 to 1910 and Professor of Surgery from 1910 to 1917) was MacDowell's physician may suggest that the nature of his illness was not fully understood until later, though obstetrics and syphilis have historically been related areas. Dr. Danforth called in consultants,[46] among whom the most significant was Dr. M. Allen Starr, perhaps the most eminent neurologist in the country (he was Professor of Diseases of the Mind and Nervous System at the College of Physicians and Surgeons of Columbia University from 1889 to 1915).[47] Dr. Starr, who examined MacDowell in July 1905, apparently agreed that the case was hopeless. "The question [as to] how long he can live, or will live, is very uncertain," Mrs. MacDowell wrote Strong on 31 October 1905, "but I cannot believe that he will keep in this condition long."[48] The release, however, did not come until more than two years later.

II

If the syphilis had been detected, and MacDowell's friends knew about it, one cannot help suspecting that they conspired to keep it from the public. No one, certainly, supplied as explicit a hint as Huneker (with whom Mrs. MacDowell remained friendly after it appeared), though some of MacDowell's intimates did touch publicly upon his mental breakdown. Finck, for example, pointing to MacDowell's "high-strung organization and tendency to headaches and insomnia," declared that the "germs of his mental disease were busy long before [his collapse]. More than a decade previously he would say and do strange things when in the throes of composition." What these "strange things" were, Finck did not reveal, and, much later, when he referred to MacDowell's mind having failed "so inexplicably," he added that "it was not real insanity, but a sort of mental decay, as in a very old man."[49] Not having seen him in seven years, Strong had been shocked by the change in MacDowell when they had met in Switzerland in the summer of 1903;

he noticed that MacDowell moved slowly, "seemed ill, without apparently being so. . . . Something at times in his expression made me fearful."[50] Garland, who had found MacDowell in an almost suicidal depression in March 1902 and had noted his "strangely sad, almost vacant expression" in November 1903, several months before the horse-cab accident could have taken place, seemed to protest too much in his statement of late November 1905. "Absolutely temperate in all other ways," he told the press, "MacDowell has been too prodigal of labor. . . . His spotless purity of life and the lofty standards which he always upheld have been an inspiration to all who knew him intimately."[51] There must have been rumors about MacDowell's illness.

The most reliable witness was probably Leonard B. McWhood, MacDowell's assistant at Columbia, who undoubtedly saw him more frequently, between 1896 and 1904, than anyone besides his wife. McWhood rejected, long afterward, all the theories (including the accident) publicly aired regarding MacDowell's breakdown:

> His collapse, in my opinion, was due to some constitutional condition. He may, even, have been aware of such a condition; at any rate, he spoke several times in such a way as to imply the fear of a sudden and premature termination of his labors. I have often wondered if such a fear was the driving force that compelled him to do the excess amount of work he undertook.[52]

That statement was pointed enough to draw the ire (and fear?) of Mrs. MacDowell, who wrote McWhood about it on 20 January 1924. What was the scientific basis, she wondered, for his claim that MacDowell's breakdown had nothing to do with the Columbia episode when "many celebrated physicians" considered it had:

> Why is it your duty to stir up something that is dead and buried. . . . In devoting myself to the ideals for which MacDowell stood, I have put bitterness out of my heart. I would dread nothing so much as personally entering into any publicity in the matter, but you can force me into it.[53]

This apparently silenced him, if he ever intended to say anything else.

McWhood's important testimony is partly supported by Henry F. Gilbert, the composer, who studied with MacDowell in Boston for several years beginning in late 1888 or early 1889. MacDowell, Gilbert recalled, "said on two or three occasions that he did not think he was destined for long life."[54] MacDowell made similar remarks in his letters.[55] According to Finck, he had, moreover, "for years a premonitory dread of losing his mind."[56]

One naturally asks the same questions, then, that have been asked regarding Nietzsche. Did MacDowell know that he had contracted syphilis? Because it was incurable then, like advanced cancer now, a patient would often not be told. Had he been treated for it? If MacDowell had been, had he, like Nietzsche, made no serious effort to follow medical advice not to work so hard because he was afraid he would die before he could accomplish enough?

One is curious, also, about when and where MacDowell was infected, even though, in the absence of necessary records, it can be little more than speculation. What young MacDowell, living alone in those early years in Germany, did after spending six hours a day practicing the piano in addition to giving lessons and composing, the Victorian Marian Nevins, who married him after taking piano lessons from him for several years before they were ever unchaperoned, would be the last to know. If he was as virile and shy as all the evidence indicates, and if Miss Nevins or any other young lady had aroused any carnal thoughts in him, that urge could have taken him to the only place where a young man could easily obtain sexual relief: a brothel. And there he could have been infected, as Nietzsche probably was.[57] Or it could have happened during the winter of 1892–93 when MacDowell was separated for months from his wife, who was undergoing medical treatment in Philadelphia for sunstroke.

Sexual inexperience or shame might have prevented him from consulting a doctor after the appearance of relatively minor symptoms that would have developed and then disappeared. As long as twenty-five years later, he could have come down with the symptoms of paresis. The only medicine for treating syphilis in MacDowell's lifetime was mercury and potassium iodide—mercury and/or potassium iodide by mouth, mercury by injection, or mercury ointment for external application—but neither these drugs nor the Salversan used a few years later had much effect on syphilis; only induced fever through malaria (which did not come into use until shortly after World War I), and, beginning in the 1940s, penicillin would prove effective. In 1908, the organism which produced the disease was only suspected; it was not proved guilty until 1913, when, for the first time, the serologic test of the spinal fluid became standard.[58] MacDowell had been born too soon to escape the ravages of neurosyphilis.

III

Ninety-eight years after MacDowell's death and fifty after his wife's, many questions, obviously, remain unanswered—and perhaps

unanswerable. As far as I know, nothing can be proved from documents now available as to when, where, and from whom MacDowell contracted syphilis; how much and when Mrs. MacDowell learned about it; or when she decided to try to hide the fact. Nor is one sure whether this was a course she deliberately chose or one first determined by friends who felt that the physically frail wife and widow had suffered too much during those heart-breaking years of MacDowell's deterioration to be indirectly stigmatized. As Hayden observes, the "reluctance to attribute a shameful disease to a great person, the danger that the work will in some way be linked to the disease, an oeuvre tainted and denigrated—all contribute to sparse references to syphilis."[59] When MacDowell was helpless, dependent entirely on his royalties and the contributions of music lovers and patrons who raised a fund for his support, she and his friends may have felt that the public would contribute less if it knew about the syphilis; later, when the MacDowell Colony was established and maintained largely by contributions stimulated by her magnificent devotion in pouring funds raised by her own piano recitals of MacDowell's music into the development, support, and administration of the Colony, she may have thought that the truth would somehow harm it.

One should not ignore the possibility, also, that Mrs. MacDowell's main reason for sidestepping another biography of her husband during her lifetime was not so much to protect his reputation—though knowledge of his syphilis might have prevented or delayed his enshrinement in the American Classical Music Hall of Fame, which finally took place in 1960—as to avoid the pain and embarrassment an admission would have caused, not only to herself but also to the living members of the MacDowell and the very conservative and publicity-shy Nevins families.

But since she saved so much material about MacDowell, including the Baetz records, and insured its survival by presumably instructing Miss Richardson to deposit it in the Library of Congress after her death, Mrs. MacDowell undoubtedly realized that a full biography of the composer would eventually be written, though it still remains to be done. And she had, when bedridden and virtually blind, the courage to conjure up her agonizing memories of MacDowell's last years in dictating and thus preserving her memoirs (also deposited in the Library of Congress), even if she could not bring herself to mention syphilis in them. That she did not do so, knowing that the memoirs would not be seen by anyone (other than the typist and Richardson) until after her death, is perhaps the most convincing evidence that she was unwilling, finally, to have the whole truth about MacDowell revealed; the secret,

she may have thought, had been kept too long to be told—at least by her.

It was an understandable reaction, but, I believe, a misguided one. For just as Frau Foerster-Nietzsche spread the notion that Nietzsche was "sexually almost neutral,"[60] the far more admirable Marian MacDowell, stressing her husband's "purity" by discouraging inquiries into his life to cover up the real nature of his illness, made him a legend more than a flesh-and-blood man. She actually did him a disservice, no matter how commendable her intention, which was, I suppose, to emphasize the essential nobility of a life devoted to art. Ironically, MacDowell himself, in his right mind, might well have objected to the secrecy. When asked in 1893 to indicate his preferences in a variety of areas, he replied that, among other things, he liked "straightforward broadmindedness in men and women."[61]

One did not have to be dissipated, after all, to contract syphilis; it could happen from a single encounter. And even if he were dissipated, MacDowell with syphilis is no less great a composer than MacDowell with any other illness. It placed him, indeed, among distinguished musical company, for Schubert, Gluck, Donizetti, Schumann, Wolf, and possibly Beethoven all suffered from syphilis, all but Schubert and Beethoven from paresis.[62]

We need no longer closet the victims of syphilis (or AIDS) to conceal feelings of shame or disgrace. Only religious fanatics look on venereal disease as divine punishment for transgression of moral laws. Edward MacDowell's life has been kept dark far too long. Almost a century after his death, it is high time for a complete and honest biography.

Notes

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1. See Arnold T. Schwab, "Edward MacDowell's Birthdate: A Correction," *Musical Quarterly* 61 (April 1975): 233–39.

2. Alan H. Levy, *Edward MacDowell: An American Master* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 1998).

3. MacDowell Collection, Music Division, Library of Congress. All documents mentioned in this article are found in this collection unless otherwise indicated.

4. See John Erskine, *My Life in Music* (New York: Morrow, 1950), 245ff.

5. *James Gibson Huneker: Critic of the Seven Arts* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1963).

6. In my essay on Mrs. MacDowell published in *Notable American Women: The Modern Period. A Biographical Dictionary*, ed. Barbara Sicherman and Carol Hurd Green (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1980), I stated for the first time in print that MacDowell was "a victim of syphilis" (448) but supplied no evidence.

7. Lawrence Gilman, *Edward MacDowell: A Study* (New York: John Lane, 1908; repr. 1969), 54. The author may have meant "affliction" instead of "affection" here.

8. Ibid., 54.

9. Hamlin Garland, *Companions on the Trail: A Literary Chronicle* (New York: MacMillan, 1931), 376.

10. *New York Times*, 28 Nov. 1905, 1.

11. MacDowell Collection, Library of Congress.

12. Notebook no. 1, I-91. MacDowell Collection, Library of Congress.

13. Special Collections, Butler Library, Columbia University.

14. Margery Morgan Lowens, "The New York Years of Edward MacDowell" (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 1971), 327.

15. New York *Evening Post*, 4 Oct. 1905, 5.

16. T. P. Currier, "Edward MacDowell as I Knew Him," *Musical Quarterly* 1 (Jan. 1915): 49.

17. *New York Times*, 28 Nov. 1905, 7.

18. Elizabeth Fry Page, *Edward MacDowell: His Work and Ideals* (New York: Dodge, 1910), 20.

19. Erskine, *My Life in Music*, 244.

20. New York *Herald*, 24 June 1906, magazine section, 2.

21. Philadelphia *Public Ledger*, 18 Jan. 1914, magazine section, 7.

22. Copy of death certificate and letter, sent to me by the Registrar's office, Haarlem, Netherlands, 10. Sep. 1971.

23. Gilman, *MacDowell*, 11.

24. Edward MacDowell to Marian Nevins, 5 May 1884. MacDowell Collection, Library of Congress.

25. Undated typescript, 11. MacDowell Collection, Library of Congress.

26. "Nietzsche," *Musical Courier* 41 (5 Sep. 1900): 18–20; reprinted as "Nietzsche the Rhapsodist" in Huneker's *Overtones* (New York: Scribner's, 1904), 109–41.

27. Reprinted in Huneker's *Egoists* (New York: Scribners, 1909), 236–68, and his *The Pathos of Distance* (New York: Scribner's, 1913), 219–25.

28. Huneker, *Overtones*, 127.

29. "The Ill-Health of Friederich [*sic*] Nietzsche," *Montreal Medical Journal* 23 (Jan. 1904): 8.

30. *Intimate Letters of James Gibbons Huneker*, ed. Josephine Huneker (New York: Limelight, 1924), 36.

31. Quinn Collection, Manuscript Room, New York Public Library.

32. Crane Brinton, *Nietzsche* (New York: Harper and Row, 1965), 72.

33. R. J. Hollingdale, *Nietzsche: The Man and His Philosophy* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1965), 282.

34. Collections, Dartmouth College.

35. James Mark Baldwin, ed., *Dictionary of Philosophy and Psychology: Definitions as–az*, 3 vols., new, corrected ed. (Gloucester, MA: Peter Smith, 1960), 1: 83. Deborah Hayden notes that "skin lesions occurring as rashes or as ulcerations are often the first sign of late syphilis"; Hayden, *Pox: Geniuses, Madness, and the Mysteries of Syphilis* (New York: Basic Books, 2003), 55. I am indebted to Ms. Hayden for reading and commenting on my manuscript.

36. Hayden, *Pox*, 65.

37. Ibid., 56.

38. MacDowell Collection, Library of Congress.

39. Certificate and Record of Death, no. 2803, City of New York, Department of Health, Bureau of Records and Statistics.

40. Charles Rupp [M.D.], "Neurosyphilis (Central Nervous System Syphilis)," in *Cyclopedia of Medicine, Surgery, Specialties* (Philadelphia, PA: F.A. Davis, 1971), 13: 637ff.

41. MacDowell Collection, Library of Congress.

42. Rupp, "Neurosyphilis (Central Nervous System Syphilis)," 13: 637ff.

43. *New York Times*, 28 Nov. 1905, 7.

44. Marian MacDowell's unpublished memoirs, Notebook I, 1-105, MacDowell Collection, Library of Congress.

45. Special Collections, Butler Library, Columbia University.

46. Marian MacDowell to Mrs. Robert Underwood Johnson, 19 June and 17 July 1905. Special Collections, Butler Library, Columbia University.

47. *Dictionary of American Biography*, 17: 534–35.

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49. Henry T. Finck, "Edward MacDowell: Musician and Composer," *Outlook* 84 (22 Dec. 1906): 987, and *My Adventures in the Golden Age of Music* (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1926), 286.

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51. Garland, *Companions on the Trail*, 131, 213; *New York Times*, 28 Nov. 1905, 7.

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56. Henry T. Finck, "Edward MacDowell as a Man and Artist," *Musician* 13 (Mar. 1908): 111.

57. Hollingdale, *Nietzsche*, 282.

58. Charles Clayton Dennie, *A History of Syphilis* (Springfield, IL: Charles C. Thomas, 1962), 102.

59. Haydn, *Pox*, 61.

60. Hollingdale, *Nietzsche*, 210.

61. Philip Hale, "Music in Boston," *Musical Courier* 26 (15 Mar. 1893): 17.

62. Theodor Rosebury, *Microbes and Morals: The Strange Story of Venereal Disease* (New York: Viking Press, 1971), 335–36; Hayden, *Pox*, 71–111, 313–14.

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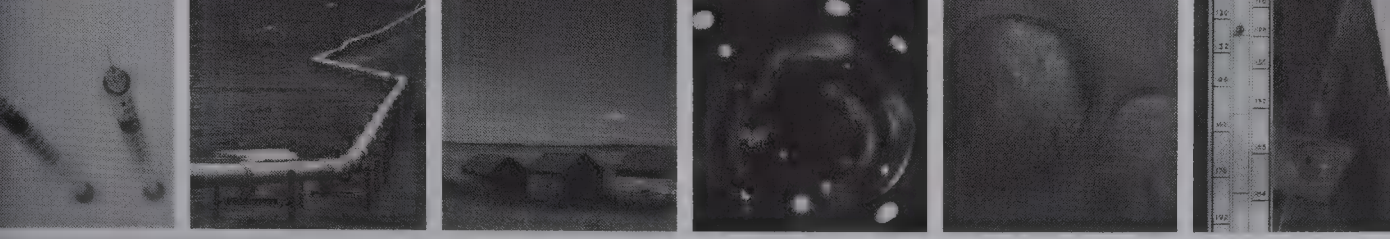

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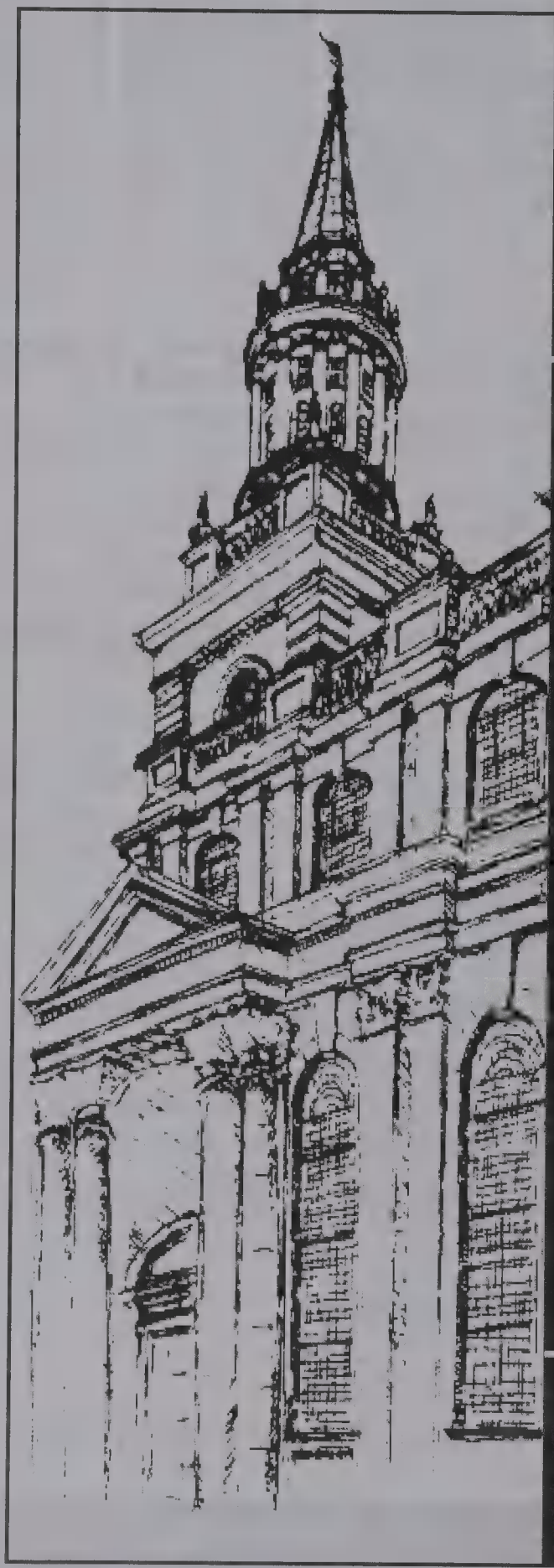

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An Unforgettable Life in Music: Mstislav Rostropovich (1927–2007)

Leon Botstein

The death of Mstislav Rostropovich in April 2007, just one month after his eightieth birthday, coincided almost exactly with the publication of Elizabeth Wilson's admiring and affectionate book on that phenomenal and charismatic musician, entitled *Mstislav Rostropovich: Cellist, Teacher, Legend* (London: Faber and Faber, 2007). Wilson, a devoted friend and student of Rostropovich (she studied with him between 1964 and 1971), is perhaps best known for her excellent annotated collection, now in its fine second and expanded edition, *Shostakovich: A Life Remembered* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006). Wilson's remarkable command of music, notably the cello repertoire and twentieth-century Russian compositions, is equaled by an impressive mastery of the Russian language. This latter virtue is indispensable for anyone with a keen interest in either Rostropovich or Shostakovich. Both men (who were close friends) were notably less adept at foreign languages than one might have expected. In Wilson's book on Rostropovich, there are several hilarious accounts of the great cellist's maneuvering around the absence of a common language with non-Russian colleagues, notably Benjamin Britten, with whom a warm friendship and collaboration nonetheless developed.

Rostropovich was one of the few instrumentalists and performers in modern times to have captured the public imagination and exerted influence beyond music alone. Many composer–performers have played significant roles in cultural history, such as Liszt and Bernstein, but their lasting legacy has been sustained largely by their compositions and prose writings. Rostropovich did not write much prose or poetry. He could, however, have easily pursued a dual career as a composer. Early in his career, having demonstrated a serious talent for composition, Rostropovich studied with Vissarion Shebalin and soaked in as much as could from his close relationships with both Shostakovich and Prokofiev. But his boundless energy and attraction to the present moment of musical communication led him to a different sort of dual career.

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He combined performance with teaching. The two activities provided the proper outlet for his persistent need for direct human interaction through music. His teaching was not informal. Rather, he held key appointments in the Soviet Union's leading conservatories. The stage was complemented by the classroom, and together they sustained Rostropovich's life.

As Wilson's book makes evident, Rostropovich was uncompromisingly gifted. His memory was prodigious and quick. When one reads of his feats—learning new concerti in a day and shorter works in hours or performing marathon concerts and on occasion shuttling from one concert stage to another in a single evening—and then factors in the unforgettable originality, meticulousness, refinement, and inexhaustible spontaneity of his performances, one is left speechless. One can think of very few parallels. There is, of course, the example of Liszt or, closer to Rostropovich's generation, Georges Enescu. Like Enescu, Rostropovich was a fantastic pianist who not only accompanied his wife, the great soprano Galina Vishnevskaya, but was also able to play the orchestral and piano parts for the whole of the cello repertoire from memory. His command of the piano reflected the ambition Rostropovich passed on to his students: to know intimately the other parts of a composition apart from one's own line, whether in a work of chamber music or a work with orchestra, and to use the piano to explore music well beyond that written for the cello.

Wilson's book is a chronological account of Rostropovich's career as performer and teacher with interludes of firsthand written testimonials from several of his protégés. Her own text is filled with generous quotes based on interviews with many witnesses. The entire volume, which does not extend beyond Rostropovich's career after 1974, the year he left the Soviet Union, offers a unified picture of the man as artist and teacher. Curiously, despite decades of dedicated teaching, no distinct Rostropovich school of cello playing emerged. That was not his ambition. Partly influenced by his own struggle to compensate for an injury to his hand in his youth, he did not believe in technical absolutes—a right and wrong way of holding the bow or using the left hand. Technique had to be adapted to fit the player, the music, and the interpretive intent. One hears often from artists who command their instrument effortlessly and flawlessly that technique must be subordinated and viewed as a natural outgrowth of an artistic point of view and expressive impulse. For those less gifted, this synthesis is easier to accept than to realize. Rostropovich found a way to teach those for whom acquiring the technical essentials was difficult so that they, too, could gain the technique necessary to express a high standard of artistry. In other words, his teaching made a real difference.

Rostropovich's playing and teaching represent perhaps the most convincing and extensive example of how this oft-repeated ideal in teaching, in which the technical and the interpretive are integrated, can be achieved. Thanks to Wilson's highly readable and detailed account, one can summarize Rostropovich's approach to playing and teaching in two maxims. First, every note and every phrase in all music—good, bad, and indifferent—must be given meaning even if it seems to lack it. This requires the performer to define that meaning, by experimenting, improvising, studying the structure, and even applying helpful metaphors and analogies from outside the narrow frame of music. The meaning one finds is not necessarily stable, and each performance differs, perhaps even as a result of new audiences, occasions, and venues. Nonetheless, one must communicate meaning every time a work is played. And the meanings that can be persuasively communicated are enlarged, amended, and tested by every performance, whether in a classroom or on stage.

Second, musicians must concentrate first and foremost on listening, not only to themselves, but also to others. Intense and close listening is particularly crucial when one is playing in an ensemble. Even practicing alone to facilitate dexterity or speed requires a critical ear. Without constantly listening to oneself, even when playing a scale slowly, practicing is of little use. Listening horizontally as music unfolds, let us say in a solo work from note to note, must be complemented by vertical listening, when other voices exist in a work. In sum, Rostropovich construed performance as a species of spontaneous re-composition. All the notes of a composition, no matter how perfect, required more than a faithful, note-perfect realization. For a performer to put across successfully, from the audience's point of view, a conception of structure and logic, inspired re-composition through performance is necessary. Playing the cello becomes a theatrical act, a performance art. It begins with the performer's entrance on stage, which is why Rostropovich once, in a master class, asked a student to rehearse coming out on stage over and over. From start to finish, gesture was inseparable from sound. That Rostropovich took his own advice with abandon can be seen on the many videos of his cello playing.

It is therefore not surprising that Rostropovich was less interested in or attracted to the microphone and studio recording. If Glenn Gould represented the radical mid-twentieth-century modernist rejection of live performance and its theatrical rituals in favor of the presumed intimacy and minutely managed precision of modern recording, Rostropovich embodied the counterargument. For all the educational benefits and access to repertoire and performances offered by recording technology, music remained for Rostropovich a traditional art form. Its

core as a social act was immune to technology. Music was, in the end, an art of performances that must take place in real time, in local spaces, with a distinct amalgam of people present. The magic of music rested in the absence of the possibility of repetition, the unpredictable and unique circumstances created by the inevitable and unremarkable non-reproducable experience of the passage of time. The recording was reduced to a mere aid to the memory of the live performance.

What is striking in *Mstislav Rostropovich: Cellist, Teacher, Legend* is how lasting the memories of Rostropovich's performances continue to be. An inadvertent virtue of Wilson's book is that it vindicates the capacity of ordinary language to capture the deep impressions Rostropovich's playing made on those who heard him play live. In Wilson's hands, language seems sufficient to evoke for future generations the musical experience as memory. Only a marginal amount of the persuasive information on and analysis of Rostropovich's playing contained in Wilson's book derives from an analysis of his recorded legacy. His career and influence helped nudge the center of emphasis in the realm of "classical" music, which had shifted from the stage to the studio in the mid-twentieth century, back to the stage and to live performance. I was only a child when I heard him play in April 1956 in New York, but the event has stuck in my memory ever since. I had the rare pleasure of thanking him for this, more than a half century later, during his last visit to New York in the fall of 2006.

Rather than apologize for the theatrical aspect of performance, Rostropovich celebrated it as an essential dimension that forced the artist to take enormous risks in the face of the public, made possible by meticulous preparation in order to actualize, in the moment, idealized versions of musical thought. His faith in the constant possibility of reinventing music in live performance made Rostropovich immune to notions of definitive readings and highly sympathetic to divergent subjective but disciplined interpretations. It also persuaded him that music must be a contemporary art, not a virtual museum of the past. Few performers have commissioned and championed as wide a repertoire of new works for any instrument as Rostropovich. He was responsible for probably half of the now standard twentieth-century repertoire for cello and orchestra, as well as a substantial body of music in which the cello is central. One thinks not only of concertos by Prokofiev and Shostakovich, but also those by Britten and Witold Lutoslawski. And then there are the unfairly neglected works, particularly the concertos by Miecyslaw Weinberg and Boris Chaikovsky. More than any cellist, even Pablo Casals, Rostropovich made it his business to popularize the cello and expand its repertoire.

What Wilson's book does not do is provide a genuine scholarly biography. More time must pass before that will be possible. To Wilson's credit, she does not pretend to offer one. Instead, this book should be of particular interest to performers, students, and teachers, not only cellists but all string instrumentalists. Nonetheless, the book contains a tad too much adulation and unanimity. I suspect it was designed to be an eightieth birthday present, and one hopes Rostropovich had a chance to see it. When one puts it down, one certainly recognizes that Rostropovich was a towering artist.

At the same time, Wilson describes a man who was almost too good to be true, someone who, like an ebullient, naïve child, never made a conscious mistake, never failed at anything, and never hurt anyone. One learns that as a teacher Rostropovich could be harsh, but that he always offered compensating kindness and encouragement. He adapted to the psyches and needs of all his students. He was inspiring, but not overwhelming, and consistently selfless. As a teacher, the worst Wilson accuses him of is being gone too often and making up lost time with endless sessions held in the wee hours of the morning. Though Wilson observes that he sometimes responded to students with terrifying silence, she implies that this punishment was deserved because they did not work hard enough. Even this minor lapse is mentioned only tangentially.

The Rostropovich who emerges from the book is not merely a musical genius and a phenomenon as a teacher, but also a kind of saint. He was gracious to colleagues (even evil and mediocre ones), patient with bureaucrats, generous to students. A love of life and music, particularly the active making of music, overwhelmed everything else in life so that all other parts of life, private and public, fell into place benignly. He had no shortcomings, human or musical, of any consequence. Only passing reference is made of periodic suspicions about his ambition and careerism, notably the manner in which the young Rostropovich latched on to Prokofiev. The opposite impression dominates. Rostropovich extended himself even to his only rival within the Soviet Union, Daniil Shafran, who despite tours abroad in 1960 and 1964 never earned the wide recognition as a cellist that some believe he deserved.

There is one cellist working today whose fame, personality, and reputation seem most like the Rostropovich Wilson evokes in her book: Yo-Yo Ma. He, too, is ebullient, a great and inspiring theatrical presence, an indefatigable performer, a fighter for the new in music (notably with his Silk Road Project), unfailingly kind, gracious, and generous of spirit, profoundly thoughtful and yet self-critical, eager to try new things from period instrument practices to so-called

crossover music. Perhaps the cello draws better human beings than the piano and violin, where great artistry and flawed human character seem to live side by side with ease. To support this observation one need only contemplate the career and character of the only cellist before Rostropovich to earn a comparable place in history—Pablo Casals, who inspired and gave lessons to Rostropovich's father, Leopold.

The case of Casals is instructive in the task of coming to terms with Rostropovich the man and musician. Casals also came from a family of musicians, although neither of his parents were quite as accomplished as Rostropovich's father who by all accounts was a fabulous cellist and his son's first and probably most influential teacher. Like Casals, Rostropovich also developed great skill at the piano. Both men married singers and accompanied them at their recitals. Both were inspiring teachers and commissioned a great deal of repertoire for their instrument, and both played a great deal of chamber music, some of it with world-class colleagues, Casals with Mathieu Crickboom, Jacques Thibaud, and Alfred Cortot (among others), and Rostropovich with Leonid Kogan, Emil Gilels, and Sviatoslav Richter (among others). The most telling differences were that Casals was far less theatrical and comfortable as a stage performer, and his credo regarding interpretation was far more infused with philosophical rhetoric about the relationship between aesthetics and ethics. Casals was also the far more determined composer. His entire career was marked by his ambition to compose.

Yet what renders a comparison between the two great cellists apt is their shared approach to musical interpretation as overwhelmingly an act of thinking like a composer. In that framework, every phrase and every sound have their place and must generate meaning within some system of semantic and syntactic logic. For both cellists, that meaning presumed the existence of a dynamic but coherent language of music that possessed a unique capacity for spiritual expression. The considerations of history and style were at best secondary. Despite Casals's impact, the cello, in contrast to the violin and piano, remained a relative newcomer to the stage as a vehicle of solo virtuosity. This made a revisionist ideology with respect to interpretation and style premature at best. Hence the contrast between Casals, who was innovative in his approach to an instrument without an extensive dialogue with past practice, and his contemporaries who were violinists and pianists. That explicit dialogue informed the powerful reformist ideals of Carl Flesch and Joseph Szigeti (against late-Romantic excesses) and Artur Schnabel.

When one compares the two cellists further, one finds that although Rostropovich found comfort in religion later in life, Casals's overt spiritual quest was lifelong. Both men conducted, but Casals was

never serious about it as a major career path. Rostropovich, on the other hand, spent the greater part of the last quarter century of his musical life on the podium, to great international acclaim, particularly on account of the intensity and integrity of his musicianship when performing the Russian repertoire, notably that of Shostakovich and Tchaikovsky.

However, the reasons Casals and Rostropovich became cultural icons whose presence extended beyond the concert platform lay in their political lives and the extent to which they became symbolic of a political cause central to a generation. In Casals' case, the issue was the resistance to Fascism. Casals had been the beneficiary of royal and aristocratic patronage in the first decades of his career, during which he became an international star, traveling as far as Russia and America. He was credited with revolutionizing the playing of the cello, setting new standards, and placing the six Bach suites at the center of the repertoire, a fact that perhaps accounts for Rostropovich's relative reluctance to record them. Casals's initial political allegiance, limited to patriotism to Catalonia, its language, and people, was followed by a commitment to the ideal of a democratic Spain. After World War I, Casals turned his fame and fortune to the benefit of both causes. But with the defeat of the Republic, the advent of Franco, and the parallel successes of Mussolini and Hitler, Casals became a figure of principled resistance to tyranny. He collaborated with neither dictator and continued to criticize those nations he held complicit in the fall of the Republic. After World War II, he stood as a symbol of ethical integrity, of how a great artist can reject the seductive allure of opportunity provided by dictators and governments to use his prestige on behalf of an elusive, if not lost, cause: freedom and the conduct of politics with principles we now associate with Franklin Roosevelt's Four Freedoms and today's language of human rights. Unlike Alfred Cortot, Wilhelm Furtwängler, Richard Strauss, and Walter Gieseking (to varying degrees), Casals never, so to speak, danced with the devil. Although in the last decade and a half of his life Casals, having moved to Puerto Rico, relented and appeared in both England and the United States, like Picasso he never wavered in his rejection of Spain under Franco. Rather he widened his political message to one of world peace.

Rostropovich's rise to the status of a cultural icon also had two phases, but they possess curious contradictions. Born in 1927, Rostropovich came of age and made his mark under the Soviet system. Although he appears, unlike Shostakovich, never to have succumbed to joining the Communist Party, Rostropovich became an official artist under Stalin and certainly under Khrushchev, a symbol of the

awe-inspiring standards of high culture nurtured under the Soviet regime. He became internationally famous as a propaganda tool. This last phrase may sound harsh, but it reflects less in the way of complicity than we now, after the fall of Communism, are inclined to assume. If there were redeeming features of Soviet Communism, however minor they were in comparison to its faults, among them was its system of locating, training, and supporting musicians, performers, and composers alike. In a manner similar to the legendary investment made by postwar Iron Curtain nations in training and fielding athletes for Olympic competitions, the Soviet Union developed a system of locating and schooling musicians that transformed international standards of performance. Rostropovich was a privileged product and proponent of that system.

Rostropovich's teaching strategy reflected practices and standards that could perhaps be achieved only in such a culture and with such official backing. Wilson recounts the wry comment of one of his protégés who ended up teaching in the West. The extent of the demands made by Rostropovich of his students, in terms of the pace, schedule, and scope of preparation (including mastering scores and accompaniments) and the speed and intensity of the acquisition of repertoire by memory could hardly be asked of students in the context of Western European or American conservatories. A professor at a leading Soviet institution could, without criticism, mirror the authority and control over the time and lives of pupils exercised by the state over the daily lives of its citizens. The highly engineered character of daily life in the Soviet Union lent the serious pursuit of music as a career a rare prestige in public life. Absent a consumer culture, and with censorship and the close scrutiny of private life, the concert hall and the opera house (as a place not only for opera, but also ballet) were welcome and privileged venues, attractive to a wide public because of their apparent absence of political associations. The importance of the classical concert music tradition in Soviet life was exceptional, even though the roots of significance can be located in pre-revolutionary Russian history. But there, too, music as a domestic and public art form flourished as an artistic enterprise that appeared to retain, more than the plastic arts or literature, a dimension of genuine freedom within an autocratic framework.

Wilson avoids critical scrutiny of Rostropovich's initial years of success, which extended into the early 1970s. Her discretion is misplaced. There is no reason to criticize the young star who found himself in Budapest in 1953 when the news of Stalin's death was made public. As legend has it, Rostropovich eloquently expressed his sense of loss at an official gathering at the Soviet Embassy. It was not only possible but plausible for those who grew up and lived entirely under Russian

Communism, as in Shostakovich's case, to place the evils and shortcomings of the regime in context and to sense an appropriate patriotic allegiance to the explicit idealism of Communism, the national cultural traditions of Russia, and the recent heroism of the Soviet Union, which under Stalin led the bloody and devastating fight against Hitler in World War II, Russia's Great Patriotic War. Furthermore, despite the Hungarian Revolution, from 1956 to 1968, the year of the Prague Spring, a Soviet citizen could sense the possibility of progress in terms of freedom as the result of liberalization and de-Stalinization.

Rostropovich, Richter, and their many equally distinguished colleagues represented the best of the Soviet system. Their musical achievements were accompanied by a civic idealism about the place of music in culture and the wealth of talent within a nation that the state was prepared to support, not only in Moscow and Leningrad, but throughout the Soviet Union. Even in the early 1970s, when Rostropovich was banned from travel abroad and prevented from playing on the main stages of Russia's two dominant cities, he enthusiastically accepted his fate, which was to play in the provinces.

Unfortunately, only a handful of Soviet musicians and composers earned their proper place in history as a result of the regime's restrictive policies regarding international exposure. There are dozens of composers and instrumentalists, ranging from Boris Chaikovsky and Boris Tishchenko to Natan Rachlin and Daniil Shafran, many of whom make cameo appearances in Wilson's books on Rostropovich and Shostakovich, who never gained international recognition. The existence of sound recordings made during the Soviet era might still draw our attention to those contemporaries of Rostropovich who were performers, but the wealth of music written by the better composers under Soviet rule remains in print, waiting for revival by future generations of performers. Readers of Wilson's book on Rostropovich may therefore find themselves struck by the implicit challenge in its account of the great cellist's career before 1974. Today's nations in the post-Soviet era, including Russia, Israel, member states of the European Union, and the United States, would do well to emulate the Soviet system of recruiting, training, and supporting musicians and sustaining institutions of music, from schools for children, high schools, and conservatories to chamber ensembles, orchestras, and opera companies.

The second phase of Rostropovich's career as a public figure beyond music began after 1968. Until then his talent, magnetism, and charm allowed him to negotiate the system not only to his own benefit, but also to the advantage of colleagues and students (even those out of favor such as Mischa Maisky) without offending the officialdom or

collaborating in a manner that compromised him or others. This was a gift of diplomacy that eluded many, including Leonid Kogan and Dmitry Kabalevsky. Rostropovich may have worked with the devil, but he never quite danced with him.

His moment of rebellion, therefore, was one of genuine courage. Professionally and financially he was an exemplary beneficiary of the Soviet system. He had everything to lose within the system, even if leaving the Soviet Union would not mean, as it did for others, oblivion, loss of career, or poverty. He had no reason to take a risk by challenging the authorities in the era of Brezhnev, yet he did so, by housing Alexandr Solzhenitsyn. When his private and public support for the writer led to his being ostracized, Rostropovich asked to leave the Soviet Union, a request that was granted in May 1974. Once in the West, he not only pursued his career as a cellist but also rose to prominence as a conductor, primarily through his many years as music director of the National Symphony Orchestra in Washington, D.C. He returned to Russia in 1991 to lend support to Yeltsin's coup and lived there part-time after the fall of Communism. He became a philanthropist, endeavoring to use the vehicle of private funding to preserve Russian traditions of teaching and concert life and alleviate the difficulties of the post-Soviet era in terms of poverty and health care.

Rostropovich's support of Solzhenitsyn is telling. Because Wilson provides only a summary epilogue of Rostropovich's career after 1974 (the book having been written with the assumption that her subject's death was not imminent), one does not get a sense of Rostropovich's politics after 1974. But one can infer that, like many in his generation, including Solzhenitsyn, his experience within the Soviet Union led to a sharp reaction. Rostropovich seems to have had little patience with a Gorbachev-like compromise or gradualist solution. His sympathies seem to have turned back to a more traditional and religiously based Russian nationalism. At the same time, there is little evidence of sympathy on Rostropovich's part with the current return to centralism and autocracy under Putin. Unlike Solzhenitsyn, he did not demonize the West. If music offered its Soviet protagonists a rare opportunity within rigid state dictatorship for inner freedom, then freedom for the individual and free expression, once extended to the public sphere, would permit no compromise. If that became Rostropovich's credo in the last period of his life, then he properly took Casals's place as a protagonist for freedom.

Rostropovich's intimate engagement with the Soviet system, like Casals's commitment to Spain between the two world wars, made the adoption of the sort of vague and ultimately unpersuasive, nearly pacifist universalism we associate with Yehudi Menuhin's role as a citizen of the

world unlikely, just as it rendered implausible an imitation of the essentially apolitical roles assumed by émigré performers such as Jascha Heifetz or Artur Rubinstein (despite his flirtation with Polish patriotism and his later embrace of Israel). These comparisons highlight the fact that Casals and Rostropovich were not Jewish and therefore not pariahs in their own nations of birth.

The irony is that, at its start, Rostropovich's career celebrated the best of the Soviet era; at his career's end, he was a potent opponent of its worst features. Ultimately, however, like Casals, it is as an artist that Rostropovich will be remembered. That obvious conclusion, however, hides something that is all too frequently forgotten by musicians with comparable talents. The highest level a performer can achieve, a level at which something ineffable and untranslatable but profoundly significant is communicated in the act of making music, is possible only if one's commitment to music is not circumscribed by a too-narrow construct of professionalism. If technique, the athletic part of playing an instrument, takes its place in response to an artistic intent, then the performer must emulate Rostropovich and learn to compose, think musically, improvise, play other instruments, read scores, and steep himself or herself in many divergent realizations of music. This is what Rostropovich did while he worked to perfect his double stops, his spiccato, his intonation, and his tone—which he sought to vary so that it could match the expressive range of the human voice.

Beyond these daunting demands, the musician who seeks to emulate the achievements of Rostropovich or Casals must be engaged in the world, through teaching and public service, wide-ranging reading, and a tireless curiosity about the human condition. Ultimately, only a set of philosophical, political, and cultural ideals can give shape and substance to great artistry in music. For that reason, the brilliance, range, power, and elegance of Rostropovich's achievement, so poignantly and lovingly articulated in Wilson's book, inspire awe and humility.

"Bigger Than a Show—Better Than a Circus": The Broadway Musical, Radio, and Billy Rose's Jumbo

Geoffrey Block

In its day, Billy Rose's circus-musical extravaganza *Jumbo* was the talk of New York. For nearly a year prior to its long-awaited debut at the Hippodrome theater on 16 November 1935, the New York papers relentlessly offered gruesome details about Rose's public finances, his successful efforts to have *Jumbo* recognized as a circus instead of a Broadway stage show, the signing of his creative team, the human cast and major circus animal performers, the suspense generated by delayed openings, and finally the exciting and chaotic first night. After fighting the traffic congestion created when Sixth Avenue was roped off for seventeen blocks up to Fifty-Ninth Street and forced a later starting time, dozens of celebrities arrived to celebrate the show's premiere, including Tallulah Bankhead, Irving Berlin, Ben ("Yowza") Bernie, Fanny Brice (Mrs. Billy Rose), George Burns and Gracie Allen, Marion Davies, Jack Dempsey, George and Ira Gershwin, Helen Hayes, Katharine Hepburn, the Marx Brothers, New York City Mayor Jimmy Walker, and Ed Wynn.[1]

Jumbo's public profile inadvertently led to an unusual legacy of considerable interest and significance to future Broadway historians. One of Rose's promotional schemes was to broadcast a series of a dozen weekly thirty-minute radio programs live from the Hippodrome to promote songs and dialogue from *Jumbo*, the latter either directly from the show's script or newly fashioned by the show's writers. Sponsored by the Texaco Oil Company and featuring their "Fire Chief" brand of gasoline, *The Jumbo Fire Chief Program* ran on twelve successive Tuesday evenings from 9:30 to 10:00 on station WEAF on the National Broadcasting Company network from 29 October 1935 to 14 January 1936. Due to the widely publicized postponements, audiences heard the first three scheduled broadcasts *before* opening night. Rose's frustration is

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our gain. The opening trio of airings included portions of the score that were later discarded during the final weeks of the in-town tryouts, songs that, without the broadcasts, would have remained unknown as well as unheard. While Broadway songs were not foreign to radio in 1935, the presence of twelve broadcasts devoted to a single Broadway show was unusual and probably unprecedented.

The present essay will explore the contents, context, and historical significance of these Texaco *Jumbo* broadcasts and what we can learn from them. The broadcasts also provide an opportunity to take a longer look at one of the era's most highly publicized media events. The show, marketed at Rose's insistence as "Billy Rose's *Jumbo*," is the story of an unusual hybrid, half circus, half musical comedy, a circus-musical that, from all accounts, few New Yorkers missed, but a show that has since hovered below the radar of both audiences and scholars.[2]

Billy Rose's *Jumbo*

The story of *Jumbo* begins with Billy Rose (1899–1966), the lyricist, nightclub owner, and producer who wanted to present an event so spectacular that people would abandon the habit of calling him by the sobriquet Mr. Fanny Brice.[3] In *The Bellarosa Connection* (1989), Saul Bellow's novella that centers on the imagined exploits of this colorful character, a fictional Rose is credited for saving the life of the narrator's relative Harry Fonstein from the clutches of Hitler and Mussolini. Upon introducing his title figure, Bellow encapsulates another character's memories of "one of those insignificant-significant characters whose name will be recognized chiefly by show-biz historians":

> The late Billy, the business partner of Prohibition hoodlums, the sidekick of Arnold Rothstein [prominent high stakes gambler and alleged ringleader of the notorious "Black Sox" baseball scandal of 1919], multimillionaire Billy, the protégé of [financier and governmental adviser] Bernard Baruch, the young shorthand prodigy whom Woodrow Wilson, mad for shorthand, invited to the White House for a discussion of the rival systems of Pitman and Gregg[4]; Billy the producer, the consort of Eleanor Holm, the mermaid queen of the [1939] New York World's Fair; Billy the collector of Matisse, Seurat, and so forth . . . nationally syndicated Billy, the gossip columnist.[5]

Remarkably, Bellow only scratches the surface of Billy Rose's multi-faceted career. Although he achieved neither the notoriety nor the acclaim of Florenz Ziegfeld or, for that matter, an artistic triumph to equal Ziegfeld's historic *Show Boat* (1927), from the 1920s to the early

1960s Rose was nonetheless a prominent showman of his era. Not only was he the brains and often the money behind a series of grandiose and high-stakes projects that included nightclubs, world and regional fairs, exhibitions, and aquacades, he also produced a handful of Broadway shows, most notably *Carmen Jones*, a hit that opened at the end of 1943 with lyrics by Oscar Hammerstein set to the popular tunes of Georges Bizet's *Carmen*.

Before launching *Jumbo*, his most grandiose Broadway project, Rose had produced three versions of a revue starring the famous Ziegfeld comedienne and Rose's new bride, Fanny Brice ("Funny Girl"). The revue, which tried out in Philadelphia as *Corned Beef and Roses* (27 October 1930), was renamed *Sweet and Low* for its Broadway opening (17 November 1930), and returned to New York under yet another name, *Billy Rose's Crazy Quilt* (29 May 1931). The show is known today only for its song hit by composer Harry Warren, "I Found a Million Dollar Baby (in a Five and Ten Cent Store)," for which Rose and Mort Dixon shared the lyric royalties. One month into the *Crazy Quilt* run, Rose added a new song for Brice, now lost, called "Rest Room Rose" (to cash in on the fame of "Second Hand Rose"), by Richard Rodgers and Lorenz ("Larry") Hart, who had also contributed another song for the enterprise dropped sometime before *Corned Beef and Roses* metamorphosed into *Sweet and Low*.[6]

Rose had first crossed paths with the then unknown songwriting team more than a decade before *Jumbo*. As early as 1923, Rose, an aspiring lyricist, gave Hart (1895–1943) a hundred dollars a day at Brant Lake Camp to ghostwrite lyrics for Rose's profit. When Lew Fields's Broadway play *The Melody Man* (with two songs by Rodgers [1902–79] and Hart) encountered trouble the next year, Hart's father Max managed to persuade Rose to invest $1,000 in the enterprise.[7] One year after *Melody Man*, Rose asked Rodgers and Hart, the latter still supplying Rose with uncredited lyrics, to write songs for his new Fifth Avenue Club. Both the revue, *The Fifth Avenue Follies*, and the club opened and closed in January 1926, a few months after Rodgers and Hart's early breakthroughs, the first *Garrick Gaieties* and *Dearest Enemy*. In the autobiography *Musical Stages*, Rodgers complained that he and Hart were never paid for their work in Rose's *Follies* and described Rose as a "very shrewd, highly complex and oddly likable character."[8] Hart biographer Frederick Nolan conjectures that "maybe Billy figured they owed him [for *Melody Man*]: he had that kind of mind."[9]

Although the extent of Rose's actual contributions remains in doubt, over the next decade he would receive credit as a co-lyricist for a number of hit songs in addition to "Million Dollar Baby," most famously

"More Than You Know" and "Great Day" (lyrics by Edward Eliscu and Rose; music by Vincent Youmans) and "It's Only a Paper Moon" (lyrics by Yip Harburg and Rose; music by Harold Arlen). The lyric "And who wants to look at a hippopotamus except another hippopotamus?" in the song "Women" from *Jumbo* was allegedly taken from remarks Rose uttered to support his original plan to showcase only beautiful women and no animals in his circus.[10] In fact, the character Claudius B. Bowers serves as Rose's surrogate in this song and other parts of *Jumbo*.

Rose's visits to various European circuses, including a circus-musical in Hungary, gave him the idea to produce a circus show on Broadway. Before Rose signed Rodgers and Hart to compose the songs (this time they would receive the credit), he hired production director John Murray Anderson (1886–1954) and book writers Ben Hecht (1894–1964), coincidentally "a reformed trapeze performer," and Charles MacArthur (1895–1956). Anderson, who had directed *Dearest Enemy*, developed a specialty in large-scale productions and revues, including four Radio City Music Hall productions, a restaged *Ziegfeld Follies* with Fanny Brice, and *Life Begins at 8:40* in 1934 (with sets by *Jumbo* designer Albert Johnson). In his memoirs Anderson recalled that he met Rose "just prior to the '8:40 show'" (he is probably off by at least a year) and began what he would call his "Rose Period" with a touring version of the aforementioned *Crazy Quilt*.[11] In marked contrast to Rodgers, Anderson, who would serve Rose for decades, recalled that his payment for *Crazy Quilt* was "exactly twice as much as my contract called for" and that in future dealings "tough guy" Rose "scrupulously lived up to the letter of his agreements, and sometimes exceeded them."[12]

Jumbo cost a lot to produce, $340,000 by most estimates, a record for the era (including a $40,000 price tag to transform the cavernous Hippodrome into a one-ring circus).[13] John Hay Whitney, known as "Jock" for his enthusiasm for horses and his association with the exclusive Jockey Club, and his sister Joan Payson, co-heirs to a street and railway line fortune, supplied and eventually lost most of the money to produce *Jumbo*, with lesser amounts invested by Rose's mentor Bernard Baruch and Herbert Bayard Swope. Rose himself put up $35,000.

Partially offsetting the enormous renovating and other expenses needed to finance a circus-musical spectacular, Rose won a major money-saving coup when he succeeded in getting Actor's Equity to classify his show as a circus rather than a Broadway musical, thereby allowing him to rehearse his performers ten weeks beyond the legal schedule without paying them in hard cash. In exchange, Rose would

have to feed a large number of human and animal carnivores in keeping with circus protocol. Despite this major concession, without which *Jumbo* could not have opened, Rose had to bear large weekly operating production costs, including $6,000 to pay the Paul Whiteman Band, $1,000 to rent the Hippodrome, $500 a week for the trick stallion Doheos, "the most beautiful horse in the world," and thousands weekly to feed and pay the 200 circus artists and musical performers and 400 to 500 animals. *Time* cited a weekly $200 food tab for Big Rosie (alias Jumbo) alone.[14]

Since Rose managed to persuade Actor's Equity to classify *Jumbo* as a circus, the show was not constrained by the Equity maximum of eight shows a week. Rose chose to run twelve performances a week—two times a day with Tuesdays off for those not participating in one of the weekly Texaco broadcasts, the radio programs that prompted this essay. As a result of its concentrated performance schedule, *Jumbo* took only a little over five months (18 April) to reach 233 performances. How many people actually saw *Jumbo*? Nobody knows for sure. We do know that when Rose got through dismantling the orchestra section of the old Hippodrome, he had reduced seating capacity from 5,200 to about 4,300.[15] Although the number is certainly inflated—the *New York Times* reported that the show played at just under two-thirds capacity for the twelve performances that followed the premiere, and audiences no doubt decreased during the course of the run—it is reasonable to project that "more than a million" people came to see *Jumbo*.[16]

Jumbo was more than merely the most expensive musical up to its time. At twenty weeks, it was the longest-running musical that opened in 1935.[17] The only musical that outlasted *Jumbo* over the course of the 1935–36 season was Rodgers and Hart's profitable next show, *On Your Toes*, which arrived on 11 April and did not close until 315 performances later. *Jumbo*, which marked Rodgers and Hart's return to Broadway after a three-year Hollywood diaspora, launched a productive and memorable series of ten Rodgers and Hart shows over the next eight years, nine of which were certifiable hits. Over these years only Cole Porter could consistently rival such Broadway success. *Jumbo* was also the first of several dozen hit musicals directed by George Abbott (1887–1995) over the next three decades. Beyond these historical markers are three timeless song standards first heard in *Jumbo*: "The Most Beautiful Girl in the World," "Little Girl Blue," and "My Romance," the first prominently featured by Rudy Vallee on his radio and stage shows, the latter two recorded by original cast members Gloria Grafton and Donald Novis one month before the show closed.[18] For

more than seventy years, this trio of songs have remained staples of the Broadway songbook; the last named was still going strong in the new millennium, sung by Carly Simon in a television commercial for Ralph Lauren perfume.

Once announced ubiquitously on New York City billboards as BIGGER THAN A SHOW—BETTER THAN A CIRCUS, *Jumbo*, one of the most publicized and eagerly anticipated public events in New York of the year, if not the decade, would soon disappear from history and historical consciousness.[19] Until an idealistic promoter can interest someone with the expertise, imagination, and prestige of someone like director and puppetry wizard Julie Taymor in the project—live elephants are probably no longer welcome in most New York theaters—*Jumbo*, in its day an event not be missed, seems destined to languish indefinitely in the vast desert of the 1930s Broadway musical.

But if *Jumbo* remains unseen, an accidental discovery in the 1990s of twelve contemporary radio broadcasts has given the legacy of the work new life and an opportunity to be heard more completely than previously thought possible. The programs sponsored by Texaco, a promotional commercial venture conceived by Rose to partially offset the huge operating cost (the broadcasts earned Rose $12,000 a week), provide nearly all the material necessary to realize the first and only (nearly) complete original cast recording of a Rodgers and Hart musical. In fact, if one has the patience to gather the material scattered unsystematically on the first five Texaco broadcasts (28 October–26 November 1935), it is possible to consider these broadcasts as the repository of the first virtually complete original cast recording of *any* Broadway musical.[20]

Jumbo, Live from Texaco

Radio's role in the life of a Broadway show reinforces the posthumous historical notion and critical verdict that 1930s musicals were not integral entities, but all about songs and comedians. Even when musical comedies and operettas became weekly occurrences on programs such as *The Railroad Hour* in the late 1940s and early 1950s, the original forty-five minute format, soon reduced to thirty minutes, could not offer much more than a musical medley and perhaps some dialogue.[21] Occasionally Broadway composers gained opportunities to pitch a song or two on the airwaves. George Gershwin, for example, demonstrated his notable piano skills as a soloist when he performed "Fascinating Rhythm," "Liza," "I Got Rhythm," and his Second Prelude for piano on Rudy Vallee's popular and influential *The Fleischmann Hour* on

10 November 1932; almost exactly one year later (9 November 1933) Gershwin appeared again on Vallee's show to perform an arrangement of his Concerto in F and accompany the rising singer–actress Kitty Carlisle.[22] Throughout 1934 Gershwin hosted his own program, *Music by Gershwin*, starting at two fifteen-minute shows a week from February to May, followed by a thirty-minute format in late September and extending to the end of the year.[23] The brevity of these programs precluded extended segments from Broadway shows.

Less than two weeks before the first Texaco *Jumbo* broadcast, Rodgers promoted his latest Broadway venture when he accompanied the ingénue Gloria Grafton, who sang "Little Girl Blue" on Vallee's program (17 October 1935).[24] Five days later, radio audiences heard the first and last installment of an original live Rodgers and Hart musical comedy projected as a thirty-minute radio series on CBS called *Let's Have Fun* with dialogue and songs delivered by Helen Morgan, Ken Murray, and Romney Brent.[25] Two days after the first Texaco broadcast, Vallee opened his *Fleischmann Hour* on 31 October with his own rendition of "The Most Beautiful Girl in the World." More than a year later, and months after *Jumbo* had closed, Vallee adopted this song as a regular feature in his floorshow on the Astor Roof.[26]

The need for revenue and publicity may have provided Rose's motivation to present the Texaco *Jumbo* radio series, but it was *Jumbo*'s star comedian Jimmy Durante who created the opportunity for the thirty-minute programs that would showcase and promote Rose's Hippodrome extravaganza. The leading female, Grafton, was inexperienced and little-known. The Welsh-born male lead, Novis, had been performing on radio but on Broadway had only sung the title song in Rudolf Friml's *Luana* for twenty-one performances in 1930. Despite the involvement of band leader and radio personality Paul Whiteman, one can easily conjecture that the *Jumbo* broadcasts may not have taken place without a marketable comedian of Durante's stature.

Durante (1893–1980), the featured star and centerpiece for all twelve Texaco *Jumbo* broadcasts, was a singing and piano-playing comedian who had previously worked on Broadway with his trio as the featured comic in two short-lived musicals, *Show Girl* (1929) and *The New Yorkers* (1930). In these shows, with scores by Gershwin and Porter, respectively, Durante also created and sang his own special material.[27] He had also appeared on film in *Roadhouse Nights* (1930), with a screenplay by Hecht and MacArthur, the book writers for *Jumbo*. Three years before *Jumbo*, Durante received third billing and sang two of the four Rodgers and Hart songs in the film *The Phantom President* (1932). Two years before *Jumbo*, Durante occupied center stage in *Strike Me Pink* (1933)

and, along with Bert Lahr, Ed Wynn, and Eddie Cantor, began his reign as one of the most popular stage comics of the day. At the center of Durante's humorous physical persona was his large "schnozzola," a human attribute responsible for what in the *Jumbo* film he called his "family resemblance" to the eponymous star of the show, an elephant. A major component of Durante's humor was his amusing mispronunciations of words, in *Jumbo*, for example, "colossial" instead of "colossal."

Shortly before *Jumbo*, Rodgers and Hart, who had created *Simple Simon* (1930) around the comic talents of Ed Wynn, composed five songs for the film *Hollywood Party* (1934), which, like the staged *Jumbo* and the non-*Jumbo* material on the Texaco broadcasts, catered to the comic delivery and musical style of Durante, who starred in the film as a man who dreams he is Tarzan. With his distinctive raspy singing voice, Durante would leave his personal stamp on two solo *Jumbo* songs, "Laugh" and "Women." Both can be heard in Durante's idiosyncratic style on the Texaco broadcasts, "Laugh" on 29 October, and "Women" on 19 November. The *Jumbo* radio programs contained solo songs, duets, and choral numbers, but the *Jumbo* programs themselves were inspired by and primarily designed to promote a comic star.

The public prominence, popularity, and radio experience of Paul Whiteman (1891–1967) no doubt also played a role in the creation of the *Jumbo Fire Chief* broadcasts (Figure 1). Even those dimly aware of popular culture in the 1920s are familiar with Whiteman as the man

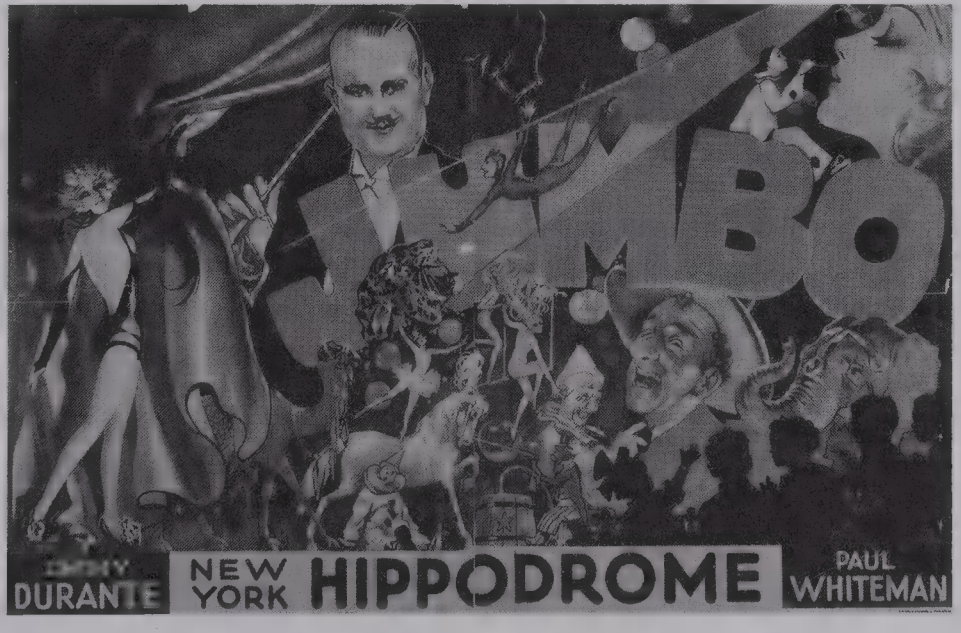

Figure 1. *Jumbo* publicity poster with conductor Paul Whiteman towering above the show's title. Smaller images of the star comedian, Jimmy Durante, and his beloved elephant Jumbo (off-stage name "Big Rosie") appear in the lower right.

who made history when he commissioned and performed Gershwin's *Rhapsody in Blue* with the composer as soloist on 12 February 1924, at Aeolian Hall. From June 1933 to early December 1935 Whiteman hosted *The Kraft Program* (renamed *Kraft Music Hall* in 1934). On 5 December, between the fourth and fifth broadcast of Texaco's *Jumbo Fire Chief Program*, Whiteman co-hosted *Kraft Music Hall* with Bing Crosby. Crosby would become the sole *Kraft Music Hall* host on 2 January, continuing in this capacity for approximately another 300 broadcasts.[28]

Less known are Whiteman's frequent connections with *Jumbo*'s songwriting team. Two years before *Jumbo*, Whiteman had featured "Lover," the Rodgers and Hart hit from the Rouben Mamoulian film classic, *Love Me Tonight* (1932), in a Carnegie Hall concert. On at least one occasion, Whiteman and his orchestra were guests at one of Hart's all-night parties in his parents' apartment, a party also attended by Richard and Dorothy Rodgers. In a 1938 two-part *New Yorker* profile of Rodgers and Hart, Margaret Case Harriman reports a conversation between Dorothy and Hart's mother Frieda, who was reading in bed while a party was still going on. "'Doesn't that noise in the living room even bother you?' Mrs. Rodgers inquired sympathetically. Mrs. Hart shook her head and smiled. 'No,' she said, 'it has never bothered me.' She reflected a moment, and added gently, 'Except, maybe, that night Paul Whiteman's band came in.'"[29]

The discovery of *The Jumbo Fire Chief* Texaco broadcasts became known with the publication of the introductory note to the rediscovered lyrics of *Jumbo*'s "Song of the Roustabouts."[30] The note and the lyrics appeared in the appendix to the expanded edition of *The Complete Lyrics of Lorenz Hart*, edited by Dorothy Hart (Lorenz's sister-in-law) and Robert Kimball.[31] Directly following the announcement that "this lyric was rediscovered and shared with the editors by David Cunard," the note continues with an explanation by Cunard, self-identified as the "chairman of The Council for Musical Theatre, based in Van Nuys, California":

> Starting October 29, 1935 the Texas Oil Company ("Texaco") sponsored seventeen broadcasts of the "Jumbo Fire Chief" program from the "sawdust ring of the Hippodrome Theatre," on Tuesday evenings at 9:30 on WEAF, New York. These broadcasts presented the story of *Jumbo*'s Considine Circus [see *Jumbo*: The Story below] and incorporated the entire Rodgers and Hart score over the run of the series. This collection, together with many others in Texaco's "Fire Chief" series, languished in a warehouse in New Jersey [Texaco's Records Building, a repository for financial records that mistakenly housed audio records] until it was

donated to the Society for the Preservation of Variety Arts, a Los Angeles-based foundation.[32]

Although originally contracted for seventeen broadcasts, the *Jumbo* material was exhausted after the twelfth program on 14 January 1936, a broadcast that brought in society pianist Eddie Duchin and his orchestra to fill in with other music. In fact, no new *Jumbo* songs were introduced after the *fifth* broadcast of 26 November, only ten days after opening

Table 1. "The Jumbo Fire Chief Progam" and *Jumbo*

ACT 1

"Over and Over Again" (Broadcast No. 1: 29 October, and many others)
Bob Lawrence and Henderson's Singing Razorbacks
"Over and Over Again" was the first song from *Jumbo* to be heard on the broadcasts. After returning as the first song on the second broadcast (5 November), it would follow "The Circus Is on Parade" to conclude the seventh, eighth, ninth, eleventh, and twelfth broadcasts (10, 17, and 24 December, and 7 and 14 January).

"The Circus on Parade" (Broadcast No. 1: 29 October; Broadcast No. 3: 12 November; and others)
Henderson's Singing Razorbacks
The main tune of "The Circus on Parade" first appeared toward the end of the first broadcast on 29 October and again to close the second and fourth broadcasts on 5 and 19 November. The trio was introduced on the third broadcast, 12 November. From the fifth through twelfth broadcasts (26 November to 14 January), the song's opening introduced each program and returned toward its conclusion.

"The Most Beautiful Girl in the World" (Broadcast No. 4: 19 November)
Donald Novis and Gloria Grafton

"Laugh" (Broadcast No. 1: 29 October)
Jimmy Durante

"Clown Number" (also known as "March of the Clowns") (Broadcast No. 5: 26 November)
Paul Whiteman and His Orchestra
"March of the Clowns" was later recycled as the first movement in Rodgers's *Nursery Ballet*, performed by the Paul Whiteman band at a Carnegie Hall Concert on Christmas Day, 1938. This Christmas concert was the eighth and last in a series of Experiments in Modern American Music launched in the historic Aeolian Hall concert of 12 February 1924, the concert that featured the premiere of George Gershwin's *Rhapsody in Blue*. The entire 1938 concert is available on "Paul Whiteman at Carnegie Hall" (Nostalgia Arts 303 2025).

"My Romance" (Broadcast No. 1: 29 October)
Donald Novis and Gloria Grafton
The chorus of "My Romance" returned on the third broadcast (12 November). A later portion of the third broadcast also included a reprise.
"Little Girl Blue" (Broadcast No. 2: 5 November)
Gloria Grafton
On the fourth broadcast (19 November), the song returned with the addition of Henderson's Singing Razorbacks.
ACT 2
"Song of the Roustabouts" (Broadcast No. 3: 12 November)
Henderson's Singing Razorbacks
The "Song of the Roustabouts" was introduced at the conclusion of the 12 November broadcast and returned to open the program on 19 November.
"Women" (Broadcast No. 4: 19 November)
Jimmy Durante
"My Romance" (reprise) (Broadcast No. 3: 12 November)
Donald Novis and Gloria Grafton
"Memories of Madison Square Garden" (Broadcast No. 3: 12 November)
Donald Novis
"Memories" returned two broadcasts later on 26 November.
"The Jumbo Firechief Program" took advantage of New Year's Eve, which fell on a Tuesday in 1935, and concluded the evening's program with a chorus of this nostalgic song sandwiched between refrains of "Auld Lang Syne."
"Old-Timers Acts: Josephine de Motte" (Broadcast No. 5: 26 November)
Paul Whiteman and His Orchestra
"The Kimris" (Broadcast No. 5: 26 November)
Paul Whiteman and His Orchestra
Ponchielli's "Dance of the Hours" from *La Giaconda* and Wagner's Venusberg Music from *Tannhäuser*.
"Diavolo" (Broadcast No. 2: 12 November)
Bob Lawrence and Henderson's Singing Razorbacks

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night. Table 1 shows how it is possible to assemble a nearly complete cast album from these five broadcasts.[33]

For the most part, the Texaco programs consisted of routines and sketches based either on the *Jumbo* script by co-writers Hecht and MacArthur or material newly created for the broadcast that incorporated characters from *Jumbo*. About five times on each broadcast the dialogue was punctuated by songs performed by Donald Novis, Gloria Grafton, Henderson's Singing Razorbacks, or comedian Jimmy Durante, who was

not only featured in every episode but received top billing as well. Beyond the legacy of the three aforementioned songs in the American songbook and a film version and soundtrack from 1962 starring Doris Day and Durante in an expanded role (the last of the films based on a Rodgers and Hart score), *Jumbo* remains seldom discussed. Just as Durante famously asked "What elephant?" we might ask "What *Jumbo*?" For this reason, and to create a context for understanding the significance of the Texaco broadcasts, the next two sections in this essay will offer enough plot exposition to place the songs dramatically in the show and allow for some general remarks about the score.[34]

Jumbo: The Story

In this musical loosely based on *Romeo and Juliet*, the star-crossed young lovers, Mickey Considine (Gloria Grafton) and Matt Mulligan Jr. (Donald Novis), are the offspring of rival circus owners John A. Considine (Arthur Sinclair) and Matthew Mulligan (W. J. McCarthy). Considine's drinking and financial mismanagement have led to the bankruptcy of the Considine Wonder Show, the mutiny of its performers, and an imminent hostile takeover by the Mulligan Circus. These conflicts lead to strife between Mickey and Matt Jr. Considine's press agent, Claudius B. (for Brainy) Bowers (Jimmy Durante), who, mistaking a U.S. marshal (George Watts) for an investment banker, makes matters worse when he grossly exaggerates his boss's solvency.[35] After his earlier blunders, Bowers saves the day in the second act when he accidentally burns down Considine's house (this happens offstage), an action that enables his boss to collect enough insurance to salvage the show. In contrast to the Shakespearean model, *Jumbo*'s Mickey and Matt Jr. survive to guide their feuding parents to reconciliation. The show ends with a circus wedding celebration for people and animals.

This is the short version. For those interested in learning more about the story of the Considine and Mulligan circuses, Matt Jr., Mickey, Brainy, and Jumbo, here now is the unexpurgated synopsis. Note that the main statements of each musical number are placed in capital letters.

ACT 1

In lieu of an overture, which Rose rejected as a nuisance of consequence "only to the composer's mother," the show opened with Paul Whiteman conducting THE CIRCUS IS ON PARADE while riding a white horse.[36] After Whiteman leads his band through the ring to the bandstand behind the center curtains, trick rider Poodles Hanneford enters

Figure 2. Production photo of *Jumbo*'s Act 1 finale dominated by the 40- to 50-foot-high star-spangled papier-mâché jack-in-the-box that, according to *Time*, pops out of something no bigger than a suitcase. Vandamm Studio. Billy Rose Theatre Division, The New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations. Reproduced by permission.

to an organ tune that anticipates the next song, the waltz "Over and Over Again." The audience witnesses a rehearsal of equestrians and gymnasts, and Ray Henderson's Singing Razorbacks, a thirty-two-member male chorus, sing the complete OVER AND OVER AGAIN refrain interspersed with circus performer mistakes, mishaps, and verbal admonishments before everyone does it over yet again. After fourteen weeks of rehearsals and six cancelled openings, this song must have been close to Rose's heart.

After the rehearsal in song, Mr. Jellico, the Considine circus manager played by A. P. Kaye (familiar to New York audiences since 1912, when he played the part of the chauffeur Henry Straker in George Bernard Shaw's *Man and Superman*), learns from the disgruntled Mr. Ball (Bob Lawrence) that the unpaid and underfed performers "ain't paradin." The Mulligan Circus is taking away business and threatening to disrupt the parade. Considine appears riding on Jumbo and gives an impassioned speech. As long as they have their beloved elephant, they can compete. The Considine Razorbacks respond by singing a more complete version of the stirring march THE CIRCUS IS ON PARADE.

Mulligan arrives and offers to hire Jellico and other performers in the Considine circus after he takes it over. Matt Jr. tries unsuccessfully to get back into Mickey's good graces and explains that Mulligan's split with her father was due to the latter's drinking problems. The verse of THE MOST BEAUTIFUL GIRL IN THE WORLD reveals that Matt Jr. has loved Mickey since they were babies (in the dialogue we learn more precisely that he has loved her since the day she was born, when Matt Jr. was only two years old). The Allan K. Foster Girls enter for an elaborate equestrian act followed by Doheos, the horse, which performs elaborate tricks accompanied by a reprise of "Most Beautiful Girl," now titled "The Most Beautiful Horse in the World."

The U.S. marshal posts signs of an impending auction that would foreclose the Considine circus for failing to pay back income taxes. Jellico goes to find Considine at the parade. Bowers enters, mistakes the marshal for a financial investor, and instead of conveying the dismal financial reality of Considine's situation, boasts that the nearly bankrupt circus actually made close to a million dollars over the past three years. In his obliviousness to the marshal's identity, Bowers even signs an affidavit. Throughout his exchange with the marshal, in fact whenever we see Bowers, he is obsessively, albeit absent-mindedly, lighting matches and tossing them to the ground.

The situation goes from bad to worse. Mulligan's men have broken up the Considine parade and the antagonism between the rival circuses erupts into off-stage violence. Now Considine discovers that the government is going to immediately repossess his animals and auction off his circus to the highest bidder, which of course means Mulligan. Mickey appears and the blundering Bowers, who has made an unfortunate situation more desperate, tries to cheer her up (LAUGH). When this fails, he makes a call to "bring on the Pagliaccis" (a fascinating anticipation of Sondheim's metaphoric "Send in the Clowns" in *A Little Night Music*). To the accompaniment of MARCH OF THE CLOWNS, singled out for praise among Rodgers's instrumental works in the 1938 *Time* magazine cover story on Rodgers and Hart, the clown A. Robins came out and pulled 150 bananas out of his pocket in a routine that impressed *New York Times* critic Brooks Atkinson.[37]

Matt Jr. appears, expresses his love to Mickey, and the family feud is momentarily interrupted long enough for Matt Jr. and Mickey to sing *Jumbo*'s central love ballad, MY ROMANCE. A disguised Bowers enters with Jumbo, whom he is attempting to kidnap. When confronted by the Marshal, who considers the elephant a valuable asset, Bowers innocently delivers the classic Broadway line, "What elephant?" The joke broke up the audience every night, including the four-year old Mary Rodgers,

who remembered this childhood moment vividly many years later in the *American Masters* documentary *Richard Rodgers: The Sweetest Sounds* (2001). Interestingly, although the "What elephant?" joke appears in the script, it never aired on the Texaco broadcasts.

Mulligan purchases the Considine circus and Mickey and Matt Jr. argue bitterly. Considine asks Bowers to sneak into his house—inhabited by the estranged Mrs. Considine, who was written out of the show during rehearsals—to steal the deed so that Considine can sell the house and buy his circus back. A very blue Mickey sings LITTLE GIRL BLUE, and the act closes with an elaborate mixture of clowns, aerialists, and equestriennes, topped off by a 40- to 50-foot-high (reports vary) star-spangled jack-in-the box made of papier-mâché that, according to *Time*, "pops out of something no bigger than a suitcase" (FINALE: THE CRYSTAL CIRCUS) (Figure 2).[38]

ACT 2

After an ENTR'ACTE ("The Most Beautiful Girl in the World," "Over and Over Again," "The Circus Is on Parade"), Henderson's Singing Razorbacks, accompanied by harmonicas, open the second act with a rousing SONG OF THE ROUSTABOUTS. Considine enters with the news that his house has burned down and that the Great Western Insurance Company has paid a claim for $12,000 (the same amount Rose earned each week for a Texaco *Fire Chief* program). The Considine Wonder Show is saved. Mickey, however, still harbors resentment toward Matt Jr. and wants to stay behind when her father goes to buy Jumbo back from the senior Mulligan. Bowers enters with the suggestion that a circus needs more women and sings a patter song, WOMEN, which includes an equestrian and dance interlude performed by stunning showgirls.

Matt Jr. arrives and offers his services as an acrobat in the Considine show in order to be near Mickey. Matt Jr. and Mickey sing a reprise of MY ROMANCE as if it were part of a new act, (recalling "Make Believe" from *Show Boat*), and Bowers interrupts the song to instruct the timid lovers how to create a balcony love scene with more heart and passion.

The new Considine and Mulligan Wonder Show begins with Matt Jr. singing the nostalgic waltz MEMORIES OF MADISON SQUARE GARDEN in a scene that depicts the nineteenth-century circus showman P. T. Barnum and an exterior set of his old stomping grounds. The Wonder Show continues with OLD-TIMERS ACTS to accompany the appearance of the seventy-five-year-old aerialist Josephine De Motte

Robinson, who in real life starred in the Barnum and Bailey Circus fifty years earlier.

The chief of police, accompanied by Great Western agent Mr. Piper (Philip Wood), arrives to arrest Considine for arson. The incriminating evidence is a singed hat a young couple noticed on someone's head when it was on fire and on the suspect's head as he was leaving Considine's house. Even as he continues to light and toss burning matches, the oblivious pyromaniac Bowers admits to burning down the house. Jellico enters and reports that Jumbo has escaped. As he is taken away by the marshal, Considine announces "the death-defying Diavolo" and Bob Lawrence and the Razorbacks sing a fast declamatory rhythmic song in the minor mode. At the end of the song named in his honor, DIAVOLO, the daredevil aerialist, who had been performing somersaults on a wire over an open cage of lions and tigers, falls into the cage as part of the act and makes a mad dash for the door as he is chased by the wild beasts.

The next circus act is the Kimris, aerialists who perform stunts while hanging out of a miniature but nonetheless flying airplane, anticipating the helicopter scene in *Miss Saigon* by more than fifty years. Two famous pieces of classical music accompany this act, first the furious concluding theme of Amilcare Ponchielli's "Dance of the Hours" from *La Giaconda*, the same music that would be danced by hippopotamuses in tutus, crocodiles in trench coats, and even a few elephants in Walt Disney's *Fantasia* a few years later; the second piece is a familiar theme from Wagner's Venusberg Music in *Tannhäuser*.

When it is discovered, to Mr. Piper's dismay, that Mulligan has insurance to cover a rampaging elephant, Considine agrees to stop Jumbo from tearing up the town in exchange for tearing up the warrant for his arson arrest. Considine and Mulligan shake hands, and Matt Jr. and Mickey sing a final reprise of MY ROMANCE. Brainy Bowers announces a circus wedding in which forty showgirls on black and white horses and dozens of animals appear to the strains of THE CIRCUS IS ON PARADE. Both people and animals are wearing wedding veils and top hats (FINALE: THE CIRCUS WEDDING).

Jumbo: The Score

The score of *Jumbo* contains a basic core of ten songs, six in act 1 and five in act 2, including the finale made up of reprises. Since circus acts, accompanied by music, occupy approximately the amount of time spent on the extended Balanchine ballets in *On Your Toes, Babes in Arms*, and *The Boys from Syracuse* that followed in the next three years, the total

amount of music in Rose's circus-musical is roughly comparable to subsequent Rodgers and Hart shows. What is unusual in *Jumbo* is the large number of diegetic genre songs, including the four "integrated" numbers that feature Henderson's Singing Razorbacks in their double role as working roustabouts and male chorus: march ("The Circus Is on Parade"), rehearsal music ("Over and Over Again"), work song ("The Song of the Roustabouts"), and music to accompany a circus act ("Diavolo"). The main solo numbers and duets are Durante's talking–singing comedy songs, one in each act ("Laugh" and "Women," respectively), the three ballads for the romantic leads introduced in act 1 ("The Most Beautiful Girl in the World," "My Romance," and "Little Girl Blue"), and Matt Jr.'s nostalgic "Memories of Madison Square Garden" in act 2.

The *Jumbo* score is also notable as the first show in which Rodgers fully asserts his unofficial claim as America's "Waltz King." Waltzes were not new for Rodgers in 1935, but of the approximately thirty waltz songs and other instrumental waltzes he would compose over the course of his career, relatively few precede *Jumbo*. In the 1920s, *Dearest Enemy* introduced "Here's a Kiss," and *A Connecticut Yankee* originally contained two tuneful waltzes that were discarded during tryouts and are unfortunately now known only to aficionados, "I Blush" and "Nothing's Wrong." It was not until "Lover" in *Love Me Tonight* (1932) that Rodgers and Hart created a waltz now recognized as a classic. After *Jumbo*, about half of Rodgers and Hart's shows feature a waltz, "Falling in Love with Love" from *The Boys from Syracuse* and "Wait Till You See Her" from *By Jupiter* remaining the most popular. In Rodgers's work with Hammerstein, the waltz gained renewed life and importance, and only two Rodgers and Hammerstein shows—*Me and Juliet* and *Flower Drum Song*—fail to display at least one waltz in a pivotal emotional moment. The first and last songs Rodgers and Hammerstein wrote together, "Oh, What a Beautiful Morning'" from *Oklahoma!* and "Edelweiss" from *The Sound of Music*, are waltzes; other favorites between these bookends include the *Carousel* waltzes, "A Wonderful Guy" and "This Nearly Was Mine" from *South Pacific*, and *Cinderella*'s "Ten Minutes Ago."

More than any show with Hart, *Jumbo* demonstrates Rodgers's fascination with the waltz and waltz meter. In "Over and Over Again," the refrain and trio are in triple meter with contrasting sections in duple meter. "The Most Beautiful Girl in the World" and its reprise, "The Most Beautiful Horse in the World," are in waltz time throughout, as is "Memories of Madison Square Garden." The trio sections of the

perennial "Little Girl Blue" and "The Spring Song," deleted during the later stages of rehearsals, are also waltzes.

Jumbo did not offer as many song standards as the *Babes in Arms* hit brigade, but we have mentioned three that have long since entered the Broadway songbook: "The Most Beautiful Girl in the World," "My Romance," and "Little Girl Blue." Although often supported by strikingly unusual harmonies, Rodgers's melodies in these songs offer an uncharacteristically small number of notes outside their scale. In fact, a combined total of two notes wander outside the tonal boundaries of these songs, the E-flat on the fourth appearance of the word "world" in "Most Beautiful Girl" and the C-sharp on the word "why" in "Little Girl Blue." Despite rich underlying harmonies (for example, the F-sharpm7 underpinning of the B-natural on the word "hide" in the thirteenth bar of the chorus), none of the melodic notes in the refrain of "My Romance" stray beyond the tonal fence of the C-major scale.

As with most Rodgers songs from any phase of his career, the three central *Jumbo* ballads demonstrate endless variations of scalar melodies, such as the scale in "Most Beautiful Girl" that leads to the E-flat on "world."[39] Scales are also ubiquitous throughout the A sections of "My Romance." "Little Girl Blue" combines repeated notes on F with leaps that lead to scales in one direction or another. The opening F ascends to D in the fourth measure (on "do") then to C (on "through") while the third ascent to B-flat (on "count")—note the three-note descending scale D–C–B-flat—returns via a descending scale back to F on the second syllable of "little" and a more pronounced return to the central note F after an ascending scale from B-flat to F on "blue."

Several *Jumbo* songs exhibit unusual formal variations on the standard verse-chorus pattern, where the verses generally (but not invariably) present a less tuneful transition from speech to song. After the verse, a chorus or refrain customarily consists of thirty-two bars generally comprised of memorable eight-bar phrases in one of several standard patterns, most commonly A(8)–A(8)–B(8)–A(8) or A(8)–B(8)–A(8)–C(8). Although Rodgers did not regard these formal standards as a straightjacket, he would alter them occasionally. A few years earlier in "A Ship Without a Sail" from *Heads Up!* (1929), he divided the thirty-two measures into three sections, A(12)–B(8)–A(12), in which the A sections delayed the resolution to the tonic for four measures, perhaps as a musical metaphor to depict the floundering of a ship without a sail. In "Little Girl Blue," Rodgers again experiments with twelve-measure phrases for the main idea of the refrain and expands the chorus with an abbreviated four-measure return of A for closure, A(12)–A(12)–B(8)–A(4). As in "A Ship Without a Sail," Rodgers avoids a clear tonic major

chord (in this case F) until the last note of each A section, this time on the important word, "blue."

"Over and Over" and "Little Girl Blue" plunge into their refrains without an introductory verse, while "The Circus on Parade" contains a verse in the score that was not performed in the Texaco broadcasts (a snippet of knowledge that serves as another fringe benefit of *The Fire Chief Program*), and perhaps not in the staged production either. Unusually, in all three *de jure* or *de facto* verseless songs, Rodgers and Hart added a contrasting middle section that Rodgers labeled a trio. Some of the melodic material as well as the duple meter in the "Circus Is on Parade" trio recalls the refrain, and the published trio in "Over and Over Again" maintains the triple meter and character of its refrain. Hippodrome audiences may also have heard the musical material in duple meter that appears in the libretto and was heard on the Texaco broadcasts but *not* published in the vocal selections. The published trio in "Little Girl Blue" offers a waltz interlude (triple meter) with a marked change of melody and character before Mickey returns to the refrain (duple meter). In contrast to the refrain, where the lyrics support the dramatic occasion but are nonetheless generically applicable to girls in other situations who might be blue, the trio text makes specific references to a circus and a young girl growing up in a circus.

The refrain of "The Most Beautiful Girl in the World" asserts its allegiance to standard A–A–B–A formal structure. Yet here, too, Rodgers makes a small break with formality by presenting sixteen-bar units (rather than the standard eight), in which the second and fourth A section concludes unexpectedly on the previously mentioned solitary note that falls outside the F-major scale (E-flat). Following this unusual endnote on a Cm6 chord, Rodgers takes another eight measures of coda to resolve the song on a new high note on "world." Interestingly, the verse of "The Most Beautiful Girl" begins with the same rhythms, meter, and melodic character that marked "Over and Over Again," a fact that might be interpreted as a musical affirmation that Matt Jr. and Mickey truly belong to the circus.

According to Frederick Nolan, who has studied many Rodgers and Hart songs, "My Romance," the song that Ralph Lauren would use to sell perfume nearly seventy years later, "features some of the most elegantly wistful lyrics ever put on paper" and is "quite simply, one of the best songs Rodgers and Hart ever wrote."[40] Nolan also notes that, in marked contrast to Rodgers's legendary lightning compositional speed, the composer struggled to "get" this song for a day and a half. Unlike such Rodgers and Hart songs as "To Keep My Love Alive," where Rodgers's gentle lyricism seems at odds with Hart's biting words, "My Romance" exemplifies Hart's

willingness to abandon verbal pyrotechnics in order to depict the simplicity and "rueful quality" of a tender moment. In his introduction to *The Rodgers and Hart Songbook* (1951), Rodgers notes that "in the face of the pin-wheel brilliance of some of Larry's work, one is inclined to forget the deeper phases of his writing."[41] "My Romance" is certainly one of Hart's deepest and least cynical lyrics.

In a later essay, "A Composer Looks at His Lyricists," originally published in *Dramatists Guild Quarterly* in 1967, Rodgers compares the work of Hart and Hammerstein. While most who write on Rodgers and Hart songs focus on the differences in style and temperament between his two major collaborators, Rodgers notes that both shared a mutual delight in "the wonders to be found in the simple pleasures of life."[42] For examples of Hart's joy in simplicity Rodgers offers two songs, both originally intended for *Jumbo*. The first is "There's a Small Hotel," Hart's "paean to rustic charms," cut during tryouts. The second is "My Romance," in which Hart "dismissed as unnecessary all the conventional romantic props when two people find themselves really in love."[43] The form of the chorus in "My Romance," as with "It's Got to Be Love" the following year, can be interpreted either as A(16)–A'(16) or perhaps more precisely as A(8)–B(8)–A(8)–C(8). In "The Most Beautiful Girl in the World," Mickey's natural beauty and wit would shine anywhere, even in the absence of platinum hair. When they join harmoniously in "My Romance" (with Novis singing above rather than below Grafton), both Rodgers's music and Hart's lyrics make it unequivocally clear that Mickey and Matt Jr.'s romance does not need a moon or a blue lagoon, "twinkling stars," "soft guitars," or castles in Spain. Their romance produces in a waking state what others only dream about.

Critical Reception: "Worth All That Waiting For"

Despite the delays that extended *Jumbo*'s opening from September to November, most critics shared the view voiced by Gilbert W. Gabriel of the *New York American* that *Jumbo* was "worth all that waiting for."[44] Reviews were more than uniformly favorable. They were enthusiastic. *Jumbo* may have lost money, but it was a critical and popular hit, not a flop. On the other hand, the dramatic and musical aspects of *Jumbo* were overshadowed, even overwhelmed, by the circus component. In the *New York Daily Mirror*, for example, the influential columnist Walter Winchell listed a wide array of circus events from contortionist William Ferry to Helen Brooks, the girl shot out of the cannon, and concluded that *Jumbo* was "the town's outstanding entertainment," but mentioned

neither Rodgers nor Hart.[45] Whitney Bolton of the *New York Morning Telegraph*, like most reviewers, bestowed lavish praise on Durante and the enormous dream circus that brings the first act to a close, concluding that "*Jumbo* is a swell, a grand, a lovely show."[46] For Bolton, who did not mention any songs, the "unobtrusive and tolerable" plot "gets into work just often enough to prevent *Jumbo* from being a real circus." As an afterthought to yet another review of circus acts and Durante, *New York Daily News*'s Burns Mantle confined his discussion of the music to the mere mention of "My Romance," which he described, along with Durante's "Laugh" and "Women," simply as "good."[47]

Some critics had only a little more to say about the lyrics and music. Percy Hammond of the *New York Herald Tribune* wrote that "it has been long since I heard as pretty a ballad as 'Little Girl Blue,' sung by Miss Grafton in her flutelike contralto, with the assistance of a choir of melodious razor-backs," but this was the only song he mentions by name.[48] Hammond and other reviewers singled out Donald Novis, not for his singing or the songs he sang, but because he was more than likely "the only musical comedy tenor who can ride a bareback horse."[49] *Billboard*'s Leonard Traube, who took the minority view that there wasn't *enough* circus, merely characterized Rodgers and Hart's score as "catchy, especially in the mass numbers."[50] Another *Billboard* reviewer, Eugene Burr, thought the songs "not very much better than the job done by Messrs. Hecht and MacArthur" and named no specific songs.[51] Only *Variety*'s Ibee (Jack Pulaski) and *New York American*'s Gabriel mentioned as many as three or four songs by name. Ibee's spur-of-the-moment assessment would closely match the longer view of history:

> Miss Grafton wins the singing honors, with Novis the runner-up. Her "Little Girl Blue" looks a cinch hit. Their duetted "My Romance" and "The Most Beautiful Girl in the World" counted strongly, with the excellent baritoning by Bob Lawrence certainly helping more than once. He leads "Over and Over Again," which has a strong chance for popularity.[52]

Although he liked all the songs, Gabriel omitted "Little Girl Blue," the song praised by Hammond and Ibee, from his short list. Surprisingly, he singled out "Madison Square Garden" for praise, a purposely old-fashioned song that would promptly vanish for the next seventy years:

> They are happy, likeable songs, all of them, and a majority of them, such as "My Romance" and "Madison Square Garden" and "The Most Beautiful Girl in the World," are bound to become Coast-to-Coast hit

> songs, if they aren't already. The charm and vitality that are in them echo the vitality and charm of the whole huge venture.[53]

New York Times reviewer Brooks Atkinson summed up the critical epiphanies when he wrote that while "Rodgers and Hart have hammered out a calliope of good tunes [none, however, are mentioned], the main business of 'Jumbo' is evoking the wonder of the circus amid the glamour of imaginative showmanship."[54]

In their memoirs, Abbott and Rodgers shared the verdict handed down by reviewers and Actors' Equity that *Jumbo* was more a circus than a musical. Abbott, however, did acknowledge that the production provided useful on-the-job training to prepare for *On Your Toes*, a bona fide musical he would soon direct (albeit uncredited) and co-write. In his memoirs, called simply *Mr. Abbott* (1963), as Abbott was almost invariably addressed, the director wrote that "*Jumbo* was a beautiful spectacle, but in the vastness of the Hippodrome the book was almost lost."[55] Abbott also recalled that he tried not to be around "when those aerialists, hanging by their toenails from the top of the Hippodrome, came crashing down to the hard, hard ground."[56] At the time *Mr. Abbott* appeared, the man who launched his musical directing career with *Jumbo* could write that hardly a week went by when he did not have a hit or a flop on Broadway.[57] From Abbott's perspective, *Jumbo* fell somewhere between these highs and lows and thus received short shrift.

In *Musical Stages* and in his unpublished Columbia University interviews upon which the memoir was based, Rodgers complained about Rose's ban on radio performances without noting the musical exposure his songs received on the Texaco radio broadcasts.[58] Rodgers also mentioned *Jumbo* in several letters he wrote to his wife Dorothy during the early rehearsals of *On Your Toes* (the new show opened on 11 April, one week before *Jumbo* closed). On 8 February, Rodgers seems to contradict his autobiographical recollections when he reports "My Romance" "being played quite heavily and is moving up into the hit class."[59] A few days later (13 February), Rodgers boasted that "*Jumbo* had its biggest matinee yesterday since the opening and business is better for the week."[60] On 19 February, one day after Rodgers had begun to teach his cast the songs and one day before they began to rehearse the book, Rodgers reveals that he was glad to be moving on from *Jumbo* to a real musical in a recognizable Broadway theater: "It's all kind of exciting and gives me a taste of the old show-business for the first time; *Jumbo* being the size it was it didn't feel like theatre."[61]

Writing of *Higher and Higher* (1941) in *Musical Stages*, Rodgers and Hart's sole personal flop among their last ten Broadway shows, Rodgers

lamented that "if a trained seal steals your show, you don't have a show."[62] Big Rosie the elephant may not have stolen *Jumbo*, but her voice was even less musical than the non-singing Arthur Sinclair in the role of Considine, who was one of Ireland's leading stage actors and frequently featured in plays by Sean O'Casey, Edmund Synge, and W. B. Yeats in Dublin's Abbey Theatre. As someone who liked to recognize the tune, no doubt Rodgers was grateful that Donald Novis was on hand to sing the ballads. Over the next few years, with the exception of George M. Cohan, Rodgers would write for male leads such as Ray Bolger, Ray Heatherton, Dennis King, Eddie Albert, and Gene Kelly, performers who could convey his tunes both with verisimilitude (gravel-voiced Durante could also do this), and more often than not, in contrast to Durante, with a mellifluous tone.

Life After *Jumbo*

By the end of January 1936 Rose had removed three matinees from the *Jumbo* schedule—they would be reinstated during the final weeks of the run—and reduced prices. Negotiations with the Ringling Brothers–Barnum & Bailey Enterprises for a planned tour of *Jumbo* in May fell through, but New York papers announced in March that Rose had agreed to restage the show for the Fort Worth Centennial extravaganza from 1 July to 15 October at the newly built dinner theater, the Casa Mañana. For his part in the events designed to compete with neighboring rival Dallas, Rose was paid $100,000 for 100 days' work. The building costs alone, $300,000, nearly equaled the total Rose spent on the Hippodrome *Jumbo*, but this time the wealthy Forth Worth booster Amon Carter would be paying the bills.[63]

For the Fort Worth production, which opened on a scorching 18 July, Rose was able to retain the services of his *Jumbo* director Anderson, much of the production team, several actors, including A. P. Kaye, Bob Lawrence, George Watts, and Ray Miller, and many of the circus performers, animals, and their acts. The most significant casting change was the replacement of Durante with Eddie Foy Jr., as Cornelius B. Bowers. Instead of romantic leads Grafton and Novis, Fort Worth audiences saw and heard Wyn Cahoon, a Texas native, and Bob Lawrence, who in the Hippodrome had played Mr. Ball and led Henderson's Singing Razorbacks in "Over and Over" and "Diavolo." Much of the original book was discarded in order to reduce the running time to ninety minutes. Although the program lists all the major musical numbers, historian Jay Jones notes that Foy's part was eliminated after six performances, and that with the part so presumably went

his songs, "Laugh" and "Women."[64] What audiences heard after that, even if the sound system had worked in a cavernous auditorium larger than the Hippodrome, is unclear.

Of all the major *Jumbo* players, Anderson maintained the longest professional relationship with Rose. After taking charge of the truncated *Jumbo* and other Casa Mañana production spectacles in 1936 and 1937, he would extend his "Rose Period" and direct the diverse stage acts performed at Rose's Diamond Horseshoe nightclub throughout the 1940s. Also during most of these years (1942–51), Anderson built on his *Jumbo* experience to direct circus production numbers for Ringling Brothers–Barnum & Bailey Circus, numbers he felt "never equaled the polish, the perfection and the novelty of those in *Jumbo*."[65]

Hecht's feelings about *Jumbo* were less rose-colored. Angry that Rose instructed Abbott to cut the libretto rather than the spectacle in order to reduce the performance time of the Broadway *Jumbo* to two hours fifteen minutes—it is probably just as well that his thoughts on the Casa Mañana *Jumbo* are unrecorded—Hecht stated publicly that the plot of *Jumbo* was based on a Hungarian play that Rose had seen in a visit to a circus in Budapest, information that reportedly prompted MGM to reduce their asking price from $200,000 to $50,000 and probably contributed to the seventeen-year delay between the Broadway *Jumbo* and the film eventually named *Billy Rose's Jumbo*.[66] Nevertheless, relations remained sufficiently cordial so that Hecht accepted Rose's commission to write the text for a pageant that called attention to Nazi atrocities toward Jews and, intended to raise funds to support a Jewish nation in Palestine, was held at Madison Square Garden in 1943. The next year Hecht would provide special material for the comedian Doc Rockwell in Rose's musical revue *Seven Lively Arts*.

For Abbott, Rodgers, and Hart, *Jumbo* marked the beginning of a successful triumvirate in which Abbott would co-write *On Your Toes*, write *The Boys from Syracuse*, produce *Syracuse, Too Many Girls*, and *Pal Joey*, and direct *On Your Toes* (uncredited) over the next five years. The working relationship begun with *Jumbo* also led Whiteman to commission Rodgers and Hart to write a "symphonic narrative," *All Points West*, performed in Philadelphia's Academy of Music and the Hippodrome in 1936, on network radio on 3 January 1937, and at Radio City Music Hall in 1939; a second commission, *Nursery Ballet*, for Rodgers alone (or, more accurately, Rodgers and orchestrator Roy Bargy), was performed at Carnegie Hall by the Whiteman band on Christmas 1938.[67] The first of the ballet's three movements was *The March of the Clowns* from *Jumbo* (see Table 1). Raoul Pène Du Bois (1914–85), who launched his fifty-year Broadway career with *Jumbo*, over the next few

years designed the costumes for *Too Many Girls*, Rodgers's ballet *Ghost Town*, and Hammerstein's *Carmen Jones* (produced by Rose); later in his career he received Tony awards for scene design in *Wonderful Town* (1953) and the costumes for the revival of *No, No, Nanette* (1971).

After *Jumbo*, neither Grafton nor Novis reappeared on Broadway. Grafton departed altogether after her fifteen minutes of Broadway glory, and Novis briefly continued his radio career with appearances on *The Fibber McGee and Molly Show*. He was last heard singing "Love Is a Song" on the soundtrack of Walt Disney's *Bambi* in 1942 and last seen in a Hopalong Cassidy television episode in 1954. In contrast to these fast burning stars, Durante, riding high on his great notices in *Jumbo*, received a famously ingenious equal billing with Ethel Merman in Cole Porter's *Red Hot and Blue* a few months after *Jumbo* closed (the *Red Hot* publicity poster managed to avoid top billing by arranging the two stars' names into a large X). After a short-lived musical comedy with Merman in 1939, *Stars in Your Eyes*, and the revue *Keep Off the Grass*, which closed after forty-four performances in 1940, Durante continued to work in films and later gained major success in nightclubs, radio, and television. In 1962, Durante returned to star in the long-delayed film version of *Jumbo* in which he now played Pop Wonder (formerly John A. Considine), owner of the Wonder Show and father to Kitty Wonder (formerly Mickey Considine) now played by Doris Day, one of the most popular singing film actresses of the new era. Despite this camouflage, Durante was still basically playing the role of Brainy Bowers. As Pop Wonder, Durante still gets to say the Bowers line that had broken up theater audiences in 1935 when he innocently responded to the marshal's interrogation, "Where are you going with that elephant?" "What elephant?"

Rose returned to Broadway with two unusual shows in the early 1940s. *Carmen Jones* (1943) was an updated version of Bizet's *Carmen* with book and lyrics by Hammerstein (starring Muriel Smith and Luther Saxon on stage and Dorothy Dandridge and Harry Belafonte in the 1954 film, the latter pair dubbed, respectively, by Marilyn Horne and LeVern Hutcherson). Undoubtedly, *Carmen Jones* was Rose's greatest Broadway popular and critical triumph as a producer. Exactly one year later, having in the meantime purchased the Ziegfeld Theatre, Rose produced an eclectic revue, *Seven Lively Arts*, with sketches by George S. Kaufman and Moss Hart and Hecht and music by Igor Stravinsky and Cole Porter. *Seven Lively Arts* is best remembered for Porter's poignant song, "Ev'ry Time We Say Goodbye" and the classic comeback line from Stravinsky—unfortunately not in the show—when Rose suggested that *Scènes de ballet*, a "great success," could be a "sensational success" if

he was willing to authorize "retouch orchestrations" by Robert Russell Bennett. Stravinsky replied, "SATISFIED WITH GREAT SUCCESS."[68] After *Seven Lively Arts*, Rose focused more on the less-risky business of stock investment. Before leaving this colorful character, however, this is a good place to give Rose the credit he deserves for believing in, financing, and presenting Broadway newcomer Edward Albee's *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?* in his Billy Rose Theater in 1962.

The Legacy of the Texaco Broadcasts

I have previously noted that since the first three Texaco broadcasts were aired before the much-postponed opening night, they provide invaluable aural testimony to some last-minute changes that would probably not otherwise be known. A holograph of "The More I See of Other Girls" (also known as "Elephant Song") is found in the Rodgers Collection of the Library of Congress, but only a sketch for "Spring Song" is extant.[69] Neither the lyrics nor the music for the latter song would be known at all had it not been for the broadcast.[70] In the broadcast on which Matt Jr. (Novis) serenaded Mickey (Grafton) on 5 November 1935, eleven days before the show finally opened, "Spring Song" precedes the same lines of dialogue that also introduce "My Romance," according to the script housed in the Rodgers and Hammerstein Organization library. It is also possible that "Spring Song" may have preceded "The Most Beautiful Girl in the World" throughout much of the rehearsal period, and a theoretical but less likely possibility is that the "Spring Song" was once intended for the place now occupied by "My Romance." In any event, the absence of sketches for the chorus of "Beautiful Girl" in the Rodgers Collection at the Library of Congress may be significant, and perhaps indicative that this chorus was attached to a verse about spring originally intended for "Spring Song" but now missing. It is not otherwise clear why the verse and only the verse of "Beautiful Girl" appears among the *Jumbo* sketches. Unfortunately, the Texaco performance of "Spring Song" does not include a verse. The absence of chorus sketches for "The Most Beautiful Girl in the World" and the fact that this song was not sung on the broadcasts until 19 November, the Tuesday after the opening performance, suggests, albeit inconclusively, that "Beautiful Girl" may have been a last-minute substitute for "Spring Song," another waltz.

The alternate title for "The More I See of Other Girls" (the opening words of the song) is "Elephant Song." The original idea of the song was either a comical serenade by Durante to Jumbo or possibly Considine to Jumbo.[71] The reference to "tiny feet" and the admonition

not to fall down on him also point to a tongue-in-cheek romantic song designed for a female elephant that was less than petite. Probably for the exclusive purposes of the Texaco broadcast, a different scenario for the song was presented on 5 November, when Arthur Sinclair (Considine) recited rather than sang the words of the "Elephant Song" to his wife, played by Blanche Ring. Within the next few days the song, the character of Mrs. Considine, and Ring herself had vanished.

Ten days after the Hippodrome opening, Henderson's Singing Razorbacks sang a fully orchestrated version of "Sing," a song not listed on the *Jumbo* playbill. Its appearance after the show had opened suggests the possibility that the song was retained as part of the first act finale. In the dialogue that leads to "Sing" on the broadcast, Considine tries to bolster the spirits and morale of his circus troops. They respond by singing this happy tune. In the script from the Rodgers and Hammerstein library, this moment occurs directly before "Little Girl Blue," when Considine asserts that no one can take his circus away from him. At least this is one plausible scenario.

On the other hand, it is also possible that this exuberant song was simply recycled from Rodgers and Hart's *Betsy* (1926), its original home, perhaps in a new choral arrangement, for the purposes of the Texaco broadcasts as a way to get more use of Henderson's Singing Razorbacks. This scenario would require the services and expense of a professional arranger, but is certainly not out of the question. In fact, the 14 January broadcast includes an arrangement of another non-*Jumbo* song for the Razorbacks, "Oh Susannah Dust Off the Old Piano," a nostalgic song from 1900 that had been recently recorded by singer Alfie Noakes and Stanley Black on piano. Although "Sing" was not cut from *Betsy*, the show lasted only thirty-nine performances, and the little-known score was perhaps fair game for recycling. A reworked version of another song from *Betsy*, "This Funny World," was planned but then dropped during the tryouts of *A Connecticut Yankee*. Arguing against a recycled "Sing" in *Jumbo* is the fact that the song had already been reused in the British musical *Lady Luck* (1927) and in the American show *Lady Fingers* (1929), and that Rodgers and Hart would have therefore been less inclined to use the song in yet another Broadway show. In any case, it would be unusual to reuse a song without changing the lyrics and the title.

The Texaco broadcasts may also shed light on the mystery of what happened to the perennial hit "There's a Small Hotel," a song musical theater historians have long known was originally intended for *Jumbo* but ended up in the next Rodgers and Hart show, *On Your Toes*. "There's a Small Hotel" appears among Rodgers's *Jumbo* sketches and

was completed and orchestrated in 1935. If the song was still in the show in late October, it seems doubtful that it would not have been aired on the early Texaco broadcasts.

In fact, it does not appear on any of the twelve *Jumbo* broadcasts. On the 5 November broadcast, Considine learns that his estranged wife is at a hotel and rushes off to meet her—this was when Blanche Ring was still in the show—and in the world of 1930s musical comedy, this dialogue could provide enough of an excuse for a romantic couple to sing a song about a hotel. But they do not. Instead of singing "There's a Small Hotel," the broadcast segues into their rendition of "Spring Song." This raises questions about where "Small Hotel" may have appeared in the show before it was cut, when it was cut, and what may have replaced it. The Texaco broadcasts support the idea that the decision to remove "There's a Small Hotel" occurred prior to the removal of "Spring Song," sometime before late October, and that Rodgers and Hart had already decided to save this song for the next show.

Rehearsals for *On Your Toes* began in March, about a month before *Jumbo* closed. In a letter to Dorothy (20 March) Rodgers praised Hans Spialek's "uniformly excellent" orchestrations and noted Ray Bolger's emotional response when he heard "There's a Small Hotel" for the first time ("he started to cry and ran off the stage").[72] A few days later Rodgers shared his negative reaction to the Paul Whiteman Orchestra recording of the song (recorded on 13 March, three days after the Grafton recording of "Little Girl Blue" and the Grafton–Novis recording of "My Romance"). By this time "Small Hotel" was permanently ensconced in the new show.[73]

As we have seen, neither Rodgers nor Abbott considered *Jumbo* a real Broadway musical and both later dismissed the work. For Rodgers, Hart, and Abbott, *Jumbo* was work for hire, and none was able to exert a significant influence on the libretto, casting, or other aspects of production. Not only was *Jumbo* not *their* show, *Jumbo* was not really a show at all. In any event, it was more a circus than a musical. Many critics felt the same way. A circus-musical, especially a 1930s circus-musical, is almost by definition a musical destined to be shot out of the Broadway canon and out of Broadway history. I have tried to suggest that despite the spectacular circus acts and Jimmy Durante's comic shtick, *Jumbo* possessed a workable book to serve the shtick, the circus, and the songs. Its diegetic genre songs did not stop the action, they were an intrinsic part of the action. The romantic ballads were crafted to suit specific characters in particular situations. "My Romance" fits Mickey and Matt Jr. in a way that "There's a Small Hotel" did not.

Jumbo was indeed BIGGER THAN A SHOW—BETTER THAN A CIRCUS. Not only could you hear Paul Whiteman and His Orchestra, you could witness its leader enter the circus ring riding a great white stallion (a sight my father remembers vividly more than seventy years later). You could enjoy top-banana comedian Jimmy Durante working the crowds and playing havoc with the English language. You could hear three timeless ballads by Rodgers and Hart and rousing choruses impeccably performed by an outstanding thirty-two-man chorus. You could watch Big Rosie the elephant starring as Jumbo. Animal acts. Trapeze acts. Equestrians. Beautiful girls. All for only $340,000, not exactly a bargain even in 1935, but certainly worth the price of admission. Then, after about a million people saw it in New York and after a few encores in Fort Worth, *Jumbo* disappeared, never to return. But it did not disappear without a trace. Thanks to the Texaco radio broadcasts, it is now possible to reconstruct most of what was sung and played in the Hippodrome and, in the process, obtain the first original cast recording of a Broadway show.

Notes

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1. Stephen Nelson, *"Only a Paper Moon": The Theatre of Billy Rose* (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1987), 40.

2. An annotated libretto of *Jumbo* based on the libretto owned by the Rodgers and Hammerstein Organization can be found in Michael Don Jackson, "Billy Rose's *Jumbo*: The History and Restoration of an American Musical" (Master's thesis, California State University at Sacramento, 1997), 74–148. For published *Jumbo* lyrics, see *The Complete Lyrics of Lorenz Hart*, ed. Dorothy Hart and Robert Kimball (New York: Knopf, 1986; rev. and expanded, New York: Da Capo, 1995), 215–19 and 330–31.

3. Nelson is the most reliable and informative biographer of Rose. See also Polly Rose Gottlieb, *The Nine Lives of Billy Rose* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1968) and Billy Rose's autobiography, *Wine, Women and Words* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1946).

4. Rose had gained local notoriety for winning a high school shorthand competition with 160 words a minute and approximately 99.66 percent accuracy.

5. Saul Bellow, "The Bellarosa Connection," in *Collected Stories* (New York: Viking, 2001), 40–41.

6. Frederick Nolan, *Lorenz Hart: A Poet on Broadway* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 152.

7. Richard Rodgers, *Musical Stages* (New York: Random House, 1975), 52–53. Nolan questions Rodgers's version of the story in Nolan, *Lorenz Hart*, 56–57.

8. Rodgers, *Musical Stages*, 79.

9. Nolan, *Lorenz Hart*, 74.

10. Michael Jackson traces another lyric in "Women" to a comment Durante made to Rose. The exchange occurred when Rose was trying to persuade Durante to allow Rosie to place her foot on his head in the same scene his comic star asks the Marshal "What elephant?"

> Rose: "You be nice to that elephant and it will be nice to you. You know they say an elephant never forgets." Durante: "I know an elephant never forgets—what the hell has it got to remember?"

Jackson, "Billy Rose's *Jumbo*," 26.

11. John Murray Anderson, *Out Without My Rubbers* (New York: Library Publishers, 1954), 144.

12. Anderson, *Out Without My Rubbers*, 145.

13. The Hippodrome, located on Sixth Avenue between 43rd and 44th Streets, at 5,200 seats one of the largest theaters in the world, had been home to sporting events, movies, extravaganzas, and circuses since it opened in 1905. Five years after the theater was torn down in 1939, the once-famous landmark was immortalized in the Betty Comden and Adolph Green lyrics to "Come Up to My Place" from *On the Town* as the first sight the sailor Chip wants to see in the few hours he has on shore leave in New York.

14. "Mad Mahout," *Time*, 28 Oct. 1925, 39.

15. Contemporary press figures range between 4,297 and 4,315 seats.

16. Even allowing for the fundamental unfairness of the comparison, we might contrast the nature of *Jumbo*'s contemporary popularity with the durable *The Fantasticks*. This perennial or, perhaps more accurately, evergreen hit enjoyed 17,162 performances over forty-two years (1960–2002). The extraordinary length of the run was due, however, at least to some extent to the fact that the show played at the 150-seat Sullivan Street Playhouse. Eventually more than two-and-a-half million people came to see *The Fantasticks*. Nevertheless, it took nearly 7,000 performances (roughly *sixteen years*) to reach the million mark that *Jumbo* reached at the Hippodrome after only 233 performances in five *months*. *The Fantasticks* was a quiet tradition you could share as a newlywed and again with the grandkids; *Jumbo* was a loud and extravagant event, here today and gone tomorrow, but impressive while it lasted. And it lasted a long time, starting with the longest rehearsal period up to its time (fourteen weeks). It endured so many delayed openings that comedienne Gracie Allen was not far from the truth when upon entering the theater on opening night she quipped, "Well, all I can say about *Jumbo* is, if it stays open as long as it stayed closed, well, it'll be another *Abie's Irish Rose*." A selection of opening night interviews was included in a planned but unreleased *Jumbo* CD issue produced by David Cunard. I would like to thank Cunard for generously sharing his recorded and printed *Jumbo* materials as well as his knowledge and expertise.

17. For the most part, 1935 was a dismal year on Broadway. Only ten musicals opened the entire calendar year, none had appeared until May, and only three by October. If *Jumbo* had met its second scheduled October opening (19 October), the three most memorable shows of the year would have arrived within the space of nine days. As it happened, *Porgy and Bess* and the lesser-known *Jubilee* (with a book by Moss Hart and lyrics and music by Cole Porter) opened, respectively, on 10 and 12 October, and *Jumbo* was delayed until 16 November.

18. Gloria Grafton, "Little Girl Blue," and Grafton with Donald Novis, "My Romance" (recorded 10 March 1936; Mat. No. 99445: Victor 25269). The songs, backed by Paul Whiteman and his orchestra, were released on *The Hits of Rodgers and Hart*, Past CD 9794, 1992, and *The Ultimate Rodgers & Hart Volume II*, Pearl GEM 0114, 2001.

19. "Mad Mahout," 39.

20. One previous contender, *Oklahoma!*, often held to be the first original-cast album, was neither the first nor complete. Before the discovery of the Texaco broadcasts, this historical honor belonged to Marc Blitzstein's *The Cradle Will Rock* (1938). The cover of its most recent release on Pearl GEMS 0009 calls attention to this distinction when it proclaims *Cradle* "the first Broadway musical ever to be accorded an original-cast record album."

21. Occasionally, radio presented shorter versions of Broadway musicals of great historical and artistic interest. For example, *Lux Radio Theatre* aired two versions of *Lady in the Dark*, one in 1945 starring Ginger Rogers and a second in 1953 starring Judy Garland. Between these broadcasts, *Theatre Guild of the Air* aired an abbreviated but substantive radio version of this show in 1947 with Gertrude Lawrence, the original Lady. Although many of the songs and most of the show is missing or altered, these broadcasts nonetheless enabled contemporary and future listeners an opportunity to experience major stars speaking and singing a major role in what was otherwise an irreplaceable missing link to an important stage work. See bruce d. mcclung, *Lady in the Dark: Biography of a Musical* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 175–82. Similarly, the twelve thirty-minute Texaco *Jumbo* broadcasts preserved dialogue from the stage script as it was delivered by Durante and other prominent actors of the day, including Arthur Sinclair.

22. Selections from Rudy Vallee's *The Fleischmann Hour* broadcast of 10 November 1932 are commercially available on *Gershwin Performs Gershwin: Rare Recordings 1931–1935*, Musicmasters 5062-2-C (1991). For more on these programs, see Edward Jablonski's notes to this recording, and Howard Pollack, *George Gershwin: His Life and Work* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 114. Vallee's *Fleischmann Hour* was launched two days after the stock crash of 1929 and continued its successful commercial reign undaunted by the Depression until 1939. The show marked the debuts of George Burns and Gracie Allen and Fannie Brice's Baby Snooks character; helped launch the careers of ventriloquist Edgar Bergen and his irreverent puppet, Charlie McCarthy; nurtured the careers of Carmen Miranda, Bob Hope, and Red Skelton, and introduced Orson Welles, Mel Tormé, and Larry Adler. See Gerald Nachman, *Raised on Radio* (New York: Pantheon, 1998), 75, 136, 158–59, 161–62. For an annotated list of *Fleischmann Hour* broadcasts between 1932 and 1936, see J. David Goldin's web page, http://radiogoldindex.com.

23. The 19 February and 30 April broadcasts of *Music by Gershwin* can be heard on *Gershwin Performs Gershwin* (see note 22) and Pollack, *George Gershwin*, 163–64.

24. The program in which Grafton and Rodgers appeared also included Todd Duncan and Anne Brown, who had sung and acted the title roles in the first performance of *Porgy and Bess* one week earlier on 10 October. A listing for this program and many other *Fleischmann Hour* broadcasts (designated *The Rudy Vallee Program*) appears in James R. Smart, *Radio Broadcasts in the Library of Congress 1924–1941: A Catalog of Recordings* (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1982).

25. Nolan characterized the program as an "unmitigated disaster" (*Lorenz Hart*, 207–09). Air checks for *Let's Have Fun* were issued on one side of an LP titled *Vintage Radio Broadcasts*, produced by Howard Brenner; as recently as June 2007 the album was available on eBay for under $10. One of the three new songs composed for this lone broadcast, "Please Make Me Be Good," with vocals by Helen Morgan, can be heard on the CD, *The Ultimate Rodgers & Hart Volume 1*, Pearl GEM 0110, 2001.

26. See http://radiogoldindex.com and Nolan, *Lorenz Hart*, 217.

27. Ethan Mordden wrote that "no one—not even Gershwin or Porter—could write for Durante the way Durante could." Mordden, *Broadway Babies* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), 211.

28. Unfortunately, only six *Kraft* shows have survived.

29. Margaret Case Harriman, "Words and Music: Rodgers and Hart," *New Yorker* (28 May and 4 June 1938), 9–23 and 21–25; revised and reprinted in *Take Them Up Tenderly* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1945), 166–85; the revised version is also reprinted in *The Richard Rodgers Reader*, ed. Geoffrey Block (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 54–68. Quotation from *Take Them Up Tenderly*, 179, and *The Richard Rodgers Reader*, 63.

30. The first twelve Texaco broadcasts used in the preparation of this essay were obtained from a radio nostalgia outfit called Radio Memories (http://radiomemories.com).

31. Hart and Kimball, *The Complete Lyrics of Lorenz Hart*, 330. In the original edition of *The Complete Lyrics*, the lyrics to "The Song of the Roustabouts" consisted only of scattered lyric cues in a conductor's score (see p. 217).

32. Hart and Kimball, *The Complete Lyrics of Lorenz Hart*, 330. The introductory note to the rediscovered "Song of the Roustabouts" concludes with the promise of a compact disc recording of *Jumbo* with liner notes by Miles Kreuger, to be released "on 16 November 1995, the sixtieth anniversary of *Jumbo*'s opening." As of this writing, the CD has not been released and there are no plans to do so, although, pending permission, a release on iTunes is a remote possibility. Currently, five of the six *Jumbo* songs published in a vocal collection by Williamson Music, "The Circus on Parade," "Diavolo," "Little Girl Blue," "The Most Beautiful Girl in the World," "My Romance," and "Over and Over Again" (the exception is "Diavolo"), can also be heard on the sound track of the 1962 film (Columbia OL 5860). "Women" was recorded on Ben Bagley's *Rodgers and Hart Revisited*, Vol. III, Painted Smiles Records, PSCD-106, 1989.

Beginning on Christmas 1931 with a broadcast of Engelbert Humperdinck's *Hänsel und Gretel* and continuing until 2004, millions of opera buffs over several generations enjoyed many seasons of live weekly Metropolitan Opera broadcasts sponsored by the Texaco Oil Company. Also beginning in the 1930s, Texaco produced popular programs

featuring well-loved comedians. Before *The Jumbo Fire Chief Program*, the official name for the *Jumbo* broadcasts that began on 29 October 1935, Texaco had broadcast a weekly show called *The Texaco Fire Chief Show* starring Ed Wynn, perhaps the most popular radio comedian of the day.

33. On the thirteenth and fourteenth programs, the name was changed to *A Texaco Circus Concert*; yet another title, *Texaco Fire Chief Concert*, was introduced by the fifteenth program. After 21 April (*Jumbo* closed on 18 April), the *Texaco Fire Chief Concert* took a summer break and resumed on 20 September with *Texaco Town*, showcasing another star comedian, Eddie Cantor. This new program ran until 23 March 1938. I am grateful to David Cunard for providing information about the changing program titles (Email to author, 16 January 2006).

34. The following is a list of the songs and date I was able to readily identify among the many non-*Jumbo* and non-Rodgers and Hart songs heard on *The Jumbo Fire Chief Program* after the 26 November broadcast:

BROADCAST NO. 6, DECEMBER 3
"You Are My Lucky Star," *Broadway Melody of 1936*
"So Long Mary," *Forty-Five Minutes from Broadway* (1906)
"The Flying Trapeze" (1867)
BROADCAST NO. 7, DECEMBER 10
"Love Is Sweeping the Country," *Of Thee I Sing* (1931)
"I'm in the Mood for Love," *Every Night at Eight* (1935)
"Memories of You," *Lew Leslie's Blackbirds* (1930)
BROADCAST NO. 8, DECEMBER 17
"With All My Heart," *Her Master's Voice* (1933)
"Just One of Those Things," *Jubilee* (1935)
"Sweethearts," *Sweethearts* (1913)
"Let Me Call You Sweetheart" (1910)
"Funiculì—Funiculà" (1880)
BROADCAST NO. 9, DECEMBER 24
"Thanks a Million" (1935)
"Sweet Sue, Just You" (1928)
BROADCAST NO. 10, DECEMBER 31
"Always" (1925)
"Auld Lang Syne" (traditional)
BROADCAST NO. 11, JANUARY 7
"Glow Worm" (1908)
"Star Dust" (1929)
"Kiss Me Again," *Mlle. Modiste* (1905)
BROADCAST NO. 12, JANUARY 14
"Oh Susannah Dust Off the Old Piano" (1900)
"Chopsticks" (1877)

35. Much of the dialogue for this amusing scene between Bowers and the marshal can be heard in the first Texaco broadcast on 29 October, which is also recognizably based on the script published as Appendix B of Jackson's thesis, "Billy Rose's *Jumbo*," 91–96.

36. Rose's quip about overtures was quoted by Rose's publicist Richard Maney in "Rose Plans a Circus without Animals," *New York Herald Tribune*, 19 Aug. 1934, 16; see also Nelson, *Only a Paper Moon*, 40.

37. "The Boys from Columbia," *Time*, 26 Sep. 1938, 35–39; reprinted in *The Richard Rodgers Reader*, 48–53 (the reference to the march appears on page 51). "The March of the Clowns" could be heard in the 1960s in the television show *Wide World of Sports*.

38. "Mad Mahout," 43

39. For a discussion of Rodgers and the scale, see Geoffrey Block, *Richard Rodgers* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 34–39.

40. Nolan, *Lorenz Hart*, 206.

41. Richard Rodgers, "Introduction," in *The Rodgers and Hart Song Book* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1951), 4.

42. Reprinted in *Playwrights, Lyricists, Composers On Theatre*, ed. O. L. Guernsey, Jr. (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1974), 98–102, and *The Richard Rodgers Reader*, 300–303 (quotation on p. 302).

43. *The Richard Rodgers Reader*, 302.

44. [Nov. 1935], n.d, n.p. Although some are undated in the collection of photocopied reviews I was able to see, it is clear from the context that all the reviews cited in this section appeared within two weeks of *Jumbo*'s opening night, 16 Nov. 1935. Specific dates and page numbers are provided when available.

45. [Nov. 1935], n.d., 22.

46. 19 Nov. 1935, n. p.

47. 18 Nov. 1935, n.p.

48. [Nov. 1935], 10.

49. [Nov. 1935], 10.

50. 30 Nov. 1935, 47.

51. 30 Nov. 1935, 23 and 28 (quotation on p. 23).

52. 17 Nov. 1935, n.p.

53. *New York American*, [Nov. 1935], n.d., n.p.

54. 18 Nov. 1935, 20.

55. George Abbott, *Mr. Abbott* (New York: Random House, 1963), 177.

56. Abbott, *Mr. Abbott*, 177.

57. A short list of hit Abbott shows after *Pal Joey* include *On the Town* (1944), *Where's Charley?* (1948), *Call Me Madam* (1950), *Wonderful Town* (1953), *The Pajama Game* (1954), *Damn Yankees* (1955), *Once Upon a Mattress* (1959), *Fiorello!* (1959),

A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to the Forum (1962), and, coming almost full circle at the twilight of his long career, the acclaimed 1983 revival of *On Your Toes*.

58. Rodgers, *Musical Stages*, 173; Rodgers, *Reminiscences of Richard Rodgers*. Oral History Collection of Columbia University, 1968, 162.

59. Rodgers, *Richard Rodgers: Letters to Dorothy, 1926–1937*, ed. William W. Appleton (New York: New York Public Library, 1988), 211.

60. Rodgers, *Letters to Dorothy*, 212.

61. Rodgers, *Letters to Dorothy*, 214.

62. Rodgers, *Musical Stages*, 195.

63. For further discussion of the Fort Worth *Jumbo*, see Nelson, *Only a Paper Moon*, 47–53, and Jay James, *Billy Rose Presents . . . Casa Mañana* (Fort Worth, TX: TCU Press, 1999), 36, 67–68, 98–100.

64. Before the cuts, the program lists the songs and the cast members who performed them: Act 1: "Over and Over Again," "The Circus Is On Parade," "The Most Beautiful Girl in the World," "Laugh," "My Romance," and "Little Girl Blue"; Act 2: "The Song of the Roustabouts," "Women," "Memories of Madison Square Garden," "Diavolo," and "The Circus Wedding." I am grateful to the staff of the Forth Worth Public Library for sending me a copy of the program book for the Casa Mañana *Jumbo*.

65. Anderson, *Out Without My Rubbers*, 150.

66. Nelson, *Only a Paper Moon*, 44–45.

67. For more on *All Points West*, see Felix Cox, "'A faltering step in a basically right direction': Richard Rodgers and *All Points West*," *American Music* 23, no. 3 (Fall 2005): 355–76.

68. Nelson, *Only a Paper Moon*, 133. The story and the Rose–Stravinsky exchange are repeated in several biographies of Igor Stravinsky and Cole Porter.

69. The three-page holograph of "The More I See of Other Girls" can found in box 9, folder 9; the sketches for "Spring Song" in box 9, folder 12, p. [9], Rodgers Collection, Music Division, Library of Congress. See Mark Eden Horowitz, *Guides to Special Collections in the Music Division of the Library of Congress: The Richard Rodgers Collection* (Washington, D.C: Library of Congress, 1995), 39–40.

70. The lyrics to "Spring Song," discovered by David Cunard, appear in the appendix published in the expanded edition of Hart and Kimball, *The Complete Lyrics of Lorenz Hart*, 331.

71. Hart and Kimball, *The Complete Lyrics of Lorenz Hart*, 219.

72. Rodgers, *Letters to Dorothy*, 215

73. In a letter to Dorothy a few days later (25 March), Rodgers expressed his disapproval of the Whiteman version ("though most of my chagrin is because of the pee-pee dame who sings"). Rodgers, *Letters to Dorothy*, 219.

Reading Shakespeare, Seeing Mendelssohn: Concert Readings of A Midsummer Night's Dream, *ca. 1850–1920*

Marian Wilson Kimber

Recent consideration of the aesthetic bases of Felix Mendelssohn's musical style has given rise to a new understanding of his creative imagination as grounded in the visual.[1] Such a reassessment takes its impetus not from Wagner's well-known comment disparaging Mendelssohn's "musical landscape painting," but from the notion that the composer's creation of the visual in music represented an original, Romantic synthesis of the arts. Artistically talented, Mendelssohn continually turned to drawing and painting for both recreation and personal expression; he thus created both visual and musical landscapes. The composer's orchestral works have been described by Thomas Grey, not in terms of dramatic narrative, but as equivalent to musical tableaux vivants, or "musical accompaniment to an absent *pictorial* narrative."[2] The "Italian" Symphony, the *Hebrides* overture, and *Meeresstille und glückliche Fahrt* in particular are grounded in an imagined sense of place—Italy, Scotland, or more generally, the ocean. Grey has written that the *Hebrides* "never fails to conjure up an appropriate repertoire of seascape images in receptive audiences provided with even just the minimal cues."[3]

While current critical appraisal of Mendelssohn's visual aesthetic draws both on the composer's biography and on analysis of his music, what has yet to receive full consideration is whether nineteenth-century *audiences* perceived the experience of listening to Mendelssohn's music as providing a link to specific imagery. In 1834, Ludwig Rellstab commented that the *Hebrides* was more comprehensible when understood as music to accompany a painting; at least the critic and perhaps also audiences perceived, in Grey's words, the "interaction of visual or

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representational levels at work here."[4] Nonetheless, it is far easier to summon up visual "misreadings" of Mendelssohn's music from the past than examples of listeners having similar responses, imagining the same imagery as we do now, with an additional century and a half of historical and musical knowledge to inform our perceptions. Even as astute a commentator as Robert Schumann could famously assume, incorrectly, that Mendelssohn's Symphony in A Minor was the "Italian," and the late nineteenth-century perception of that symphony as intimately connected to "Scottishness" seems now to have had little to do with the composer's own intentions for the work.[5]

Leon Botstein has written that "Mendelssohn's evocation of mood in orchestral works (e.g., *A Midsummer Night's Dream*) mirrored the autonomous impact of a scene visualized,"[6] but despite their being highly evocative of Shakespearean subject matter, neither the composer's overture, op. 21, nor his incidental music, op. 61, are typically grouped amidst his "visual" output. However, examination of nineteenth-century performance practices surrounding concerts of Mendelssohn's music for Shakespeare's play can provide a means of investigating audience perceptions. Contemporary descriptions of concerts that presented readings of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* in conjunction with the overture and incidental music, occurring in the seven decades following the composer's death, suggest that hearing Mendelssohn's music could indeed be a "visual" experience.[7] While "concert readings" of the play were sometimes problematic for audiences in a variety of ways, few of these had anything specifically to do with Mendelssohn's music, which was almost ubiquitous during the second half of the nineteenth century. The music for *A Midsummer Night's Dream* was the backdrop for aesthetic debates of the period surrounding the place of elocution on the concert stage and the role of the visual in theatrical stagings.[8] Despite the popularity of Shakespeare's fairy play, nineteenth-century critics found it problematic in production. It was specifically the drama's visual impossibilities and the power of Mendelssohn's music to supply these elements that allowed his incidental music to achieve a place in the concert hall as well as in the theater.

The Problem of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* in the Theater

In 1816, William Hazlitt penned his much-quoted critique of Frederick Reynolds's adaptation of Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, claiming that the poetry of the play was incompatible with theatrical representation: "The *ideal* has no place upon the stage which is a picture

without perspective. . . . That which is merely an airy shape, a dream, a passing thought, immediately becomes an unmanageable reality."[9] Hazlitt worked himself into a frenzy of blame over the play's spectacle:

> Oh, ye scene-shifters, ye scene-painters, ye machinists and dressmakers, ye manufacturers of moon and stars that give no light, ye musical composers, ye men in the orchestra, fiddlers and trumpeters and players on the double drum and loud bassoon, rejoice! This is your triumph; it is not ours.[10]

A similar thread of criticism runs throughout the century[11]—against the spirit of the age, however, as spectacle remained an essential component of productions of the play.[12] Contemporary stagecraft concentrated on creating the necessary illusions for a theatrical "dream": machinery and trap doors created mysteriously appearing fairies who could become airborne; gas lighting and gauze screens enhanced the otherworldliness of such scenes. In Madame Vestris's 1833 staging, Puck popped up through the stage floor seated on a mushroom, and in the 1856 version of Charles Kean, hordes of fairies strapped to a gigantic maypole ascended amid raining garlands. Such excesses peaked in the turn-of-the-century production of Herbert Beerbohm Tree, which featured mechanical birds twittering in beech trees, a simulated stream, fairies wearing battery-operated lighting, and live rabbits following trails of food across the stage.[13]

Clearly such exhibitions pleased period audiences; yet it was the supernatural elements of the play that were most often the focus of the criticism by the press. Hazlitt complained that "fairies are not incredible, but fairies six feet high are so;"[14] however it was not just the fairies' size that bothered the critics—they simply seemed too real. One American writer felt that the fairy world was "too light, changing and ethereal for actors of flesh and blood and the clumsy contrivances of the stage;"[15] he was echoed by Henry Morley, writing of Samuel Phelps's 1853 production, who found that the "flesh and blood presentments of the dream-figures which constitute the persons of the play" were not "in harmony" with its "poetical feeling."[16] Thirty years later Dutton Cook wrote,

> Of necessity the conditions of theatrical performance, even when these have been controlled to the utmost by discretion and ingenuity, are fatal to the grace and delicacy of such a poem as "A Midsummer Night's Dream". . . . The shadows and spirits of Shakespeare, the creatures of his fancy, pertaining to a world of dreams and visions, can meet with but very gross interpretations at the hands of ordinary flesh and blood. In the

> theatre, fairies, however described by the dramatist as capable of creeping into acorn cups and hanging dewdrops in the ears of cowslips, must be embodied and portrayed by ballet girls more or less muscular and agile, and as little like spiritual creatures as well can be.[17]

Similar comments by critics at the end of the century represent a clear reaction against the traditions of Victorian stagings. Harcourt Williams dismissed the customary singing of "well-developed fairies obviously of the female sex," decrying "those muslin-clad fairies from the bottom of the garden and the suburban dancing school!"[18]

No matter what visual feasts stage designers managed to contrive, some writers found that these could never match their own imaginations. The author of an 1854 article in *Fraser's Magazine* declared, "If you would not be punished for your sins, never go to see this play acted. . . . Accustom yourself to see the play in your mind's eye, and you will shrink with horror from going with 'the groundlings' to see it in the Haymarket."[19] Desmond MacCarthy, taking Granville Barker's 1914 production as his starting point, asserted,

> A *Midsummer Night's Dream* is a difficult play to produce. . . . In the theatre that each playgoer carries under his own hat, it has already been performed, perhaps several times and in several ways. We are our own scene painting makers and shifters in that theatre, and what easy miracles we perform![20]

In 1895, George Bernard Shaw stated that Shakespeare "used all his power of description and expression in verse with such effect that the utmost any scene-painter can hope for is to produce a picture that shall not bitterly disappoint the spectator who has read the play."[21] MacCarthy spoke for many when he wrote, "I have always enjoyed *A Midsummer Night's Dream* as a poem, not a play."[22]

Thus, concert readings were, in part, an attempt at a solution to the aesthetic problems posed by the critics. (Table 1 lists performances of the play paired with Mendelssohn's music.) The practice was given impetus because the music for *A Midsummer Night's Dream* was already being heard in theaters in England and America, as well as in Germany, throughout the nineteenth century. Between 1833 and 1957, few British productions of the play took place without Mendelssohn's music, frequently hailed as "the only Shakespearean music worthy of Shakespeare."[23] By 1882, Henry Lunn, writing in *The Musical Times*, could claim that "the work of the poet seems now almost incomplete without the addition of the work of the musician."[24] Transferred to the concert hall, Mendelssohn's music provided with readings presented a

Table 1. Concert Readings of Felix Mendelssohn's *A Midsummer Night's Dream*

Date	*Place*	*Reader*
21 March 1850	New York, Astor Place Opera House	Fanny Kemble (1809–93)
14 May 1850	Liverpool, Philharmonic Society Hall	Barry Sullivan (c. 1821–91)
3 February 1852	London, St. James Theatre	Fanny Kemble
21 September 1852	Norwich Musical Festival	Fanny Kemble
7 February 1853	Leeds, Music Hall	Fanny Kemble
16 May 1853	New York, Metropolitan Hall	Miss E. Kimberly
5 February 1855	London, Exeter Hall	Fanny Kemble
17 September 1856	London, Royal Surrey Music Hall	Charlotte Vandenhoff (1818–60)
21 March 1857	Boston, Music Hall	Fanny Kemble
December 1860	Edinburgh, Music Hall	[Margaret Edith Aitken Bunten (d. 1906)?]
22 February 1861	Worcester, Mass.; Mechanic's Hall (piano duet)	William Russell (1798–1873)
early 1864	Bremen	Adolf Rösicke (1829–91)
24 February 1864	Brighton, Grand Concert Hall	Fanny Clifton Stirling (c. 1813–95)
23 April 1869	London, St. James Hall	Fanny Clifton Stirling
27 November 1869	New York, Academy of Music, Philharmonic Society	Mary Frances Scott-Siddons (d. 1896)
17 November 1870	Manchester, Free Trade Hall	Charles Calvert (1828–79) and Adelaide Calvert (1837–1921)
3 April 1874	Brooklyn, Academy of Music (with piano)	Mary Frances Scott-Siddons
13 December 1873	Manchester, Free Trade Hall	Fanny Clifton Stirling
25 November 1874	Leipzig Gewandhaus	Otto Devrient (1838–94)

Continued

Table 1. continued

Date	*Place*	*Reader*
6 April 1876	Heidelberg Concertsaal	unknown
15 March 1884	New York, University Club Theatre	George Riddle (1851–1910)
8 April 1884	Brooklyn, Plymouth Church (with organ)	George Riddle
6 April 1885	Brooklyn, Plymouth Church (with organ)	George Riddle
27 March 1886	New York, Chickering Hall	George Riddle
4 December 1886	New York, Metropolitan Opera House	George Riddle
5 February 1887	New York, Normal College	George Riddle
1 June 1889	London, West Theatre, Albert Hall (piano duet)	Patrick Kirwan (d. 1929)
30 January 1890	New York, Clinton St. Congregational Church (organ)	George Riddle
February 1890	Boston, Chickering Hall (Listemann Sextet)	J. J. Hayes
26 January 1891	Boston Philharmonic Orchestra	George Riddle
13 January 1892	New York, Music Hall (Young People's Concert)	George Riddle
3 October 1892	San Francisco, Odd Fellow's Hall	George Riddle
2 August 1894	Saratoga, New York, Grand Union Hotel ballroom	George Riddle
February 1897	Brooklyn, Academy of Music	George Riddle
25 February 1899	New York, Carnegie Hall (Young People's Concert)	George Riddle
1–2 February 1901	Brooklyn, Institute of Arts and Sciences	George Riddle
21 December 1901	New York, Carnegie Hall (Young People's Concert)	David Bispham (1857–1921)
15 March 1902	New York, Waldorf-Astoria ballroom	George Riddle

Continued

Table 1. continued

Date	*Place*	*Reader*
8 December 1902	Brooklyn, Memorial Hall (Listemann Sextet)	George Riddle
20 December 1902	New York, Musical Art Society (Young People's Concert)	David Bispham
ca. 1903	Philadelphia	David Bispham
8 March 1903	New York, Carnegie Hall, Musical Art Society	David Bispham
Twice before 1906	Cincinnati Symphony	Jennie Mannheimer
16 August 1909	Chautauqua, New York	Bertha Kunz Baker
23 April 1916	New York, Hunter College (Shakespeare Week)	David Bispham
26 December 1920	New York, Aeolian Hall (Young People's Concert)	David Bispham
22 January 1921	New York Symphony Orchestra	David Bispham
5 February 1921	New York, Aeolian Hall	David Bispham
19 February 1921	New York, Carnegie Hall	David Bispham

novelty for concertgoers that was a far less expensive undertaking than an actual theatrical performance. Having the text of the play allowed conductors to program more selections from the incidental music, including those not typically heard in concerts, the sections of melodrama where text was spoken during the music.[25] Several music critics felt that some sort of indication of the plot of the play was actually necessary for full appreciation of Mendelssohn's music.[26] Readings thus prevented any confusion, such as that which resulted in a failed performance of the overture in Sweden in 1828 due to the audience's unfamiliarity with Shakespeare's play.[27]

Mendelssohn's "elfin scherzo" style, with its transparent orchestration and fleeting staccato string and woodwind writing, signified the musical depiction of "fairies" for nineteenth-century listeners; period reviewers frequently referred to the composer's "fairy music."[28] In an 1875 article in the *Monthly Musical Record*, Friedrich Niecks credited Mendelssohn with opening the domain of fairyland to musicians,[29] and Henry Chorley praised Mendelssohn's scherzos and described the composer's ability to "change like a dream, into showers of dew amid moonlight—bearing the delicate and freakish burden of 'a roundel and a faëry

song' to the most exquisite faëry poetry in the world, that of Shakespeare's 'Midsummer Night's Dream.'"[30]

Thus a reading of the play would offer the audience Shakespeare's poetry stripped of any danger of theatrical excess, while Mendelssohn's music could evoke a fairy world in the listener's imagination without vivid reality impinging on the dream-like state. Mendelssohn's music supplied the missing visual elements, especially those related to the play's supernatural setting. Grey's comments about the imagery surrounding "Ossian's Dream" affecting audiences hearing the *Hebrides* overture apply equally here: the *Midsummer Night's Dream*, "becomes that of the viewer, lost in poetic reverie . . . it is above all, the *listener's* dream."[31] Grey's sense that the imagery is formed in the listeners' minds is perhaps even more appropriate for Shakespeare's work than James MacPherson's Ossianic poetry, as in his final monologue, Puck admonishes his listeners to think "That you have but slumbered here / While these visions did appear; / And this weak and idle theme / No more yielding but a dream."[32] George MacFarren believed that the overture's "four magical chords . . . are the boundary between the real and the ideal, and on passing them the hearer finds himself in a new world, compounded of the elements that 'dreams are made of,'"[33] and Percy Fitzgerald confirmed the contemporary response to Mendelssohn when he wrote that "it is not too much to say that his *Midsummer Night's Dream* music, when played in a concert room, brings up all the images of the beautiful fairy play."[34] It was usual for other period critics to describe Mendelssohn's music in visual terms, as a "depiction" of poetry, not musical accompaniment to a staged drama. Comments from the *Musical World* in 1861 are typical: the *Midsummer Night's Dream* music is one of "the most important *illustrations* which musical art has ever contributed to the works of our great poet."[35] In an 1909 article about recitation with music, David Bispham, the last significant reader of the play in concerts, found that when the music was successful, able "*to complete the picture*, the result should certainly be a triumphant and [a] unique presentation of the original thought of the poet, ennobled[,] amplified beyond its first dimensions . . . with the poem as his basis [the composer] can weave about it a wonderful embroidery of musical thought."[36]

Fanny Kemble's Shakespeare and the Rise of the Concert Reading

The renowned English actress and writer Fanny Kemble (1809–93) first popularized the practice of reading *A Midsummer Night's Dream* with

Mendelssohn's music as part of the series of readings of Shakespeare plays that she began in 1847 and continued sporadically until 1869.[37] Kemble (seen in Figure 1) was among those who, even thirty years later, regarded Hazlitt's comments as "excellent" and wrote that she wanted to study them before beginning her public readings.[38] The actress reportedly confirmed the critics' appraisal of the poetic nature of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*; Sidney George Fischer recalled that "she agreed with me that tragedies & plays of much passion were not suited to these readings and that of all of Shak[e]speare's, *The Tempest*, *Midsummer Night's Dream*, & *Merchant of Venice* were the best for the purpose, as neither admitting nor requiring much dramatic effect, yet remarkable for eloquent & beautiful poetry."[39]

Though deeply devoted to the texts of Shakespeare, Kemble expressed a strong dissatisfaction with the artificial nature of her profession while performing in *Romeo and Juliet*:

> How I do loathe the stage! these wretched, tawdry, glittering rags, flung over the breathing forms of ideal loveliness; these miserable, poor, and pitiful substitutes for the glories with which poetry has invested her magnificent and fair creations—the glories with which our imagination reflects them back again. What a mass of wretched mumming mimicry acting is! Pasteboard and paint, for the thick breathing orange groves of the south; green silk and oiled parchments, for the solemn splendour of her noon of night; wooden platforms and canvass [*sic*] curtains, for the solid marble balconies, and rich tapestries of Juliet's sleeping chamber,

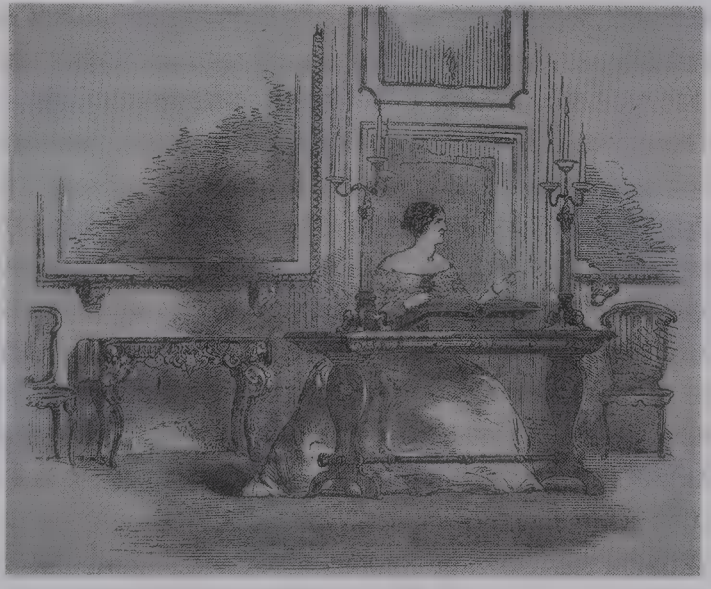

Figure 1. Fanny Kemble reading at the St. James Theatre, *London Illustrated News*, August 10, 1850.

> that shrine of love and beauty; rouge for the startled life-blood in the cheek of the young passionate woman; an actress, a mimicker, a sham creature, me, in fact, or any other one, for that loveliest and most wonderful conception, in which all that is true in nature, and all that is exquisite in fancy are moulded into a living form. To *act* this! to *act* Romeo and Juliet! horror! horror! how I do loathe my most impotent and unpoetical craft![40]

Kemble felt that the theater, and more specifically its visual aspect, was inherently a lie that undermined rather than realized Shakespeare's poetic artistry.[41] Tired of the stage, and faced with large legal bills due to her impending divorce from Georgia plantation owner Pierce Butler, Kemble took up the practice of solo readings of Shakespeare plays.[42] In this, she was following her father, the actor Charles Kemble, from whom she inherited a copy of the plays marked with the necessary cuts. Fanny Kemble thus joined the ranks of numerous famous Victorian readers including literary figures such as Charles Dickens and William Makepeace Thackery who undertook lucrative tours in England and North America.[43] Not only did readings suit Kemble's personal temperament, they were less expensive to produce in an era in which actresses were financially responsible for their own costumes, dresser, and travel expenses.[44] For her readings, Kemble sat at a desk, attired simply in a gown appropriate to the evening's play; for *A Midsummer Night's Dream* she wore "mossy-green velvet or white silk and lace,"[45] the only hint of pictorial representation.

Kemble's selection of Mendelssohn's music was in part due to her personal acquaintance with the composer; in her memoirs she wrote that she counted herself among the many who "knew and loved Mendelssohn," adding "(alas! the expressions are synonymous)."[46] Kemble recalled being introduced to Mendelssohn by the conductor George Smart after a performance of *Romeo and Juliet* during his first visit to England in 1829: he "made his first acquaintance with me in my graveclothes."[47] Mendelssohn seems never to have heard Kemble read *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, though he attended her private readings of *Anthony and Cleopatra* in 1842[48] and parts of *Much Ado about Nothing* in 1843.[49] Kemble was so distressed by the early death of "that bright and amiable great genius" that when she heard the overture to *A Midsummer Night's Dream* performed before the composer's *Antigone* in 1848, she broke down:

> the effect of it upon my nerves was such that, though screened by the curtain of the box, and my sobs drowned by the orchestra, I thought I

> should have been obliged to leave the theatre. It is the first time I have heard a note of Mendelssohn's music since his death.[50]

Kemble even refused an invitation to read *Antigone* at a private concert at Buckingham Palace for fear of losing her composure and being unable to finish her performance.[51] It would have been fitting for her to pay her respects to the deceased composer in her Shakespeare readings; her first English concert reading took place on 3 February 1852, Mendelssohn's birthday, five years after his death.[52]

Kemble's readings allowed her to reach a wider audience than that of theatergoers. Persons whose objections to the visual aspects of drama—such as to the scantily-clad fairies in theatrical productions—were moral rather than aesthetic, and audiences who would not set foot in the vice-ridden realm of a theater found readings of the Bard suitably respectable. In an 1855 report on one of Kemble's performances, *The Musical World* acknowledged, "As there are many people . . . who go to a concert room to hear an oratorio, but who will not visit a theatre to listen to an opera, so there are numbers who, from motives we need not investigate, deny themselves the pleasure of seeing a play acted, and yet have no objection to hear one read."[53] "In the smoke-smothered, bustling great industrial towns—Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds," wrote one Kemble biographer, "where the pruderies of Dissent and Evangelicalism were strong, an able reader of this secular scripture had access to prospering pockets that stage players could not tap."[54]

Kemble's reading tours in England and America met with popular and financial success. At the Stuyvesant Institute in New York City, she typically read to six or seven hundred persons; Philip Hone described how "delicate women, grave gentlemen, belles, beaux, and critics, flock to the doors of the entrance, and rush into such places as they can find, two or three hours before the lady's appearance. They are compensated for this tedious sitting on hard seats, squeezed by the crowd, by an hour's reading—very fine, certainly for Fanny Kemble knows how to do it—of the favorite plays of the immortal bard."[55] Of her reading of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* in 1850, Thomas Wentworth Higginson described "the tones . . . and the myriad expressions of that unequaled voice—perhaps I should rather say those myriad voices and faces condensed into one. . . . How shall I describe the immense animal spirits, the utter transformation of voice, face and gesture, with which this extraordinary woman threw herself into the comedy."[56] The *Boston Herald* declared, "She is unquestionably *the* Shakespearean reader of the present age."[57] Henry Wadsworth Longfellow penned a sonnet in Kemble's honor, which concluded,

> Oh happy Poet! by no critic vext!
> How must thy listening spirit now rejoice
> to be interpreted by such a voice![58]

Kemble had been reading Shakespeare's plays for about three years when she added Mendelssohn's incidental music to her performances. Her personal copy of Shakespeare's plays, currently held by the University of Georgia, contains not only the necessary cuts for condensed readings, but also penciled indications of the location of Mendelssohn's music, as shown in Table 2. The first such concert reading took place at the Astor Place Opera House on 21 March 1850, as the highlight of her spring run in New York City that also served as a benefit for the American Musical Fund Society. The concert attracted a large audience and reportedly earned $2,000 for the society, and the *Mirror* called for the concert to be repeated at Niblo's Saloon, so that the public might fulfill their "extraordinary desire to enjoy the exquisite blending of oratory and music."[59]

Kemble later began such concert readings in England as well. A review of her opening performance of a run at the St. James Hall in London in 1852 announced that "a new and interesting feature . . . was Mendelssohn's fairy-like and imaginative music" performed by fifty instrumentalists and a chorus of twenty persons, engaged by Kemble's manager, James Mitchell, and conducted by Charles Lucas.[60] Three more performances of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, presumably also with music, were to follow. Another review confirms that the concert reading format remedied the problem of the physicality of staged performances and the depiction of fairy characters:

> The play among poems and the poem among plays . . . could not be more deliciously presented than in the form chosen on Tuesday evening,—when the text was read by Mrs. Kemble, and the music of Mendelssohn was performed. *Seen* the 'Midsummer Night's Dream' can never be, save by the mind's eye. The bodily senses of the most easily captivated recoil from a middle-aged gentlewoman rouged up to perform *Oberon*,—from a material *Puck*, ever so shrill and tricksy,—from a *Pease-blossom*, *Moth*, and *Mustard Seed*, severally more substantial than *Hermia*, *Helena*, and *Hyppolita*.[61]

Kemble was hailed as "not merely the versatile actress—there is the sympathy of the refined and fantastic poetess," and Mendelssohn's genius was compared to that of Shakespeare, whom he "intimately understood"; the actress and the composer's music together represented the ideal

Table 2. Volume 1 of Fanny Kemble's copy of *The Works of Shakespear* [*sic*] *in Six Volumes* [Hanmer's Shakespeare] (Oxford: Printed at the Theatre, 1744), Hargrett Rare Book Room, University of Georgia

Page	*Location*	*Text / Action*	*Kemble's markings*
p. 87	between Act I, Sc. 2 and Act II, Sc. 1	(Entrance of fairies)	**Scherzo**[1]
p. 89	after Act II, Sc. 1, l. 55	**Puck**: But room, Fairy: here comes Oberon. **Fairy**: And here my mistress. Would that he were gone!	**fairy March**[1]
p. 96	after Act II, Sc.1 (Kemble's Act I, Sc. 5), l. 7	**Titania**:. . .Sing me now asleep; Then to your offices, and let me rest. [Fairies sing]	**Song**[1]
p. 100	end of Act II	**Hermia**: No? Then I well perceive you are not nigh. Either death or you I'll find immediately.	**Intermezzo**
p. 121	end of Act III	(Lovers sleep)	**Notturno**[1]
p. 123	Act IV, Sc, 1, l. 89	**Oberon**: There shall the pairs of faithful lovers be Wedded, with Theseus, all in jollity. [pencil X]	**X Musick eight bars** (bottom of the page)
p. 129	Act V, Sc. 1 (opening)		**Wedding March**[1]
p. 132	Act V, Sc. 1, l. 107	**Theseus**: Let him approach. ⁂ *Text added by Kemble (bottom of page):* ⁂ The best of this kind are but shadow and the worst are no worse if imagination amend them.	X **Bergamask**
p. 139	Act V, Sc. 1, l. 348	**Theseus**: A fortnight hold we this solemnity In nightly revels and new jollity. [Exeunt]	**Marriage March**[1]
p. 140	Act V, Sc. 1, l. 367–8	**Puck**: . . . not a mouse Shall disturb this hallowed house. (lines 367–8 cross-hatched)	**finale**

[1]All of Kemble's markings about music are in pencil. These markings have also been erased and renotated in pencil.

rendering of the poetic work. When Prussian minister Baron Bunsen heard Kemble in a performance with Mendelssohn's music, he declared her "the person of most genius in England."[62] Kemble later recalled that of her readings, "Mendelssohn's exquisite music, made [as] an accompaniment to the reading of the 'Midsummer Night's Dream,' rendered that a peculiarly popular performance."[63]

Contemporary reports typically indicated that Kemble's voice succeeded as a substitute for the visual spectacles of the play. Higginson wrote, "I cannot believe [the play] was ever given before—for on the stage the palpable grotesqueness of the asses' ears, nay, of the fairy form even, would spoil it all—'tis too airy for anything but the voice and *her* voice."[64] An article in the magazine *Galaxy* claimed,

> In listening to one of her readings, we have the unexampled pleasure of seeing one of Shakespeare's plays, with each part superbly rendered. Yes, *seeing*, for do we not forget the dais upon which she sits, the dark red screen behind her, the table with its pile of books—do not these simple surroundings dissolve and melt away into arching forests or palace halls at will? and does not each character step before us in the costume of the day, whether it be . . . Titania with her robe of woven moonbeams, or Bottom with his ass's head?[65]

Henry James, who knew Kemble later in her life, described her "rendering of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*," as "the illusion . . . of a multitude and a pageant," and wrote, "I am confident that the most exquisite of fairy-tales never was such a 'spectacle' as when she read, I was going to say mounted, it."[66] Similar comments were made about the later performances of Boston elocutionist George Riddle, who specialized in concert readings. One contemporary report suggested that

> Mr. Riddle's reading really requires another name to fitly describe recitals so deeply dramatic, so richly artistic. The impression left after his reading a play is that of dramatic performance with every role filled by a competent actor. The *dramatis personæ* are all before the listener; the scenery is there and the action.[67]

While contemporary accounts emphasize the ways in which the performance of a highly skilled reader could substitute for the spectacles of the stage, Mendelssohn's music undoubtedly played an important role in creating the "dream" in the audience's imaginations. The concert reading thus represented a characteristically Romantic attempt to create a synthesis between the word and music, a synthesis truer to Shakespeare's poetic meaning than would be possible in song. Although

the most common term for the performances of Kemble and others was "reading," the actual sound of their performance would have been far from that—a stylized performance that had many of the characteristics of music.[68] Elocutionary practices of the Victorian period created Shakespeare "readings" that in no way resembled a natural speaking voice, but took place in a formal recitation style; nineteenth-century reviews of actors and elocutionists frequently describe their speech as "musical." Even without Mendelssohn's elfin scherzos, reviewers sometimes perceived the experience of listening to Kemble's voice as music. A writer for the *Daily Evening Transcript* wrote, "Her voice was never so rich, rotund and perfectly under her command. Her enunciation is as clear, distinct and full in the lowest tones as the notes of a musical box."[69]

Period acting treatises and elocution books included extensive analogies to music. In his 1882 volume for actors, Gustave Garcia wrote, "A speaker who delivers his words flowingly and with a musical voice adds a great charm to the work of which he is the interpreter."[70] William Russell, who read *A Midsummer Night's Dream* in Worcester, Massachusetts, in 1861, was primarily a pedagogue who published several books on elocution, including *Elements of Musical Articulation* (1845).[71] As Russell's title suggests, vocal training of Victorian actors involved specific attention to pitch and vocal contours. In *The Province of Expression*, renowned pedagogue S. S. Curry described the long-standing similarities between elocutionary and musical training: "As the musician must secure control over his instrument, so must the speaker secure control over his voice and his body . . . just as the artist always chooses deliberately the note of the piano which he is to strike, so the man must choose the inflection, the gesture and every modulation of his organism in expression."[72] In an interview, singer Bispham emphasized that "the voice in song and speech should, where the stage is concerned, be handled alike."[73] Likewise, former actress Olive Logan also stressed elocution's relationship to singing: "The voice should be skilled for speaking as it is for singing, and it is capable of almost as many fine gradations in one as in the other." Performers could not merely speak as they would naturally: one might "as well say to an uneducated singer, 'You have a voice—be natural—let instruction go.'"[74]

Many guides to elocution from the period provided specific musical parameters for aspiring reciters. Frank H. Fenno, whose volumes represent popularizations of more technical aspects of contemporary elocutionary theory, used the term "modulation," not in the harmonic sense, but instead to convey a range of vocal characteristics related to pitch: "melody (effect on the ear of a succession of vocal notes), pitch

(elevation or depression of tone), slides (ascending and descending inflection), cadence (tone with which the sentence terminates), and time (rate of speech and use of pause)."[75] Such terminology was not merely a musical analogy; one anecdote about Kemble's early training recounts how "her enunciation of certain words was censured as being '*a semi-tone too high.*'"[76] Thus the spoken poetry of Shakespeare by Kemble might transcend the visual aspects of contemporary theatrical production, but the sheer sound of her voice was conceived as akin to Mendelssohn's music—his op. 61 helped to supply the visual elements of the drama, and the reading which it accompanied was part of the performance's music.

Creators of the "Dream": Actresses, Elocutionists, and Chautauqua Performers

In addition to Kemble, numerous other actresses performed concert readings of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. That the reader of the play was frequently an actress, despite the larger number of male roles in the play, may have been an attempt to duplicate Kemble's success. Gerald Kahan has noted that "a Miss Kimberly almost literally followed on the heels of Fanny Kemble in Philadelphia and was favorably compared to the great actress."[77] However, it may also reflect the Victorian conception of fairies as female. In addition to numerous female fairies dancing in theatrical productions, Oberon was consistently cast as a woman from Madame Vestris's 1840 production onward, and Puck was also frequently portrayed by a female actress. Thus, women would have been viewed as more capable of expressing the poetry of fairyland, just as Mendelssohn was considered to be the quintessential "fairy composer."[78]

Male readers became more common only later in the century, though not without some obstacles. Actor Patrick Kirwan's 1889 performance was criticized for "a want of refinement in the delivery which specially affected the rendering of the fairy part of the play," suggesting that actresses' delivery of the text was still considered the norm.[79] The major exception to the preference for women readers was Riddle, who performed the play with music more times than anyone, including Kemble. However, the contemporary press paid particular attention to Riddle's success with female roles. *The New York Times* reported, "his treatment of the feminine characters, however, was remarkably effective. Titania, Helena, and Hermia, were so distinctly individualized that to a person who shut his eyes it seemed as if three several [*sic*] women were on the stage."[80] One of the other male readers, David Bispham, acknowledged that in general women were more inclined to recite with

music, although he condescendingly believed women's voices to be "less effective in speech than in song," and stereotyped them as "carried away by impulse" and "greater artistic enthusiasm" as opposed to men, who would "think twice before embarking upon so unusual and so technical a venture."[81]

An orchestra might engage a well-known performer on a one-time basis for a performance of all of Mendelssohn's incidental music, and the addition of the reading to a concert was clearly intended to draw a larger audience; many of the performances of this type were benefits for charitable causes. Nonetheless, the ongoing practice of concert readings was intimately tied to the readers who specialized in them, sometimes highly experienced performers at the close of their careers such as singer Bispham or actress Fanny Clifton Stirling, or individuals who made their careers with readings, such as professional elocutionist Riddle or actress Mary Frances Scott-Siddons.

Few of the other figures who read *A Midsummer Night's Dream* were of Kemble's stature; Miss Kimberly, "an accurate and forcible reader,"[82] and Miss Aitken of Glasgow have left little record in the annals of theater or elocution history. The only actress to rival Kemble was Stirling (ca. 1813–95), who had a long dramatic career and was renowned for her performances in comedies as well as in Shakespeare (see Figure 2). She began readings in 1869 at the age of 53, appearing in Brighton, Manchester, and, like Kemble, at St. James Hall.[83] Such readings seem to have been part of Stirling's retirement, as she appeared on the stage less frequently after 1870. Stirling became almost blind in later life, so performing solo readings was a practical response to increasing difficulties with mobility. The senior actress's talents were especially well suited to performing *A Midsummer Night's Dream*; in 1862, *The Modern Drama* claimed that "no living actress can approach her in comedy."[84] *The Times* found that in her concert readings "her delivery was excellent; being equally notable for grace and perspicuity," and *The Brighton Herald* raved,

> When she entered all eyes were upon her, and when she spoke all ears were stretched to catch her lightest accents. She took her seat—her throne—*en reine*. . . . As our readers are doubtless aware, she is no longer young; but we doubt if any young woman could read the "Midsummer Night's Dream," even in the condensed form in which it was presented on Wednesday.[85]

British actress Mary Frances Scott-Siddons had a considerably less illustrious dramatic career, which nonetheless demonstrated the

Figure 2. Fanny Clifton Stirling.

far-reaching influences of both Kemble and Mendelssohn. Scott-Siddons (seen in Figure 3) was the great-great-granddaughter of Kemble's aunt, Sarah Siddons, who also read Shakespeare, and thus she helped to extend a family tradition.[86] Although she was attractive, one writer suggested that her abilities "never justified the immense number of photographs of her which soon flooded the market."[87] Despite her long acting career, Scott-Siddons seems to have been better known for her numerous readings; she was even one of the readers on the platform circuit imitated by impressionist Helen Potter.[88] It is highly probable that Scott-Siddons saw Kemble perform and deliberately modeled her readings career, including her performances of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* with Mendelssohn's music, on that of Kemble. Scott-Siddons made sure that her family heritage was known to audiences and critics, who, in the late 1860s, were "decidedly surprised to find a descendant of all the Kembles so palpably lacking in stage experience."[89] Not only did the younger actress imitate the more famous Kemble, she likewise attempted to associate herself with the name of Mendelssohn. In 1874, Scott-Siddons gave a reading of the play with music provided by her adopted son, Henry Waller, whose stage name was Seraphael, perhaps to remind audiences of the fictional musical genius modeled on

Figure 3. Mary Frances Scott-Siddons.

Mendelssohn in the popular novel *Charles Auchester* by Elizabeth Sheppard.[90] Missing the Mendelssohn association, George Odell later claimed that Seraphael was "a name sufficient to blight any career,"[91] and in 1888, *The New York Times* provided one brief, but scathing review: "His tone is hard, his technique unfinished, his phrasing spasmodic, and his readings far from satisfactory."[92]

The culmination of concert readings of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* in America occurred in the career of George Riddle (seen in Figure 4).[93] Riddle, who had been instructor of elocution at Harvard, became known through the first performance in Greek of *Oedipus Tyrannus* in America, which took place first at Harvard, then in New York, in 1881. Although he did appear on the stage, Riddle's career was as a reciter—in 1896 *The New York Times* announced his one-thousandth reading, reporting that he had appeared

> 244 times in New York state, 54 times in Maine, 72 in New Hampshire, 3 in Vermont, 333 in Massachusetts, 40 in Rhode Island, 16 in

Figure 4. George Riddle.

Connecticut, 63 in New Jersey, 42 in Pennsylvania, 4 in Delaware, 7 in Maryland, 3 in the District of Columbia, 8 in Ohio, 37 in Illinois, 5 in Michigan, 6 in Indiana, 8 in Wisconsin, 5 in Missouri, 8 in Minnesota, 4 in Colorado, 29 in California, 3 in Montreal, and 3 in Winnipeg, Manitoba.[94]

Between 1884 and 1902, Riddle read *A Midsummer Night's Dream* with Mendelssohn's music regularly in New York City in various venues ranging from churches—with only organ accompaniment—to Carnegie Hall and the ballroom of the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel. His concert readings in Boston, San Francisco, and Saratoga, New York, in the early 1890s suggest that he did so in many other cities across America as well.[95]

David Bispham, a well-known operatic baritone, took Riddle's place in New York (Fig. 5). As his singing voice aged, Bispham aspired to a theatrical career, first approaching managers about producing dramatic works with instrumental music, such as *Antigone* or *A Midsummer Night's Dream* with Mendelssohn's music. After the turn of the century, Bispham was known to conclude his vocal recitals with a melodramatic work, and he performed *A Midsummer Night's Dream* numerous times in New York as well as with the Philadelphia Orchestra. He recited the play for an audience of 3,300 in New York in 1916 as part of the 300th anniversary celebration of Shakespeare's death.[96] The baritone's concert readings with Mendelssohn's music were considered "revivals," as op. 61 was the earliest melodramatic work in his repertoire. Although

Figure 5. David Bispham.

Bispham's performances occurred at the end of an era, in 1907 *Musical America* claimed that it was due to his efforts that melodrama was "gaining so fast in popularity."[97]

By the end of the century, concert readings, which had originally represented the pinnacle of poetry and music combined, had become suitable entertainment for children. Two of Riddle's readings with Mendelssohn's music in the 1890s took place in conjunction with the New York Philharmonic's new "Young People's Concerts"; in 1902, Bispham, like Riddle, performed at Frank Damrosch's Symphony Concerts for Young People in New York, using his own condensation of the play.[98] The change in the audience for concert readings of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* parallels the evolving status of fairies in the nineteenth century, from frightening, dangerous, supernatural beings that were the subject of major Romantic artworks to diminutive pastel figures appropriate for children's books.

The prevalence of concert readings is demonstrated by performances not only by the famous Kemble, Stirling, and Bispham, but also by lesser-known figures as well as by evidence that suggests that performances occurred in various settings outside of large concert halls. Riddle and others performed with piano or sometimes organ when a full orchestra was not available; at least two performances, one in Worcester, Massachusetts, and another in London, took place with only two pianos for accompaniment, probably using Mendelssohn's own arrangement, first published in 1844. It seems likely that the practice of reading the play with Mendelssohn's music also occurred in amateur performances not recorded by the press. A review of an 1875 edition of the complete play published with a piano-vocal score of Mendelssohn's music notes that "the text of the play which connects the movements is printed *precisely as it should be read*," solving this problem for "schools and private choirs."[99] Portions of the play were also published, with or without Mendelssohn's music, bearing titles indicating they were versions designed for the performance of the two together.[100]

Concert readings also made inroads into small-town America in the first decades of the twentieth century through the popular Chautauqua tent circuits.[101] Redpath Chautauqua manager Harry P. Harrison recalled that "smiling baritone David Bispham recited Shakespeare to the music of Mendelssohn as beautifully in Tennessee as he had at Covent Garden."[102] Advertisements for other Chautauqua performers, such as Charles Underhill, seen in Figure 6, reveal that in addition to Bispham several traveling elocutionists were available to perform *A Midsummer Night's Dream* with piano, organ, or orchestra during the teens.[103] Publicity brochures of other "talent" listing *A Midsummer Night's Dream* in their repertoire include those of Jennie Mannheimer and Nellie Peck Saunders, who taught elocution at the Cincinnati College of Music and the Detroit Conservatory, respectively, and Aletta Waterbury Goss, who was active in the Chicago Dramatic Society ca. 1914–15 and whose flier states she had been trained, in part, by Riddle.

Chautauqua audiences, most often in towns of populations under 10,000, expected "educational" and "uplifting" entertainment.[104] Many towns were initially resistant to theatrical production until Ben Greet's company introduced Shakespeare to the Chautauqua circuit in 1913. Thus, a concert reading of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* would fulfill the cultural goals of Chautauqua, providing the renowned Shakespeare in conjunction with the expected musical entertainment. Elocutionists were more acceptable to Chautauqua audiences than actors from professional theater companies, who were viewed as immoral and sinful.[105] The text of Underhill's flier makes it very clear that, although he

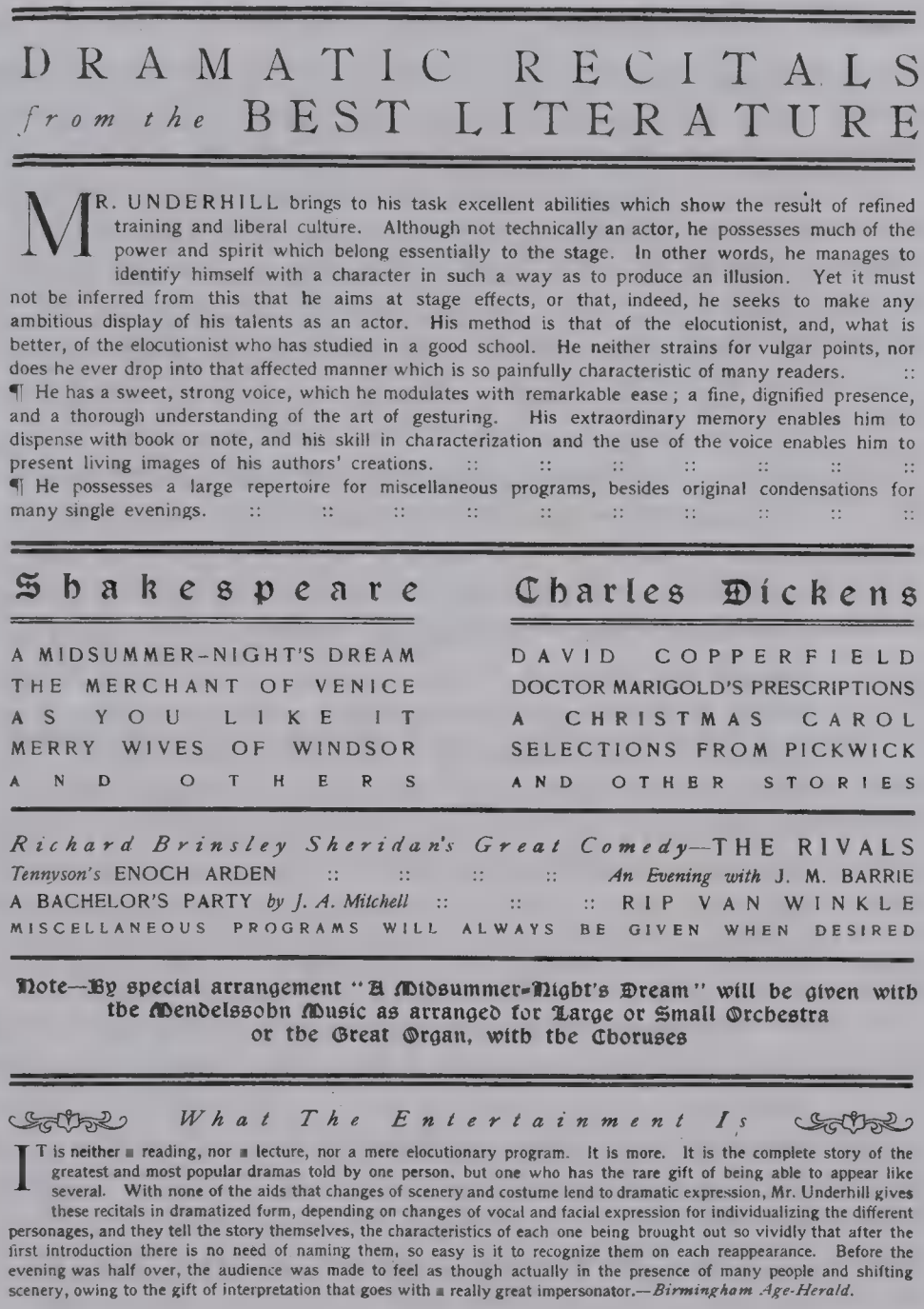

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Figure 6. Advertisement for Chautauqua performer, Charles F. Underhill. Redpath Chautauqua Collection, Special Collections Department, University of Iowa Libraries, Iowa City, Iowa. Reprinted by permission.

"manages to identify himself with a character in such a way as to produce an illusion," "depending on changes of vocal and facial expressions for individualizing the different personages," he is not an actor who aims at "stage effects," but is rather a trained elocutionist.

The Demise of Concert Readings

Mendelssohn's music for *A Midsummer Night's Dream* was the central work within the larger practice of including readings and melodramatic works in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century concerts. Numerous concert readings of other works took place during this period, though no work was performed as often or for as many decades as *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. Concert reviews, publicity fliers, and advertisements suggest the existence of a small body of standard melodramatic repertoire for American and British reciters at the turn of the century.[106] Mendelssohn's *Oedipus at Colonus*, *Antigone*, and *Athalie* were all read in concert settings between 1847 and 1909, more often in England than in America. The British performances of *Antigone* and *Athalie* at the end of the century may have been instigated by the availability of professional reciter Charles Fry (1845–1928), who advertised his services for these works in *The Musical Times* and appeared in them in various towns for over twenty years.[107] The popular *Athalie* was performed frequently enough that Frederick Corder, professor at the Royal Academy of Music, offered specific suggestions regarding a difficult passage in the 1908 elocution handbook entitled *Voice, Speech and Gesture*.[108] In America, Bispham took up *Antigone*, performing it in Philadelphia in 1908 with the Orpheus Club, and with the Mendelssohn Clubs of Pittsburgh and New York in 1909 in honor of the composer's hundredth birthday. Performers also experimented with readings accompanying Carl Maria von Weber's *Preciosa*, Beethoven's *Egmont*, Ibsen's *Peer Gynt*, as well as *Faust* and *Macbeth* with music by various composers.[109]

Yet none of these works achieved anything like the popularity and frequency of performance as *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, the only work performed in concert readings on a regular basis for some seventy years. What insured its success in this format was the ability of Mendelssohn's music to generate visual elements in the audience's imaginations. In contrast, *Antigone* and *Oedipus*, the composer's attempts to recreate Greek drama for the Prussian court, generally lacked music that suggested specific extra-musical, visual elements and were much less frequently performed. Of the works performed with concert readings in the nineteenth century, *A Midsummer Night's Dream* was the one most capable of sustaining a visual response in its listeners.

Why then did concert readings disappear in the twentieth century? The reviews of performances of this type were mixed, due to a variety of factors. Some writers, perhaps accustomed to evenings made up of various short readings, found the experience of an entire play too long. While Kemble typically cut a play to an approximately two-hour length,

with Mendelssohn's full instrumental music a concert might last over three hours, even without the other musical numbers that were typically heard.[110] The 1852 performance at the Norwich Musical Festival before more than one thousand people was the second half of a full evening's entertainment, which opened with Weber's overture to *Oberon*, the national anthem, and no less than twelve vocal selections. *The Musical World* reported that "it was near midnight when Mrs. Kemble retired from the orchestra."[111] While the British reviewer claimed that Kemble had successfully "dragged them into fairyland," the American reporter, Lowell Mason, wrote,

> The reading of the play, even by Mrs. Fanny Kemble, was regarded as out of place; and not even the artistic excellence of the reader, and the attractiveness of Mendelssohn's music, could hold the audience, who were evidently fatigued and impatient for rest. The general feeling was that it ought to have been the first act, and that the musical selections should have been shortened.[112]

After Kemble's performance in Leeds, *The Mercury* reviewer wrote, "we wished for less reading, and more music. It seemed indeed a pity that so splendid an orchestra as had been brought together should have had so little to perform."[113] The reviewer of the 1850 Liverpool concert also found the experience fatiguing and doubted "the policy of giving works of such magnitude entire at a provincial concert."[114] In contrast, a New York reviewer of Kimberly's 1853 reading for an audience of 2,000 protested because at least half of the text was cut, making the plot of the play incomprehensible, and stated he could follow it only because he had his copy with him.[115]

Clearly some of the performers did not have Kemble's ability or experience in reading entire plays. the *Musical World* acknowledged that "the art of reading or reciting a play well does not lie within the capacity of every actor. It requires superior mimetic powers, a varied knowledge of character, and a great command of the voice."[116] Barry Sullivan was criticized for his "monotony of tone . . . which, combined with so much music, was rather wearing to the auditors."[117] As a reviewer of Scott-Siddons's performance with the New York Philharmonic in 1869 remarked, "It is no trifling thing for a woman—more particularly one with a comparatively weak voice—to so modulate it and its inflections a[nd] to take, with any degree of success, parts like those of Oberon, Titania, Puck, Flute, Bottom, Quince, &c."[118] In general, with the notable exception of Riddle, the elocutionists fared less well than theatrical professionals, who brought their extensive stage experience to bear

in their performances. Of Kemble, one writer noted that "the stage traditions were evident in her reading," and Anne Thackery Ritchie recalled her gestures: "I can hear the echo still and see her action as she pointed outward with both open hands."[119] The reviewer for *The Leeds Mercury* was in the minority when he wrote, "considering that she has only to *read* the part, does she not throw into it too much of the actress?"[120] Even Scott-Siddons, often regarded as a mediocre actress, was praised in that she "threw all her soul into the work, instead of the monotonous, dreary style of the majority of dramatic readers."[121]

Another problem was that the larger halls required for concert readings lacked the intimacy of the smaller lecture halls in which Kemble or the others typically read alone.[122] In 1876, Kemble turned down a request to read at the Philadelphia Opera House, recalling it as "an enormous building where my strength was taxed to the utmost, ten years ago, to make my voice heard."[123] A review of Charlotte Vandenhoff's reading with Jullien's orchestra in 1856 complained that the Royal Surrey Hall in London, which held 10,000 people, "is not exactly favourable to 'readings,' however acoustically adapted."[124] In his memoirs, Bispham warned of the difficulties of performing melodrama: "The music so covers the tones of the speaking voice that both power and clearness of utterance beyond the average are demanded."[125] Orchestral performances in particular tended to overpower reciters; a defense of recitation with music in *The Musical Times* conceded, "it is not pleasant to hear a reciter shouting at the top of his voice in order to force words through a mass of musical sound."[126] When Charles and Adelaide Calvert appeared with Charles Hallé's orchestra at the Free Trade Hall in Manchester, England, before an audience of 4,000, they were unused to an orchestra much larger than that typically used for a theatrical production. Adelaide recalled, "With the first grand burst of the orchestra, came another trial for my poor nerves. I had, of course, listened to Hallé's magnificent band, many and many a time, but to be in the midst of them—300 instrumentalists and vocalists! it deafened me—it frightened me, and it was with the greatest difficulty that I kept my nerve."[127] At a 1902 performance, Bispham's voice had to be assisted through "a new tone reflecting device behind him."[128]

On a few occasions, audiences were unprepared for what one reviewer dubbed "a bold experiment" and another found "somewhat of a mistake."[129] In describing Kemble's reading at a benefit for the Mercantile Library Association in Boston, the journalist reported that the music was so "too truly fairylike, in that it passed, much of it unheeded by gross mortal ears." The audience treated the music as "the usual interlude between the acts at the theatre, a signal to get up and

go round and talk with friends."[130] They listened to the overture, choruses, and solos, but disregarded the scherzo and the intermezzo entirely. For another reviewer, writing in the *New York Music World* in 1853, the music, however evocative, could not substitute for a theatrical production, although he also echoed Hazlitt's worship of Shakespeare's text and his critique of loud bassoons:

> We went prepared, purposely to ascertain if music could, by any process, take the place of scenery, costumes and other accessories. There was a painful realization, during the whole performance, of the utter inadequacy of music to perform any such office. Religion, philosophy, music, sentiment, and all the varying phases of the human heart are (in turn) so truthfully portrayed by him who "was not for a day, but for all time," that the sound of fiddles and of wood and brass while such truth is being spoken, not sung, is an affront to the intellect and jars upon the heart. Poetry needs no such aid as this, and music is dishonored by such alliance.[131]

Nonetheless, that this critic felt the issue of music taking the place of the stage's visual aspects was worth exploring and refuting suggests that others had responded differently.

Music critics sometimes objected to dramatic recitations interrupting concerts. An 1884 editorial in *The Musical Times* stated that they "scarcely fit in with the musical works by which they are surrounded," finding them artistically wanting, in spite of how "extremely profitable" they might be in the "pecuniary sense."[132] It warned that audiences might forgo a fine concert in favor of an inferior one that featured a famous theatrical figure. Bispham, one of the last practitioners, acknowledged that "the leading music critics of America seem to feel that the words and music stand in each other's way; that the text cannot be understood for the music, or the music for the text." However, he reported positive responses from audiences: "I have gone on in my own fashion, partly because I enjoy reciting to music so much myself, and partly because I have repeated proofs that my audiences enjoy it too. Certainly the happy wedding of music to dramatic art cannot result in illegitimacy."[133]

By the end of the century, the practice of reading Shakespeare's plays was dying out, in part because the formal Victorian acting style was giving way to more natural forms of dramatic expression.[134] By the time the young actor Henry Irving heard Kemble read in the 1860s, changes were already under way. Irving made fun of Kemble's speaking style, recalling that she appeared on stage and announced, "*Ham-a-lette* by Will-i-am Shake-es-peare."[135] Most of the other figures who read

A Midsummer Night's Dream were of Kemble's same generation and presumably would have read in the same stylized manner. One of the earliest readers, Barry Sullivan, was said to have "kept alive the old traditions of Shakespearean acting."[136] In general, when "elocution" and "recitation" ceased to be part of domestic entertainment or the training of dramatic professionals, concert readings fell out of favor as well. Lawrence Levine has described the large-scale cultural shift at the close of the century: "The oratorical mode, which so dominated the nineteenth century and which helped make Shakespeare popular, hardly survived into the twentieth century. No longer did Americans tolerate speeches of several hours' duration."[137]

Chautauqua continued to be "oratory's last stronghold" into the 1920s,[138] until the touring circuit for elocutionists fell victim to the radio, the talkies, and the automobile. Rural American audiences could now look elsewhere for their entertainment, and circuit Chautauqua ended in the 1930s.[139] In spite of some critics hailing Bispham's "revival" of the genre of melodrama, as early as 1906 one writer sarcastically declared one of his recitals to be "an evolution of what used to be called a musical and literary entertainment such as is still given in the lecture room of the Keokuk [Iowa] Congregational Church, the proceeds of which are usually expended on a new church carpet."[140] No clearer sign of the changing times for those who wished to combine elocutionary arts and music can be found than the publicity flier of Clara Eleanore Babst, who advertised her "dramatic prose recital" of Ibsen's *Peer Gynt*, with the music of Grieg, to be played by the Victrola.[141]

In spite of the practical obstacles that made reading *A Midsummer Night's Dream* with Mendelssohn's music difficult to turn into an unequivocal success, the practice gave way only at the very end of the Victorian era.[142] Musicians and audiences eventually rejected elocution on the concert stage, finding, as did *The Musical Times*, that "music has quite sufficient power in itself to draw an appreciative audience."[143] Concertgoers were either familiar enough with Shakespeare to make sense of Mendelssohn's score, or felt no deep need for theatrical details; by all accounts, period audiences regularly encored Mendelssohn's "Wedding March" entirely apart from any reference to Theseus and Hippolyta's nuptials. The practice of concert readings suggests that in the concert hall Mendelssohn's music took the place of the spectacular scenery of the Victorian stage. In evoking the fairy world central to Shakespeare's play in the imaginations of the listeners, such performances could claim an aesthetic purity appealing to the critics. That concert readings lasted well into the twentieth century demonstrates not

only the significant role that elocution played in concert life, but also the power of Mendelssohn's music to communicate visual imagery.

Notes

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1. On the association of Mendelssohn's music with the visual arts, see Leon Botstein, "The Aesthetics of Assimilation and Affirmation: Reconstructing the Career of Felix Mendelssohn," in *Mendelssohn and His World*, ed. R. Larry Todd (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991), 26–30; Thomas S. Grey, "*Tableaux vivants*: Landscape, History Painting, and the Visual Imagination in Mendelssohn's Orchestral Music," *Nineteenth-Century Music* 21 (1997): 38–76; and Thomas S. Grey, "*Fingal's Cave* and Ossian's Dream: Music, Image and Phantasmagoric Audition," in *The Arts Entwined: Music and Painting in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Marsha L. Morton and Peter L. Schmunk (New York: Garland, 2000), 63–99; also R. Larry Todd, "On the Visual in Mendelssohn's Music," in *Cari amici: Festschrift 25 Jahre Carus-Verlag*, ed. Barbara Mohn and Hans Ryschawy (Stuttgart: Carus-Verlag, 1997), 115–24.

2. Grey, "*Fingal's Cave* and Ossian's Dream," 89.

3. Grey, "*Fingal's Cave* and Ossian's Dream," 69.

4. Grey, "*Fingal's Cave* and Ossian's Dream," 89.

5. Thomas Schmidt-Beste, "Just how 'Scottish' is the 'Scottish' Symphony? Thoughts on Form and Poetic Content in Mendelssohn's Opus 56," in *The Mendelssohns: Their Music in History*, ed. John Michael Cooper and Julie Prandi (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2002), 145–65.

6. Botstein, "Aesthetics of Assimilation and Affirmation," 27.

7. The term "concert reading" is my own and was not common during the nineteenth century. However, it was used to describe a performance of Mendelssohn's *Antigone* by David Bispham in "Bispham Wins Favor in Concert Readings," *Pittsburgh Post*, 10 Oct. 1909, clipping in *The Robinson Locke Collection of Dramatic Scrapbooks*, vol. 72 (New York: New York Public Library, 1977), microfilm, 104.

8. See my "Mr. Riddle's Readings: Music and Elocution in Nineteenth-Century Concert Life," *Nineteenth-Century Studies* 21 (forthcoming).

9. William Hazlitt, "The Midsummer Night's Dream," *The Examiner* (12 Jan. 1816), in *The Complete Works of William Hazlitt*, vol. 5, ed. P. P. Howe (London: J. M. Dent, 1930–34), 276.

10. Hazlitt, "The Midsummer Night's Dream," 275.

11. For a succinct explanation of the conflict, see Trevor R. Griffiths's Introduction to *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Shakespeare in Production (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 17–21. For explanation of the Romantic belief that Shakespeare is not appropriate for theatrical presentation in the writings of John Stuart Mill, Charles Lamb, and others, see Jonas Barish, *The Antitheatrical Prejudice* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1981), 326–32.

12. For an overview of the fundamentally visual nature of Victorian theater, see Michael R. Booth, *Victorian Spectacular Theatre, 1850–1910* (Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981).

13. Gary Jay Williams, *Our Moonlight Revels: A Midsummer Night's Dream in the Theatre* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1997), 133, 135, 141.

14. Hazlitt, "The Midsummer Night's Dream," 276.

15. *Evening Post* (10 Nov. 1826), quoted in Williams, *Our Moonlight Revels*, 91.

16. Henry Morley, *Journal of a London Playgoer from 1851–1866* (London: G. Routledge, 1866), 68.

17. Dutton Cook, "*A Midsummer Night's Dream*," in *Nights at the Play: A View of the English Stage* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1883), 274.

18. Harcourt Williams, *Old Vic Saga* (London: Winchester, 1949), 157.

19. "A Midsummer-Night's Dream," *Fraser's Magazine* 50 (Dec. 1854): 678.

20. Desmond MacCarthy, "A Midsummer Night's Dream: The Production of Poetic Drama (1914)," in *Theatre* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1955), 47.

21. George Bernard Shaw, "*A Midsummer Night's Dream*," *The Saturday Review* (13 July 1895), in *Shaw on Shakespeare*, ed. Edwin Wilson (New York: Books for Libraries, 1961), 132.

22. MacCarthy, "The Production of Poetic Drama," 159.

23. "Mr. Alfred Mellon's Concerts," *Musical World* 42, no. 39 (24 Sep. 1864): 617.

24. "Mr. Alfred Mellon's Concerts,", 617; Henry C. Lunn, "Fairy Music," *Musical Times* 23, no. 469 (1 Mar. 1882): 135.

25. The 13 December 1873, notice in the *Guardian* (Manchester), for the reading of Fanny Clifton Stirling advertises the work "in its entirely, including all the incidental music accompanying the dialogue."

26. In spite of its continuing association with actual theatrical productions into the middle of the twentieth century in England, Donald Francis Tovey also found that by the 1930s, audiences did not understand the close relationship between music and play, and his essay on Mendelssohn's incidental music contains more plot synopsis than musical commentary. Tovey notes that "a large selection of poetry would be possible by devoting a whole concert to the work," and calls for "a narrator who can compress the facts of the action," something like what had taken place decades before. Donald Francis Tovey, *Essays in Musical Analysis, Volume IV: Illustrative Music* (London: Oxford University Press, 1936), 104–05.

27. R. Larry Todd, *Mendelssohn: The Hebrides and Other Overtures*, Cambridge Music Handbooks (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 18.

28. See Douglass Seaton, "Mendelssohn's Dramatic Music," 204–22, and Thomas Grey, "The Orchestral Music," in *The Mendelssohn Companion*, ed. Douglass Seaton (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2001), 460–65 and 493–98.

29. Friedrich Niecks, "On Mendelssohn and Some of His Contemporary Critics," *Monthly Musical Record* 5 (1875): 162–64, reprinted in *Mendelssohn and His World*, 383.

30. Henry Chorley, *Modern German Music*, 2 vols. (London: Smith, Elder, and Co., 1854; repr., New York: Da Capo Press, 1973), 2: 413.

31. Grey, "Fingal's Cave and *Ossian's Dream*," 80.

32. William Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, ed. Trevor R. Griffiths, Act 5, Scene 1, ll. 403–06.

33. George MacFarren, "Sir G. A. MacFarren on the *Midsummer Night's Dream* Overture," *The Musical Times* 40 (1 Aug. 1899): 532. Here MacFarren echoes Franz Liszt's description of the four opening chords as closing and opening eyelids surrounding a dream state in "Über Mendelssohns Musik zum Sommernachtstraum," *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 40 (26 May 1854): 236.

34. Percy Fitzgerald, *Shakespearean Representations: Its Laws and Limits* (London: Elliot Stock, 1908), 62.

35. "Mr. Alfred Mellon's Concerts," *Musical World* 39, no. 34 (24 Aug. 1861): 539. Italics added.

36. David Bispham, "Melodrama or Recitation with Music," *Harper's Bazaar* 43 (Jan. 1909): 24. Italics added.

37. Dorothy Marshall, *Fanny Kemble* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1977), 244.

38. Frances Ann Kemble, *Records of Later Life* (New York: Henry Holt, 1882), 639.

39. October 5, 1849, in *A Philadelphia Perspective: The Diary of Sidney George Fisher Covering the Years 1834–1871*, ed. Nicholas B. Wainwright (Philadelphia: Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1967), 226.

40. Fanny Kemble, *The Journal of Frances Anne Butler* (London: John Murray, 1835; repr., New York: Benjamin Blom, 1970), 2:26–27.

41. W. D. King, "'Shadow of a Mesmerizer': The Female Body on the Dark Stage," *Theatre Journal* 49 (1997): 189.

42. For details about Kemble's readings, see Gerald Kahan, "Fanny Kemble Reads Shakespeare: Her First American Tour, 1849–50," *Theatre Survey* 24 (May/Nov. 1983): 77–98.

43. See Philip Collins, *Reading Aloud: A Victorian Métier*, Tennyson Society Monographs 5 (Lincoln, UK: Keyworth & Fry, 1972), and "'Agglomerating Dollars with Prodigious Rapidity': British Pioneers on the American Lecture Circuit," in *Victorian Literature and Society: Essays Presented to Richard D. Altick*, ed. James R. Kincaid and Albert J. Kuhn (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1983). For an overview of the American platform, see John S. Gentile, *Cast of One: One-Person Shows from the Chautauqua Platform to the Broadway Stage* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1989), 3–66.

44. On costuming and wages, see Michael R. Booth, *Theatre in the Victorian Age* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press), 114–17.

45. Leota S. Driver, *Fanny Kemble* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1933), 183.

46. Kemble, *Records of Later Life*, 210. Mendelssohn was on more familiar terms with Kemble's sister, Adelaide, an opera singer, and her brother-in-law, Edward Sartoris, with whom he corresponded. His correspondence in the Green Books in the Bodleian Library, Oxford University, contain no letters from Kemble but several from the Sartorises. Adelaide Kemble visited Mendelssohn in Leipzig in 1837 with her father, who recited *Hamlet* at a dinner party; Felix invited Edward Sartoris to Leipzig in 1844. See R. Larry Todd, *Mendelssohn: A Life in Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 359, and Ann Blainey, *Fanny and Adelaide: The Lives of the Remarkable Kemble Sisters* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2001), 113–14, 189.

47. Frances Ann Kemble, *Records of a Girlhood*, 2nd ed. (New York: Henry Holt, 1879), 96.

48. Todd, *Mendelssohn: A Life in Music*, 438.

49. Letter of 27 April 1843, in Kemble, *Records of Later Life*, 375.

50. [3 Feb. 1848], in Kemble, *Records of Later Life*, 613.

51. This anecdote was later reported with *A Midsummer Night's Dream* rather than *Antigone* as the piece in question, perhaps suggesting how much Kemble had become associated with Mendelssohn's incidental music. After Kemble's first concert reading in England, the *Athenæum* (1267 [7 Feb. 1852]: 178) reported the possibility of Kemble performing *Antigone* and *Oedipus at Colonus* with Mendelssohn's music.

52. *Athenæum* 1265 (24 Jan. 1852): 122. The review of the performance in the *Athenæum* (1267 [7 Feb. 1852]: 178), mourned the "bright and living light untimely quenched."

53. "Mrs. Fanny Kemble at Exeter Hall," *Musical World* 33, no. 6 (10 Feb. 1855): 90.

54. J. C. Furnas, *Fanny Kemble: Leading Lady of the Nineteenth-Century Stage* (New York: Dial Press, 1982), 324.

55. 13 Mar. 1849, *The Diary of Philip Hone, 1828–1851*, 2 vols., ed. Allan Nevins (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1927), 2:863.

56. *Letters and Journals of Thomas Wentworth Higginson*, ed. Mary Thacher Higginson (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1921), 35.

57. *Boston Herald*, 17 Jan. 1849, quoted in Kahan, "Fanny Kemble Reads Shakespeare," 85.

58. Quoted in Furnas, *Fanny Kemble*, 333.

59. *The Mirror*, 22 Mar. 1850, quoted in *Strong on Music*, vol. 2, *Reverberations, 1850–56*, ed. Vera Brodsky Lawrence (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 107. The concert was the fourth in a series, the third of which had also featured Mendelssohn's music, but without the reading. Kemble did appear at Niblo's on 4 April, this time to benefit the Theater Fund Society, but she read another of Shakespeare's so-called "fairy" plays, *The Tempest*, and it is not clear what music the

chorus and orchestra performed. Lawrence (p. 14n) speculates that the music at Niblo's was arranged by the conductor, George Loder.

60. "St. James Theatre," *Musical World* 30, no. 6 (7 Feb. 1852): 88. Barry Duncan states that the 1852 readings were under the baton of Mr. Grice, with a chorus of sixteen persons, in *The St. James's Theatre: Its Strange & Complete History, 1835–1957* (London: Barrie and Rockliff, 1964), 89.

61. "St. James's Theatre,— 'A Midsummer Night's Dream,'" *Athenæum* 1267 (7 Feb. 1852): 178. The review laments the lack of the "Dance of the Clowns," probably omitted because Kemble typically cut the rustics' play. It reveals that Kemble did not perform the melodramatic sections, but nonetheless suggests that the bulk of the music performed was associated with the fairies.

62. Quoted in Furnas, *Fanny Kemble*, 332.

63. Kemble, *Records of Later Life*, 633.

64. Higginson, *Letters and Journals*, 37.

65. "Mrs. Frances Anne Kemble," *Galaxy* 6 (Dec. 1868): 801.

66. Henry James, "Frances Anne Kemble," in *Essays in London and Elsewhere* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1893), 97, 91.

67. Lilian Whiting, "Literary Boston," *Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly* 40 (Dec. 1895): 62.

68. Even the actors of the subsequent generation, who adopted a reportedly more "natural style," performed in a manner that can accurately be described as "pitched." Hear the recordings of Herbert Beerbohm Tree in *Julius Caesar* and Frank Benson in *Henry V*, in *Great Historical Shakespeare Recordings*, 2 CDs (Naxos Audio Books NA 220022, 2000). For discussion of the amount of pitch in period recitation, see Marian Wilson Kimber, "The Peerless Reciter: Reconstructing the Lost Art of Elocution with Music," in *Performance Practice: Issues and Approaches*, ed. Timothy Watkins (Ann Arbor, MI: Steglein Press, forthcoming).

69. *Daily Evening Transcript*, 27 Jan. 1849, quoted in Kahan, "Fanny Kemble Reads Shakespeare," 85. While Kemble was known to sing in private in her youth, there is no indication that she ever sang any of Mendelssohn's incidental music. In his diary (15 Sep. 1832), Philip Hone wrote, "She sang and played for us in the evening. Her voice is not sweet, but has great force and pathos." Quoted in *Fanny: The American Kemble: Her Journals and Unpublished Letters*, ed. Fanny Kemble Wister (Tallahassee, FL: South Pass Press, 1972), 84. Another anecdote recalls Kemble entering the stage singing a minstrel show song, *The Boatman*, in the third act of *The School for Scandal*. See William Davidge, *Footlight Flashes* (New York: American News Company, 1866), 88–89.

70. Gustave Garcia, *The Actor's Art: A Practical Treatise on Stage Declamation, Public Speaking, and Deportment* (London: T. Pettit, 1882), vii.

71. "Russell, William," in *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, vol. 5, ed. James Grant Wilson and John Fiske (New York: Appleton, 1888), 5: 354–55.

72. S. S. Curry, *The Province of Expression* (New York: Edgar S. Werner, 1894), 174. Curry is actually arguing against this idea, in favor of more spontaneous, natural forms of elocutionary expression, writing after the height of the practice of formal recitation.

73. "An Interview with David Bispham," *Musical Leader and Concert Goer* 10, no. 23 (7 Dec. 1905), clipping in *Robinson Locke Collection of Dramatic Scrapbooks* 72: 35.

74. Olive Logan, *Before the Footlights and Behind the Scenes* (Philadelphia, Cincinnati, Middleton: Parmelee, 1870), 6–7.

75. Nan Jonson, "The Popularization of Nineteenth-Century Rhetoric: Elocution and the Private Learner," in *Oratorical Culture in Nineteenth-Century America*, ed. Gregory Clark and S. Michael Halloran (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1993), 154.

76. "Mrs. Frances Anne Kemble," *Galaxy* 6 (Dec. 1868): 799.

77. Kahan, "Fanny Kemble Reads Shakespeare," 91.

78. Although Kemble also read the full range of Shakespeare's tragedies and comedies, few of which had any clear association with anything feminine, there seems to have been little public consternation regarding her reading male roles, though the actress Ellen Kean wrote privately to her husband Charles on 8 April 1863, that "it is monstrous clever, but shocking I think to see a woman (a gentlewoman) so coarsely unsex herself." *Letters of Mr. and Mrs. Charles Kean Relating to Their American Tours*, ed. William G. B. Carlson, Washington University Studies, Language and Literature 15 (St. Louis: Washington University, 1945), 38. For discussion of Fanny Kemble's "masculine" attributes as considered by her contemporaries, see Faye E. Dudden, *Women in the American Theatre: Actresses and Audiences, 1790–1879* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1994), 52–58.

79. *Musical Times* 30 (1 July 1889): 423.

80. "Mr. George Riddle," *New York Times*, 28 Mar. 1886.

81. David Bispham, *A Quaker Singer's Recollections* (New York: Macmillan, 1920), 282.

82. "American Musical Fund," *New York Times*, 7 May 1853. See Kimberly's likeness on the lithograph of the "Kimberly Waltz." Composed and dedicated to the celebrated Shakespearean reader by F. Howard," in George C. D. Odell, *Annals of the New York Stage*, 15 vols. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1931), 5: plate opposite p. 562.

83. "Stirling, Lady Mary," in *Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee (London: Smith, Elder, 1885–1901), 64: 382.

84. Quoted in *Victorian Actors and Actresses in Review: A Dictionary of Contemporary Views of Representative British and American Actors and Actresses, 1837–1901*, ed. Donald Mullin (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1983), 424.

85. Quoted in Percy Allen, *The Stage Life of Mrs. Stirling* (London: Fischer Unwin, 1922), 196, 195. The *Brighton Herald* quote is from 27 February 1869.

86. Scott-Siddons first gave Shakespeare readings at the Hanover Square Rooms in 1867 shortly before she made her debut on the London stage in *As You Like It*. She took a similar approach to her United States stage debut, reading *Macbeth* and *As You Like It* at Steinway Hall in New York in 1868. See Charles E. Pascoe, *The Dramatic List: A Record of the Performances of Living Actors and Actresses of the British Stage*, 2nd ed. (London: D. Bogue, 1880; repr., New York: Benjamin Blom, 1969), 298–300. Scott-Siddons read *A Midsummer Night's Dream* in New Orleans in 1870, though

apparently without music. See John S. Kendall, *The Golden Age of the New Orleans Theater* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1952), 416.

87. Odell, *Annals of the New York Stage*, 8: 513.

88. See Potter costumed as Scott-Siddons in Gentile, *Cast of One*, plates between pp. 52 and 53.

89. Odell, *Annals of the New York Stage*, 8: 451. The holdings of the Spencer Research Library of the University of Kansas contain a calling card [MS P173:1] in Kemble's writing: "Readings from Shakespeare. Admit Miss Siddons & friend. Fanny Kemble. Edinburgh." As the card is edged in black, suggesting Kemble was in mourning, it seems likely that it comes from a performance that Siddons attended in 1854, the year of Charles Kemble's death, or the following year.

90. Odell, *Annals of the New York Stage*, 9: 496. Elizabeth Sara Sheppard's *Charles Auchester: A Memorial* (London: Hurst & Blackett, 1853), was frequently reprinted throughout the nineteenth century.

91. Odell, *Annals of the New York Stage*, 13: 542.

92. "Steinway Hall," *New York Times*, 24 Apr. 1888.

93. Although Riddle specialized in concert readings of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, neither of his two published books of readings include selections from the play. They are *George Riddle's Readings* (Boston: Walter H. Baker, 1888), and *A Modern Reader and Speaker* (New York: Duffield, 1908). Riddle's "Talks on Elocution," in *The Youth's Companion* 62 (25 Apr. 1889): 225–56, (2 May 1889): 237–38, and (9 May 1889): 250–51, do not deal either with music or any specific spoken repertoire.

94. "Notes of the Stage," *New York Times*, 3 May 1896.

95. Eugene Tompkins and Quincy Kilby, *The History of the Boston Theatre, 1854–1901* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1908), 382; "Saratoga's Shakespearean Festival," *New York Times*, 24 July 1894; "Shakespeare at Saratoga," *New York Times*, 22 July 1894.

96. "Shakespeare Week Begins in the Parks," *New York Times*, 24 Apr. 1916.

97. "Bispham in Shakespeare Recital for Young Folk," *Musical America* 7, no. 7 (28 Dec. 1907): 19.

98. Bispham, *Quaker Singer's Recollections*, 310–11.

99. "The Music Composed for Shakspeare's [*sic*] 'Midsummer Night's Dream.' By F. Mendelssohn Bartholdy," *Musical Times* 16, no. 384 (1 Feb. 1875): 778. Italics added.

100. These include *William Shakespeare's A Midsummer Night's Dream, Arranged for Public Reading, with the Performance of Mendelssohn's Music*, by Eben Francis Thompson (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1887); *The Episode of the Quarrel Between Titania and Oberon, from Shakespeare's A Midsummer Night's Dream*, specially arranged for representation with the Mendelssohn music by F. A. [Frederick Augustus] Dixon (Ottawa: J. Durie, 1898); and *Verbindender Text zu Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy's Sommersnachtstraum-Music*, ed. Gustav Gurski, trans. August Wilhelm Schlegel (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1875). Gurski's version features two speaking parts, the *Dichter* and Puck, and instrumental cues or melodramatic sections notated in the piano score. Much of the text is poetry by Gurski, not Shakespeare, so it not surprising that a

report of an 1876 performance in Heidelberg stated, "He who does not know Shakespeare's poetry would not understand what he saw and heard." "Berichte: Heidelberg, Ende April," *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* 11, no. 19 (10 May 1876): col. 302. Two other arrangements from the period that presumably include additional text are *Through the House*, arr. for Recitation and Treble Voices by H. Hudson, St. Cecilia Series 18, no. 14 (London: J. Williams, 1910), and *You Spotted Snakes*, arr. for Recitation and Treble Voices by H. Hudson, St. Cecilia Series 18, no. 13 (London: J. Williams, 1910).

101. For descriptions of music and readings on the Chautauqua circuit, see Victoria and Robert Ormond Case, *We Called It Culture: The Story of Chautauqua* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1948), 42–55; Harry P. Harrison, as told to Karl Detzer, *Culture Under Canvas: The Story of Tent Chautauqua* (New York: Hastings House, 1958), 97–115, 189–98; and John E. Tapia, *Circuit Chautauqua: From Rural Education to Popular Entertainment in Early Twentieth-Century America* (Jefferson, NC: MacFarland, 1997), 61–70, 94–99, 134–39.

102. Harrison, *Culture Under Canvas*, 112. I have found no reports of Bispham reciting *A Midsummer Night's Dream* at Covent Garden.

103. Underhill toured midwestern towns in the years 1904–07. Redpath Chautauqua Collection, Special Collections Department, University of Iowa Libraries, Iowa City, Iowa, MsC150, series 4, box 2.

104. For an account of the transition of the Chautauquas from locally run assemblies with religious and educational missions to a commercial business with "talent" supplied by regional entertainment bureaus, see Andrew C. Rieser, *The Chautauqua Movement: Protestants, Progressives, and the Culture of Modern Liberalism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), 254–59, 269–74. For discussion of the national perception of Chautauquas and the role they played in rural communities, see Charlotte Canning, "Under the Brown Tent: Chautauqua in the Community Landscape," in *Land/Scape/Theater*, ed. Elinor Fuchs and Una Chaudhuri (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002), 209–27.

105. On Chautauqua and theater, see Charlotte Canning, "The Platform Versus the State: The Circuit Chautauqua's Antitheatrical Theatre," *Theatre Journal* 50 (1998): 303–18, and *The Most American Thing in America: Circuit Chautauqua as Performance* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2005), 187–209.

106. In addition to the works by Mendelssohn, reciters often performed Tennyson's *Enoch Arden* with music by Richard Strauss, Max von Schilling's *Hexenlied*, and *La Ballade du Désespéré* by Herman Bemberg (1859–1931). Longfellow's *King Robert of Sicily* was performed in a version by midwestern composer Rosseter G. Cole (1866–1952) by American reciters, or in that by John Ebenezer West (1863–1929) in England. Schumann's *Manfred* is often listed in reciters' repertoire, including Riddle's, Bispham's, and Fry's, but actual performances appear to have taken place with far less frequency. Bispham was also well known for Edgar Allan Poe's *The Raven* in a setting by Arthur Bergh (1882–1962); see the photographs of his dramatic style in Edward Kravitt, "The Joining of Words and Music in Late Romantic Melodrama," *Musical Quarterly* 62 (Oct. 1976): 587.

107. See Fry's advertisement (one of many) in *Musical Times* 21 (1 Mar. 1880): 143.

108. Frederick Corder, "Recitation with Music," in *Voice, Speech and Gesture: A Practical Handbook to the Elocutionary Art*, 2nd ed., ed. Robert D. Blackman (Edinburgh: John Grant, 1908), 193–220.

109. Six *Zwischenreden* were created between 1821 and 1927 in Germany for concert performances of *Egmont* there. These are listed in Elizabeth Sara Paley, "Narratives of 'Incidental' Music in German Romantic Theater" (PhD diss., University of Wisconsin, 1998), 3. British elocutionist Clifford Harrison performed *Egmont* in 1882 under the direction of Charles Hallé at St. James Hall, and Riddle recited it with the Chicago Symphony in 1902. The latter also performed *Macbeth* with music by Franz August Dressler, as well Ibsen's *Peer Gynt* with Grieg's music, and selections from Goethe's *Faust*, with various music by Schumann, Boito, Berlioz, Gounod, and Mendelssohn.

110. It is not clear if Kemble cut additional passages from the text for the concert performances. Kemble's Shakespeare volumes held by the University of Georgia Library have multiple layers of cuts, which may or may not have any relationship to her readings with music. R. H. Haweis's assertion that Kemble "was for leaving out this and curtailing that" of Mendelssohn's music may refer to her omission of the melodramatic sections, or it may be somewhat unreliable, as it was published four decades after the fact. (Haweis also incorrectly assigns Kemble her sister's married name.) "Musical Snapshots," *Contemporary Review* 70 (Aug. 1896): 287–88.

111. "The Norwich Musical Festival," *Musical World* 30 (25 Sep. 1852): 611.

112. Lowell Mason, "The Norwich Musical Festival," *New York Musical World* 4, no. 8 (23 Oct. 1852): 115.

113. "Mrs. Fanny Kemble's Reading of the 'Midsummer Night's Dream,' with Mendelssohn's Incidental Music," *Mercury* (Leeds), 12 Feb. 1853.

114. "Music and the Drama at Liverpool," *Musical World* 25, no. 2 (18 May 1850): 308.

115. "Weekly Report of Music," *New York Musical World* 6, no. 3 (21 May 1853): 36.

116. "Mrs. Fanny Kemble at Exeter Hall," *Musical World* 33, no. 6 (10 Feb. 1855): 90.

117. "Music and the Drama at Liverpool," *Musical World* 25, no. 2 (18 May 1850): 308.

118. "Musical Correspondence," *Dwight's Journal of Music* 29, no. 19 (4 Dec. 1869): 149.

119. "The Editor's Easy Chair," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 56 (Apr. 1878): 782; Anne Thackery Ritchie, *From Friend to Friend*, ed. Emily Ritchie (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1920), 78.

120. "Mrs. Fanny Kemble's Reading of the 'Midsummer Night's Dream,' with Mendelssohn's Incidental Music," *Mercury* (Leeds), 12 Feb. 1853.

121. "First Philharmonic Concert," *New York Herald*, 28 Nov. 1869.

122. According to George Templeton Strong, Kemble's 1857 New York readings took place "in the lecture room of the University Medical College (on 14th Street, next door to the Academy of Music)." *Strong on Music*, vol. 3, *Repercussions, 1857–62*, ed. Vera Brodsky Lawrence (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 95n.

123. Letter of 16 Oct. 1875, in Frances Ann Kemble, *Further Records 1848–1883* (London: Richard Bentley, 1891; repr., New York: Benjamin Blom, 1972), 204–05.

124. "Royal Surrey Gardens" *Musical World* 34, no. 38 (20 Sep. 1856): 603.

125. Bispham, *Quaker Singer's Recollections*, 282.

126. *Musical Times* 39, no. 660 (1 Feb. 1898): 90.

127. Mrs. Charles Calvert, *Sixty-Eight Years on the Stage* (London: Mills & Boon, [1911]), 114–17. Calvert's memoirs suggest she and her husband undertook a second concert reading.

128. "The Young People's Concert," *New York Times*, 21 Dec. 1902.

129. "Royal Surrey Gardens," 603; "Mr. C. Hallé's Concerts," *Guardian* (Manchester), 18 Nov. 1870.

130. "The *Midsummer Night's Dream* Read by Mrs. Frances Ann Kemble," *Dwight's Journal of Music* 10, no. 26 (28 Mar. 1857): 204–05.

131. "Weekly Report of Music," 36.

132. *Musical Times* 25 (1 July 1884): 396.

133. Bispham, *Quaker Singer's Recollections*, 282.

134. For an overview of the changes in theatrical training in the late nineteenth century, see Francis Hodge, "The Private Theatre Schools in the Late Nineteenth Century," in *History of Speech Education in America: Background Studies*, ed. Karl R. Wallace (New York: Appleton-Century Crofts, 1954), 552–71.

135. Marshall, *Fanny Kemble*, 224.

136. Calvert, *Sixty-Eight Years on the Stage*, 173.

137. Lawrence W. Levine, "William Shakespeare and the American People: A Study in Cultural Transformation," *American Historical Review* 89 (1984): 56.

138. Canning, *The Most American Thing in America*, 160.

139. On the changes in elocutionary practice and its relationship to the declining years of the Chautauqua circuit, see Gentile, *Cast of One*, 67–96.

140. "David Bispham in a Musical and Literary Entertainment," *Theatre* (Feb. 1906), clipping in *Robinson Locke Collection of Dramatic Scrapbooks*, 72: 38.

141. Redpath Chautauqua Collection, MsC150, series 1, box 18.

142. More recently, the City of Birmingham Symphony Orchestra performed a truncated version of the play with Mendelssohn's music in 1973 and 1989. See Griffiths, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, 25n31. Modern recordings sometimes attempt to incorporate parts of the play performed by a soloist between musical excerpts, for example, Dame Judi Dench's performance with the Boston Symphony, conducted by Seiji Ozawa (Deutsche Grammophon 439-897-2, 1994).

143. *Musical Times* 25 (1 July 1884): 396.

Mahler's Goethe

Carl Niekerk

In explaining his Eighth Symphony to contemporaries, Gustav Mahler referred to it as a "gift to the entire nation" [*Geschenk an die ganze Nation*].[1] This is without doubt one of the more intriguing remarks by Mahler about his Eighth. With his comment, Mahler created a genealogy for the work few would have thought of on the basis of the music alone, while simultaneously also provoking a number of questions. Mahler refers to a tradition of composing works for national occasions, but does he identify with that tradition or intend to distance himself from it? To characterize the Eighth as a "gift to the entire nation" does not necessarily mean that Mahler intended for it to be a national piece of music. What can be said, however, is that he wanted to compose a piece of music that engaged with the tradition of composing for national occasions (possibly in a critical way). But what does Mahler refer to exactly when he speaks of the "entire nation"?

In his student days, Mahler was a member of a nationalist and conservative student group, the so-called Pernerstorfer Circle. This group consisted, as William McGrath has shown, of a number of young Viennese intellectuals (among them Mahler's close friend Siegfried Lipiner) who were interested in the ideas of Schopenhauer, Wagner, and Nietzsche and believed in the necessity of political and cultural change in response to what was, in their opinion, the outlived liberalism of their fathers' generation.[2] "Nationalism" in the context of the Pernerstorfer Circle meant an orientation toward Germany as a political entity, but above all an identification with a cultural ideal that included all German-speaking areas. By 1906, when he composed the Eighth Symphony,[3] Mahler had, like other former members, long distanced himself from the nationalist and conservative political ambitions of the Pernerstorfer Circle.[4] And yet, one can call it a legacy of his student days that Mahler was, throughout his life, very much oriented toward German culture, and not toward an Austrian particularism.[5] His literary and philosophical interests (Goethe, Jean Paul, and Nietzsche) indicate as much; the same goes for the texts he used in his compositions (*Des*

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Knaben Wunderhorn and the works of Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock, Friedrich Rückert, and of course also Jean Paul and Nietzsche). It is also significant that Mahler chose to premiere his Eighth Symphony not in Austria, but in Germany, in Munich. When Mahler speaks about his Eighth as a "gift to the entire nation" he has, I would argue, primarily this German cultural identity in mind, but with an awareness of the expression's political connotations.

In the following, I will look into the debates about the national function of culture in the German-speaking countries during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Of course, there existed a powerful musical tradition of composing works for national occasions during the nineteenth century. Traces of this tradition can be found in the oeuvres of Handel, Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven, to name a few.[6] However, Mahler's comment on the Eighth Symphony also evokes a literary paradigm. Throughout the nineteenth century, Goethe and Schiller were the focal points of a prolific discourse on the national functions of German literature. The final three decades of the nineteenth century, in particular, were marked by a lively debate that conceived of Goethe's *Faust* as a "national" text. And Nietzsche, who played a guiding role in Mahler's intellectual coming of age, was also a key figure in the debate about the national mobilization of German culture.

It is my aim to reconstruct the place of Mahler's Eighth Symphony in relation to German literary and cultural history. My deliberations are meant to supplement the detailed musicological analyses of the symphony that already exist, as well as to provide further context for the reception history of the Eighth and of Mahler's other works.[7] There is a critical intention at the root of Mahler's work in general and the Eighth in particular, and a reconstruction of his views of German literary and cultural history, as well as his own place within it, can help to clarify this critical dimension. Mahler's literary and philosophical interests are firmly rooted in his student days in the 1870s, but I want to show that in his critical appropriation of German cultural history, Mahler ultimately takes a stance against the nationalist and conservative functionalization of art so characteristic of the cultural climate of that time, especially the Pernerstorfer Circle, a mobilization of art that by 1900 had gained an anti-Semitic dimension.

For a literary and cultural historian, Mahler's choice of Goethe as the literary reference point for his symphony—in contrast to Beethoven, for instance, who used a text by Schiller for his Ninth Symphony—is striking. The importance of Schiller and Goethe for German national culture was debated throughout the nineteenth century, and both poets were competing in public opinion for the status of favored national

symbol. In 1827, Wolfgang Menzel had published *Die deutsche Literatur*, a book that would become one of the first popular histories of German literature and remained influential throughout the century. Menzel's negative stance toward Goethe is surprising now; Schiller, however, receives praise for his contribution to German literary history. Menzel admits Goethe's great talent, but finds his work without inner core, determination, and religious stance.[8] Too influenced by the here-and-now and by the fashion of the day, he is seen as too materialistic and focused on the senses and on physical pleasure.[9] Goethe is, for Menzel, also too international, too fixated on other national cultures.[10] Repeatedly, Goethe's modernity is referred to as characteristic of his writing, a concept that for Menzel was predominantly negative.[11] Rejecting the materialist Goethe, Menzel worships the idealist Schiller whose works he finds characterized by the "spirit of a *moral beauty*" [*Geist einer* sittlichen Schönheit].[12] Menzel sees Schiller as the poet of the German people [*das deutsche Volk*], and in particular of German youth [*die deutsche Jugend*].[13] He is full of praise for those among Schiller's followers who gave his work a more pronounced political and patriotic bend.[14] Menzel's ideas resonated throughout the nineteenth century. Scholars of German literary history agree that, in general, Schiller's work was preferred to Goethe's during the nineteenth century; this was certainly the case as far as popular opinion was concerned. Schiller was seen as the poet of the people, while Goethe was the object of interest for a small aristocratic elite.[15] Whereas the 100th anniversary of Goethe's birth in 1849 was celebrated by a small group of dedicated followers, the celebration of Schiller's anniversary in 1859 turned into a public spectacle in which all of Germany participated.[16] However, nineteenth-century discourse on Schiller and Goethe was by no means monolithic, and there certainly were intellectuals who preferred Goethe to Schiller.[17] Remarkably, Goethe's work, particularly his *Faust* drama, was quite popular among composers (including Berlioz, Liszt, Mendelssohn, Schumann, and also Wagner).[18]

However, in accordance with the general dynamics underlying the reception of Schiller and Goethe, the predominant attitude among scholars toward *Faust* was negative during most of the century, even though *Faust Part I* was among Goethe's better-known texts. As a character, Faust was viewed as altogether too passive, too individual, too apolitical; Goethe's text was deemed too "precocious" [*altklug*], too idealistic, and too literary—to name a few characterizations to be found again and again.[19] With the achievement of German unity in 1871, attitudes began to change. There were still enough negative voices to be heard, but positive ones started to dominate. It could even be said that

Mahler's Eighth participated in a rehabilitation of Goethe that had been set into motion by the unification of Germany, even though the text remained controversial. That Goethe's *Faust* was seen as his "national" text may be hard to imagine nowadays, but in the late nineteenth century the idea was taken seriously. Herman Grimm, art historian and cofounder of Germany's Goethe society, and Franz Dingelstedt, director of both state theaters in Vienna from 1875 on, proposed staging performances of *Faust Parts I* and *II* annually on Goethe's birthday as a form of national celebration. Interestingly, the location Dingelstedt had in mind for this event was Bayreuth.[20] The plan never materialized, but it points out a perceived rivalry as to who was deemed worthy of a national occasion: Wagner or Goethe. But how could a literary character such as Goethe's Faust—not very masculine and far from heroic, an intellectual with a tendency to question his own decisions—become an identificatory figure and part of a nationalist discourse? Interpretations that emphasize the national aspect of *Faust*[21] tend to highlight the emotional depth in Faust's character, as well as his speculative mind, his openness to inner beauty, his enthusiasm for true humanism, and his patience—all of which were seen as typically German. And surprisingly, Faust was seen as a man of action. Attempts to read a national agenda into *Faust* sometimes went quite far, comparing Mephisto, for example, to Napoleon who, though unwillingly, eventually was responsible for Germany's unification.[22]

Another nineteenth-century debate, comparing Siegfried and Faust, can help us understand the literary dynamics between Mahler and Wagner. I mentioned earlier that Goethe and Wagner vied for the position of privileged national symbol during that time. The suitability of either as focal point of a national celebration was closely linked to the question as to which of their heroes would better represent the German nation: Siegfried, the hero of the anonymous medieval *Nibelungen* saga and of Wagner's *Ring*, or Faust. Both were seen as competing but also complementary figures. In 1853, Ferdinand Brockhoff stated that the Faust figure had the same importance for the Protestant Reformation as Siegfried had had for the Middle Ages, both essentially being equally "faithful and keen" expressions of the "spirit specific to the German people" [*Der Eine wie der Andere ist ein treuer und scharfer Ausdruck des spezifisch deutschen Volksgeistes*].[23] But there are also significant differences: Faust is more intellectual, Siegfried more sensual.[24]

Brockhoff published his ideas in a review of a book on the Faust myth in a scholarly journal most likely read by specialists alone, and yet he set a discussion in motion that would soon be part of the

mainstream. Traces of this debate can be found in the editorial commentary accompanying a popular edition of *Faust* edited by Gustav von Loeper, a lawyer and high governmental official in Prussia, and first published in Berlin in 1870 that marks the beginning of a national renaissance of Goethe's *Faust*.[25] Von Loeper refers to Brockhoff's review in his commentary, and like him sees similarities between the Faust and Siegfried figures.[26] Siegfried is described as titanic, light-hearted, almost a "northern Achilles." In contrast, Faust, a monk-like figure, is focused on his inner world, someone who overthinks and frets about things [*grübelnd*]. Thus von Loeper denies a deeper affinity and instead emphasizes differences that for Brockhoff were only minor. In spite of his lack of titanic attributes, Faust nevertheless is a positive figure, according to von Loeper, because he represents man's autonomy and self-liberation, not only in religious matters, but spiritually and intellectually as well.[27]

While Goethe's *Faust*, in particular Part I, became the object of a nationalistic appropriation, aspects of the Faust figure resist such an appropriation. After 1870, a trend critical of a political interpretion of the figure emerged. Some of this criticism came from a theological perspective, from professional theologians and scholars or amateurs with strong religious beliefs, but other intellectuals objected to *Faust* for different reasons. Two argumentative lines dominated this critique: for some, Faust was too individualistic to be an example; for others, he was too focused on humanity in general. [28] A significant number of critics opposed what one could call the modern aspect of *Faust*; others defended this modern side against ideological abuse. Heinrich Heine's book on German literary history from 1833, originally written for a French audience, provides an early example of seeing *Faust* as both *the* exemplary German national text and as a critique of German national culture.[29] Of particular importance for Heine, a German Jew, was that in the original version of the text, Faust broke with the medieval era, particularly its dogmatic religiosity. Thus the Faust saga represented one of the first attempts to replace a religious (Catholic) view of the world with a modern, scientific one. For Heine, Faust is a figure of emancipation; it is no coincidence that Heine incorrectly credits him with the invention of the printing process and close association with the Reformation. But most remarkably, for Heine, *Faust*'s program has not been fulfilled yet; when that happens, then it will mark a true "revolution."[30]

Nietzsche also criticized those who mobilized Goethe's work to promote a simplistic German nationalism. Nietzsche's posthumously published notes include an intriguing remark about Goethe's relation to

nineteenth-century German music. It is part of a larger fragment entitled "On a Critique of Wagner" (*Zur Kritik Wagners*) from the spring of 1888, which begins with the following observations:

> Wagner's music is *anti-goethean.*
>
> Indeed Goethe is missing in German music, the same way he is missing in German politics. In contrast to this: how much from Schiller, more specifically how much *Thekla* is in Beethoven.
>
> A lot of middle-class mediocrity, a lot of consecration.
>
> [Die Musik Wagners ist *antigoethisch.*
>
> In der Tat fehlt Goethe in der deutschen Musik, wie er in der deutschen Politik fehlt. Dagegen: wie viel Schiller, genauer geredet wie viel *Thekla* ist in Beethoven!
>
> Viel Biedermännerei, viel Salbung.][31]

Nietzsche refers here both to the common juxtaposition of Schiller and Goethe and to the nineteenth century's preference for Schiller. He may also be referring to Wagner's 1870 essay on Beethoven, in which the composer confessed a clear preference for Schiller, among other reasons because he considered Schiller a better dramatist who therefore had a greater affinity to music.[32] Nietzsche himself is clearly on Goethe's side. Following Nietzsche's logic, to use Goethe's work for music would be an anti-Wagnerian move as well as a critique of a nationalist appropriation of the German literary tradition.

To understand the intellectual–historical constellations in the fragment quoted above, it is productive to look at some of Nietzsche's published texts of the same year. In *The Case of Wagner* [*Der Fall Wagner*], Nietzsche comments on the constellation Goethe–Schiller–Wagner, explaining that Schiller's popularity rests on his catering to his German audience's need for a moral message in literature—an attitude Nietzsche characterizes as "old-maid-like" [*altjungfernhaft*].[33] In contrast, Goethe was seen as overly sexual and morally deprived: "For Germans [Goethe] always was obscene; the only honest admirers he had were among Jewesses" [*Er war den Deutschen immer anstößig, er hat ehrliche Bewunderer nur unter Jüdinnen gehabt*].[34] Nietzsche here repeats a racial stereotype that associated Jewishness with sexual exuberance; he suggests that Goethe's female Jewish followers were interested in his obscenity. He refers to the fact that Goethe's texts played an important role in the Berlin salons of Henriette Herz, Rahel Varnhagen, and Dorothea Mendelssohn (Veit-Schlegel).[35] In Nietzsche's writings, especially in the fragments published after his death, there are other

examples in which he points to a Jewish affinity for Goethe, for instance calling Heine and Goethe the only two poets Germany has produced, or writing that elements of Goethe's thinking can be found in Moses Mendelssohn, Varnhagen, and Heine.[36]

Nietzsche was not alone in associating Goethe with German–Jewish culture. The observation has been made that the first generation of Goethe philologists included a remarkable number of Jews; as a result, some people started to view Goethe as a "Jewish" author.[37] George L. Mosse interpreted Goethe's popularity among his Jewish readership as indicative of their desire to assimilate within German culture: "Goethe's emphasis on individual freedom, his ambivalence toward all forms of nationalism, and finally, his belief in *Bildung* seemed to foster Jewish assimilation."[38] (The fact that Mosse uses the word "seemed" here may be taken as an encouragement to be skeptical about Goethe's real intentions toward Jews. Goethe was by no means unambiguous in his attitudes about Jewish culture,[39] but the public saw it differently.) Alma Mahler's remark about Siegfried Lipiner, the writer, poet, translator, and close friend of Mahler, that he "goethelte" and "mauschelte" is to be understood in this context.[40] By characterizing Lipiner's way of speaking German as 'mauscheln'—a deficient way of using the German language associated with Jews—Alma Mahler, who hated Lipiner, picks up one of the dominating anti-Semitic stereotypes of her time.[41] "Goetheln" is, I would argue, the cultural equivalent of "mauscheln," a purportedly inadequate use of the German cultural tradition in an attempt to imitate Goethe. Goethe's reputation as a favorite of the Jews is in line with another aspect that Nietzsche highlights in his late writings: Goethe's internationalism. Goethe was a European figure; in Germany he was seen as a hermit [*Einsiedler*], and he could therefore not be identified with German culture. In fact, he defined himself in opposition to Germanness.[42] In Nietzsche's view, Wagner allied himself not with Goethe and his Jewish followers, but with their opposite, with Schiller and the nationalistic tradition he stood for. Wagner countered Goethe's hypersexuality and moral depravity with a turn to religion.[43] Goethe represented for Wagner all that was not German in German cultural history.

What might have appealed to Mahler in Goethe's *Faust* is the fundamental ambiguity of the Faust figure in nineteenth-century cultural history. Faust was, on the one hand, an icon of nationalism, especially after 1870. By adapting *Faust* for his symphony, Mahler participated in the debate about German national culture and its canon. But Faust was, on the other hand, an emancipatory figure, an icon critical of a nationalistic appropriation of German literature. The frequent references to

Faust as exhibiting or lacking titanic features confirm this ambiguity. The fundamental ambiguity of the Faust figure is also clear in relation to the nineteenth-century use of Siegfried. Both are national icons, but whereas Siegfried is deeply embedded in the Middle Ages, Faust is closely associated with the advent of modernity. That Faust can be seen as a more modern version of Siegfried means that Mahler's Eighth Symphony, with its use of scenes from *Faust*, not only competes with but also moves beyond Wagner's *Siegfried*. The context of nineteenth-century German literary and cultural history permits us to see that by composing a symphony based on Goethe's *Faust*, Mahler articulates a certain discontent with the conservative and nationalistic older Wagner, and that he picks up a project of the younger, more progressive Wagner (that also resonates with Liszt's *Faust Symphony*). As a student, Wagner had composed seven songs in 1831 based on texts from *Faust Part I* and a work from 1840 now known as Wagner's "Faust" Overture was originally meant to be the first part of an entire "Faust" Symphony.

Before I focus on a detailed analysis of the Eighth Symphony, I want to consider whether the perceived rivalry between Goethe and Schiller, accompanied by a public preference for Schiller throughout the nineteenth century, still played a role in Vienna around 1900. If so, did the Austrians make fundamentally different choices from the Germans? An example from Vienna's architectural history provides some clues. The façade of Vienna's Burgtheater, completed in 1888, features busts of Lessing, Goethe, and Schiller.[44] Goethe is clearly in the privileged position: his bust is in the center. That Lessing is part of this group is interesting as well; the author and dramatist consistently represented the progressive and cosmopolitan side of German culture. But the façade suggests that for the Viennese Goethe must have been the leading representative of German culture.[45]

However, the history of Viennese monuments dedicated to Schiller and Goethe tells us a different story. Monuments for Schiller and Goethe were planned as part of the projects that followed the construction of the Ringstrasse (1858–65). Schiller received his own plaza, close to and clearly visible from the Opernring; the Schiller monument at its center was completed and officially dedicated in 1876 (incidentally the year after Mahler's arrival in Vienna).[46] In contrast, the Goethe monument at the corner of Opernring and Goethegasse was not completed and officially dedicated until 1900. While Schiller got his plaza, Goethe received a mere alley [*Gasse*].[47] Schiller is standing tall on his enormous pedestal; Goethe sits, contemplatively staring in the direction of the Schiller monument. Fundraising material for the Schiller monument shows that it was envisioned as an expression of German–Austrian

brotherhood.[48] The monument's dedication in 1876 led to demonstrations of German-nationalist sentiments and a considerable number of police was necessary to enforce public order.[49] The Goethe monument, in contrast, was described by contemporaries as an expression of the author's "universal spirit" [*universaler Geist*] and humanitarian philosophy.[50]

The place of Schiller and Goethe in German and Austrian culture—and, more importantly, the political and cultural programs they came to represent—was, in other words, still very much a topic of public discourse in Vienna in the late nineteenth century, with Goethe by no means attracting the kind of attention dedicated to Schiller. There are other indications of this. On 27 August 1899, the liberal *Neue Freie Presse* dedicated its entire front page to the upcoming 150th anniversary of Goethe's birth the next day.[51] The main article, an editorial, characterizes Goethe as a cosmopolitan author tolerant in religious and moral matters who has also come to represent the cultural unity of all German-speaking citizens. It goes on to lament the fact that Vienna does not yet have a Goethe monument, and that there were no plans to celebrate this day,[52] blaming the Christian Social Party members on the city council and the prominent role of Roman Catholicism in the city's cultural life in general for this situation. That reactionary forces preferred Schiller to Goethe is understandable, but also surprising given that Schiller was at the same time an icon in the work of Vienna's cultural avant-garde. In the spring of 1902, the avant-garde group of visual artists called "The Secession," which had been quite successful in the brief period since their founding in 1897, organized an exhibition dedicated to Beethoven. The exhibition, for which Alfred Roller had final responsibility,[53] was an homage not just to Beethoven but indirectly also to Schiller. The most spectacular artwork exhibited was Gustav Klimt's frieze consisting of three painted panels depicting a series of highly allegorical scenes commenting on Beethoven's Ninth Symphony and the "Ode to Joy" [*Ode an die Freude*], the poem by Schiller at the core of its final movement.[54] It is doubtful that the Secession had a German-national agenda in mind,[55] but the fact remains that Schiller again is the focus of attention. It did not necessarily have to be that way; after all, Beethoven also composed incidental music for Goethe's drama *Egmont*. Research has shown that Klimt's composition of the panels closely followed Wagner's 1846 essay on Beethoven's Ninth.[56] When the final panel of the Beethoven frieze was exhibited again in 1903 at an exhibition dedicated to Klimt's work in the Secession building, it had a new title, the biblical "My kingdom is not of this world" [*Mein Reich ist nicht von dieser Welt*], a quote also found in

Wagner's 1870 essay on Beethoven.[57] Wagner's preference for Schiller in his later essays[58] may very well have been one of the main reasons why avant-garde artists such as the Secession focused on Schiller and not Goethe.[59]

Mahler participated in the opening of the Secession's Beethoven exhibition, conducting a fragment from Beethoven's Ninth in an arrangement for woodwind and brass that unfortunately has not survived. Originally, Mahler had planned to perform the entire symphony with the Vienna Philharmonic, but for reasons that are not quite clear, this plan fell through. Objections from musicians in the orchestra may have played a role.[60] The exhibition, with its emphasis on the public function of art, may have been a catalyst for Mahler's plans to compose a work for the masses a few years later. Mahler's choice of a Goethe text for his Eighth Symphony may have had many motives, though. He may have savored the challenge of staging a text that by all standards of the theater counted as "unstageable."[61] However, with the decision to use the final scenes from *Faust Part II* he also took a stand against the nationalist appropriation that had characterized the Schiller reception in Vienna in the last decades of the nineteenth century. It was certainly also a turn against Wagner and the conservative and nationalistic agenda of his later days.[62] (The choice of Goethe may also be seen as an attempt to rehabilitate the younger, "progressive" Wagner who, as mentioned earlier, had written music to texts from *Faust Part I* and planned a "Faust" Symphony). The connection with the Secession's exhibition on Beethoven is more ambiguous; there are signs that the artists of the Secession sought to rehabilitate the freethinking, cosmopolitan Schiller tradition against nationalistic appropriation: "This kiss is for the whole world" [*Diesen Kuss der ganzen Welt*] is one of lines from Schiller's poem quoted in the exhibition catalog to explain the intentions behind Klimt's frieze.[63]

Adapting the final scenes of *Faust Part II* for his Eighth Symphony was something rather radical at the time. Though Goethe's *Faust* enjoyed canonical status in German cultural history, references to the work usually pertained only to the first of its two sections. *Faust Part I* is an accessible text, with a clear plotline and a substantial number of quotable verses that have become part of everyday vocabulary. *Faust Part II* is quite different. It neither offers a straightforward narrative, nor does it deal with a character in the traditional sense, a figure bound to a specific time and place. The second part of Goethe's drama—the last text he finished before his death in 1832 (it was published posthumously in 1833)—moves freely through time and space and offers a highly uncommon synthesis of texts from literary history, mythology, philosophy,

natural science, anthropology, and theology. Furthermore, *Faust Part II* is a highly symbolic text, which to a large extent aims to create meaning through images rather than narrative. Its aesthetic form makes it the most profoundly modern of Goethe's wrote. Its intellectual curiosity and eclecticism resemble that of Jean Paul. Not only does the text offer an innovative form of writing,[64] but it also espouses a modern philosophy of life. Mahler's use of the text for the Eighth Symphony is indicative of continuity within his literary interests.

It was clear from the beginning that setting *Faust Part II* to music would present a challenge. One of Mahler's favorite texts by (and about) Goethe was *Conversations with Goethe* [*Gespräche mit Goethe*] by Johann Peter Eckermann, who was Goethe's friend and acted as a sort of private secretary. The *Conversations*, published after Goethe's death, proved to be one of the more popular works by and on Goethe in the nineteenth century, providing in relatively simple wording a comprehensive view of his often very complex thinking. (We know that late in life, the *Conversations* were a frequent part of Mahler's summertime readings,[65] a fact of some significance because Mahler did most of his composing during the summer.) In his conversations with Eckermann, Goethe mentioned the possibility of having music composed for his *Faust*, but his stance is rather ambiguous. Initially, Goethe declares a *Faust* composition "totally impossible" [*ganz unmöglich*], because "the repugnant, offensive, and frightful elements that the music would need to include at certain places, are against the spirit of the time" [*Das Abstoßende, Widerwärtige, Furchtbare, was sie stellenweise enthalten müßte, ist der Zeit zuwider*].[66] However, immediately following this statement, he lists Mozart's *Don Giovanni* as an example of the type of music he imagines for *Faust*. He then adds that Giacomo Meyerbeer may be able to do the work justice. Goethe had mentioned Meyerbeer in an earlier conversation about a musical adaptation of *Faust* and had mentioned Mozart's *Magic Flute* [*Zauberflöte*] as a musical drama comparable to *Faust*.[67] Surprisingly, this seems to indicate that Goethe may have imagined a musical adaptation of *Faust* as a comedy, even though he had conceived the drama as a tragedy. Two of the examples mentioned, *Don Giovanni* and the work of Meyerbeer, furthermore combine elements of German and romance traditions of music making. In *Don Giovanni*, Mozart not only had used the libretto of Lorenzo Da Ponte, but the work is also solidly in the tradition of Italian opera. And Meyerbeer, a Prussian Jew, worked very successfully as a composer of operas first in Italy and later in France. In Wagner's theoretical writings, Meyerbeer became the embodiment of all that was wrong with the development of German culture, not only because of his Jewishness, but also because of his

ability to move between different cultural backgrounds.[68] Mahler no doubt composed the Eighth Symphony with Goethe's ideas about a *Faust* composition in mind. In fact, Goethe's deliberations in the *Conversations* with Eckermann explain one feature of the second movement of the Eighth that has often baffled audiences and critics: the music's lightheartedness and positive energy.[69] Theodor Adorno even speaks of the Eighth's affirmative character. The text, however, barely seems to offer any legitimation for this. By picking up Goethe's challenge not only to compose music for the drama but also to compose it the way Goethe imagined, Mahler constructs an alternative cosmopolitan and pluralistic trajectory for German cultural history deeply at odds with Wagner's program for German culture.

Eckermann's *Conversations* may help us understand a second significant feature of the Eighth Symphony that is often misunderstood, namely its use of religious imagery. From the beginning, when Mahler was still thinking about the Eighth as a four-movement symphony, he intended to use religious themes. An early sketch demonstrates this: after the Veni Creator, a second movement with the title "Caritas" was planned, followed by a scherzo entitled "Christmas Games with the Child [Jesus]" [*Weihnachtsspiele mit dem Kindlein*] and a hymn with the projected title "Creation through Eros" [*Schöpfung durch Eros*].[70] Why did Mahler focus on Christian images and concepts? In his conversation with Eckermann on 6 June 1831, Goethe explained that it had been very difficult for him to write the concluding scene of *Faust Part II*. He had avoided vagueness and had given "form and stability" to his "poetical intentions" only through the use of "clearly defined Christian–ecclesiastical figures and representations."[71] Goethe was not a religious man in any traditional sense. I would argue that religious, and more specifically Catholic, imagery has the same function for Goethe as for Mahler. In a letter to Alma which deals with the final scene of Goethe's *Faust*, Mahler paraphrased the above-mentioned passage from the *Conversations*, expressing hope that he has explained himself clearly.[72] Neither Goethe nor Mahler intended to document or call for a religious conversion, but a religious framework must have seemed to both the most effective means to communicate to a broad audience the highly complex message they intended for their works. Both works are characterized by eclecticism toward tradition; they are skeptical of and resistant to ideological use or abuse, despite the religious imagery and use of concepts such as redemption. Goethe and Mahler both use religious imagery to communicate a philosophy of life that is in essence modern and postmetaphysical.

A thematic analysis of the final scene of *Faust Part II* uncovers other interesting continuities between Goethe's text and earlier literary references in Mahler's works. Mahler's approach to *Faust* can be described as intuitive. He was an avid reader and knew much about German literary, cultural, and intellectual history, but little about Goethe scholarship, as he admits in a letter to Alma.[73] To facilitate my analysis, I propose to divide the segment of Goethe's text that Mahler used into three sections, each of which introduces a new set of characters and a new issue. The first section consists of the introductory "Choir and Echo," and the contributions of Pater ecstaticus and Pater profundus. The second section introduces the angels, the Choir of Blessed Boys, the Younger Angels, the More Perfect Angels, and, at the very end, Doctor marianus. The final section begins with Mater gloriosia and ends with the concluding chorus.

Goethe chose a very specific landscape, a mountainous environment—similar to the mountains Mahler loved to climb during the summer when taking a break from composing—for the final scene of his final work. Mahler included Goethe's heading for the final scene, "Mountain Gorges, Forest, Rock. Solitude. Holy Anachorets on the Mountain Slopes, sheltered between gorges" [*Bergschluchten, Wald, Fels. Einöde. Heilige Anachoreten gebirgsauf verteilt, gelagert zwischen Klüften*], in his score as the title for the second movement. To understand Mahler's fascination with Goethe's work, especially later in life, it is useful to point out that nature in general had a very important function within Goethe's thinking. Sometimes called the German Rousseau, Goethe was described by one nineteenth-century critic as "the first one to conquer free nature again; Goethe was the first German poet, who lay in the grass again" [*Goethe hat zuerst die freie Natur wieder erobert; Goethe war der erste deutsche Dichter, der wieder im Grase lag*].[74] Nature in Goethe's *Faust*, as in Jean Paul's *Titan*, does not point to an objectively existing order of things, God's blueprint for mankind, but functions rather as a figment in the subject's imagination. Nature, in other words, helps human beings to *imagine* a world beyond this world, a different order of things, or a transition into a different dimension. It is exactly this function of nature that interests Goethe in *Faust Part II*. Goethe philology has shown that he based the landscape at the end of *Faust* on several sources, among them a description by Wilhelm von Humboldt of the mountain Montserrat near Barcelona, which was indeed populated by hermit monks.[75] Because of the clouds covering parts of the mountain slopes, it seemed as if these monks lived in a world beyond this world. Nature provides the imagery for another, better world and Goethe's text demonstrates how this functions. The mechanism to which I refer here

is particularly clear in the first words uttered by Pater profundus which are an elaborate description of nature: rocky gorges, streamlets, the stem of a tree in the air (vv. 11865–72). By starting his description with "As" [*Wie*], Goethe turns nature into a metaphor for "the omnipotent love / that shapes and cherishes all things" [*die allmächtige Liebe / Die alles bildet, alles hegt*] (vv. 11872–73).[76] However, nature is not always benevolent. The second strophe spoken by Pater profundus includes very different imagery: a wild waterfall and lightning [*Blitz*], breaking through a poisonous and damp atmosphere; they too are "messengers of love" [*Liebesboten*] (v. 11882). Idyllic nature gives way to the violence of nature.

The text that opens the second movement of Mahler's Eighth (after an instrumental interlude) is generally known as the Hermits' Scene. The monks Pater extaticus and Pater profundus seek loneliness to find the essence of life. Nature, loneliness, and love are closely intertwined in this first section; in nature and in loneliness, the real essence of love manifests itself. These themes hark back to Mahler's earlier compositions, for example, the existential loneliness of the hermit monks is a clear reference to the *Zarathustra* poem of the fourth movement of the Third Symphony.[77] The monks' description of spiritual love has a decidedly masochistic bent; love is perpetually intertwined with suffering (as it is for Albano, the protagonist of Jean Paul's *Titan*). I already have shown that for Pater extaticus love is associated not just with images of a peaceful nature, but also with nature's violence. Love's ambiguity manifests itself, possibly even more radically, in his description of his desire for God as an "Eternal fire of joy" [*Ewiger Wonnebrand*] and a "Seething pain of the chest" [*Siedender Schmerz der Brust*] (vv. 11854, 11856). Pater extaticus does not restrict himself to natural imagery; he not only calls for lightning, but also for arrows, lances, cudgels [*Pfeile, Lanzen, Keulen*] (vv.11858–60)—instruments of self-torture and flagellation—to enlighten him about the true essence of love. Despite this insight into the violent nature of love, both Pater extaticus and Pater profundus also articulate a desire for a more profound kind of love at the ends of their respective parts; in the words of Pater extaticus, "love's eternal core" [*Ewiger Liebe Kern*] (v. 11865)—a love beyond life's nothingness [*das Nichtige*] (v. 11862) that transcends the limitations of the senses (v. 11886). It is tempting to interpret these evocations of a more perfect form of love as indicative of an opposition between material love on the one hand and spiritual love on the other, but that is clearly not accurate. The monks' love in the here and now is already a form of spiritual love while nevertheless clearly bound to the material world. The true nature of love remains an enigma, even for these monks who have dedicated their lives to it.

In his adaptation, Mahler makes a few changes, the most significant of which can be found in the transition from the first to the second section where he omits the third hermit in Goethe's text. While Mahler kept the figures of Pater extaticus, representing the higher region, and Pater profundus, associated with the lower region, he left out Pater seraphicus, the figure representing the middle region. This is no coincidence. Mahler was interested in opposites, visible in the profound differences that exist between the higher and lower worlds, between body and soul. Furthermore, at the beginning of the second section, Mahler makes another significant change to Goethe's text. The passage in which the angels explain why Faust is saved (vv. 11934–41) is moved slightly ahead of, and set partially parallel with, the verses in which the Choir of Blessed Boys rejoices about Faust's redemption (vv. 11926–33). As a result of Mahler's change, more emphasis is given to the angels' verses. The rest of section two elaborates on the reasons for Faust's redemption and the obstacles standing in its way. The key words here are "He who always keeps on striving / Him we can redeem" [*Wer immer strebend sich bemüht / Den können wir erlösen*] (vv. 11936–37). It is important to emphasize, in line with my earlier analysis, that here religious imagery functions as a tool and is not to be confused with the message of the text. What is saved is modernity's normative project. Despite Faust's rejection of tradition as a source of norms and values, despite his skepticism and the profound materiality of his wishes and desires, he is no amoral human being. Despite his suffering, man keeps striving for something. Goethe's verses highlight the individual nature of these norms and values. What complicates Faust's redemption, according to Goethe's text, is that his eternal striving is a primary condition for his redemption, but not the only one. Only if "love . . . / From above" [*Liebe . . . / Von oben*] participates in Faust's earthly sufferings, will he receive a heavenly "welcome" [*Willkommen*] (vv. 11937–41). Here the central topic of section one returns. The exact link between Faust's striving and love, however, is only implied in this passage (and is not explained until the very last verses of the drama).

The segments that follow—the rest of section two—seek to connect the theme of redemption with its anthropological foundations, the view of mankind underlying Goethe's *Faust*. The Younger Angels reiterate love's crucial role for Faust's redemption, referring to an earlier episode in which they defeated Mephisto and his satanic aides by strewing roses (vv. 11966ff.). The image of the rose as representative of nature's beauty is of course familiar from Mahler's Second Symphony. Again, nature imagery is used to visualize redemption (see also the image of the dissolving of the clouds [v. 11970] and the advent of a

new Lent [v. 11976]). However, the More Perfect Angels are more pessimistic about Faust's redemption; his immortal remains are "not pure" [*nicht reinlich*] (v. 11957), they point out, and body and mind are inseparably joined (v. 11962). Even a superficial reader of the text will notice that this heaven is a place full of hierarchies in which a clear distinction is made among Blessed Boys, Younger Angels, and More Perfect Angels. Furthermore, Faust's journey is not over; the text refuses the idea of an endpoint. Faust comes to the Angels "in a chrysalis condition" [*im Puppenstand*] (v. 11982), like a caterpillar that still has to turn into a butterfly. (This is a point of some interest: the transformation of caterpillar into butterfly is one of Jean Paul's favorite metaphors.) Moreover, the text alludes further to the beginning of a process of transformation. Faust's immortal remains are nothing but an "Angelic pledge" [*Englisches Unterpfand*] (v. 11984), and life after death is very much like life before death—also a thought that one can find frequently in Jean Paul's work. There is no realm of eternal value; our striving alone constitutes value. Rather, heaven is a realm of learning and teaching, as a statement by the Choir of Blessed Boys—among them, we can assume, Faust's son—makes clear: "this man has learned [something]/ He will teach us" [*dieser hat gelernt / Er wird uns lehren*] (vv. 12082–83). Heaven is conceived as a realm of process where all mankind comes to be purified and where angels fulfill functions based on their merits—a conception of eternal life based on the works of the third-century theologian Origen, as recent Goethe scholarship has shown.[78] Goethe learned about Origen from Gottfried Arnold's book *Impartial History of Church and Heresy* [*Unparteyische Kirchen- und Ketzer-Historie*] published in two volumes in 1699 and 1700.[79] Origen's ideas were still considered heretical within the theological framework of Goethe's time. Within the existing hierarchies of heaven, Doctor marianus stands at the top (Doctor marianus is a honorary title given to someone who excels in devotion to Maria).[80] The words of Doctor marianus, concluding section two, provide a transition. On the one hand, he is the most devoted disciple of Maria and the living proof of spiritual love; on the other, he testifies to man's weakness (v. 12024) and his enslavement to erotic lust (vv. 12026–27).

The third section begins with the introduction of Maria, here called Mater gloriosa (v. 12032) and is dominated by female figures (Mater peccatrix, Mulier samaritana, Maria egyptiaca, Gretchen). This section is primarily a clarification of the role of love in Faust's redemption and refers to the beginning of section two and the angels' explanation for Faust's salvation (vv. 11934–41). In those verses, the reader

or audience member had learned not only that Faust was redeemed through his own striving, but also that love was part of Faust's redemption (v. 11937). This section further refers to the words of Pater extaticus of "Love's eternal core" [*Ewiger Liebe Kern*] (v. 11865). The exact nature of the love that saved Faust is now clarified. The introduction of Maria at this crucial part of Goethe's play might suggest Faust is saved by a purely spiritual love. It then would be easy to distinguish such spiritual and "good" love from corporal, worldly, or "bad" love. This is not, however, how Goethe wanted his readers to see it, which becomes particularly clear in the choice of characters who follow the appearance of Maria. The "blessed flock" [*die selige Schar*] (v. 11940) receiving Faust consists of some of the worst sinners of the Christian tradition, and their transgressions are sins of the flesh; they are prostitutes who have chosen to live a life of repentance. Goethe included in his text references to the biblical and apocryphal passages on which their words are based: the gospels of Luke (7:36) and John (4), and the Acta Sanctorum (a Latin collection of biographies of saints and martyrs). Gretchen, the Blessed Boys, Mater gloriosa, and Doctor marianus join these sinners in asking forgiveness for Faust.

The concluding eight verses of Goethe's drama, assigned to the Chorus mysticus, are among the most famous, and most debated, in German cultural history. It is clear that Mahler himself saw these verses as the key to Goethe's work (and his own symphony). While we know little about Mahler's ideas about the final scene in general, his thoughts about these final verses are well known from a letter he wrote to Alma in June 1909 from Toblach.[81] While Goethe's text can be read on different levels, for Mahler the verses are first and foremost about a mode of being in the world. The text caters to the metaphysical need of its readers, without giving in to the temptation to claim the existence of a world beyond this one. On a fundamental level, we are asked to accept that what we see around us is not all that is essential. Accordingly, Mahler begins his letter by relativizing the powers of the human mind: "the *rational* aspect of it . . . is almost always not the essential part" [*das* Rationale *daran . . . ist fast immer das nicht Wesentliche*].[82] This remark certainly refers to the first two lines of the Chorus mysticus, which states, "Everything transitory / Is but a simulation" [*Alles Vergängliche / Ist nur ein Gleichnis*] (vv. 12104–05).[83] Interestingly, *Faust*, as a text, mirrors this cognitive problem. Any understanding of the text can only be relative; in Mahler's words, "Truth is different for everybody—and different for everybody at a different time" [*Die Wahrheit ist für Jeden—und für Jeden zu verschiedenen Epochen—anders geartet*].

In a second reading of the text, Mahler attempts to sketch what we can know about that which defies knowledge, "what cannot be described" [*Das Unbeschreibliche*] (v. 12108). He emphasizes that any attempt to conceptualize it will be "imperfect," using Goethe's "unzulänglich" (v. 12106). The meaning of "unzulänglich" in Goethe's text is ambiguous, and it may very well have been this ambiguity that interested Mahler. In addition to "imperfect," the concept can also mean "something that cannot be grasped" in the literal sense, something that cannot be touched. For Goethe, the nature of this enigmatic entity is the "Eternal-Feminine" [*Das Ewig-Weibliche*] (v. 12110). Mahler characterizes this entity in his letter as "what is resting, the end point" [*das Ruhende, das Ziel*], the goal of man's striving. These final verses are extraordinarily important for an understanding of Goethe's *Faust*. Here the two elements essential for Faust's eventual redemption are finally brought together: his eternal striving and love (vv. 11936–41). Because man's striving is directed toward the Eternal-Feminine, man's will and love are joined together. Within our most material drives, and specifically at the core of our sexual desire, there is a need for something else, something abstract. There is a gendered agenda here that is deeply embedded in the thinking of Goethe's (as well as Mahler's) time. It is possible to argue that Goethe (and Mahler with him) makes a heterosexual model of love the core of his program. By doing so, Goethe naturalizes difference and assumes that culture is determined by biology. Man is the active instance, woman the passive and receiving one. Man is the subject, woman the object. Mahler seems to be aware of the gendered nature of this dynamic when he says that it only makes sense to speak of the Eternal-Feminine "in opposition to eternal desire, striving, moving toward this goal—in other words: to what is eternally masculine!" [*im Gegensatze zu dem ewigen Sehnen, Streben, sich Hinbewegen zu diesem Ziele—also dem Ewig Männlichen*]. This should not, however, detract from Goethe's radical move, and the emancipatory potential behind it: at the end of the drama, man is in essence reduced to a passive role, very unlike the male heroes of other exemplary "national" artworks. Read within the tradition of the search for a text with the potential to become the symbol of German nationhood, *Faust* is about accepting alterity, about accepting the limits of our own will. Our actions as human beings should be geared toward one another, and maybe women do a better job at this than men.

In addition to the two readings of Mahler's letter proposed thus far, my claim is that this letter allows for a *third*, less obvious reading of Goethe's text. It is possible to read Mahler's deliberations on the final verses of *Faust Part II* as the core of an aesthetic program. When Mahler

compares Goethe's *Faust* to Beethoven's symphonies as examples of the partiality of the understanding of great works of art, he establishes a philosophical–aesthetic context for the Eighth. In alluding to Beethoven, Mahler also refers to a letter written to Alma a few days earlier, in which he explains his understanding of "entelechy," an idea that has played an important role in interpretations of the final scene of *Faust Part II*. In an earlier version of the text, Goethe had introduced the crucial verses about Faust's redemption (vv. 11934–41) with the remark that the angels bring about "Faustens Entelechie."[84] Mahler refers to the principle of entelechy in both letters to Alma.[85] In the earlier letter, he clarifies it as a self-conscious productive force that challenges man's ethical essence. The works of a genius—Mahler mentions the *Meistersinger*, Beethoven's Ninth, and *Faust*—are only of secondary importance in comparison to what is at their root: "incessant and truly painful striving" [*dieses unaufhörliche und wahrhaft schmerzvolle Streben*].[86] This may at least partially explain why Mahler, in the second letter to Alma, states that any understanding of these works is necessarily limited. By associating art with self-reflection and with a challenge to man's ethical essence, art is given, on the one hand, a task that in previous times had been reserved for religion, or possibly philosophy. On the other hand, we can never fully understand what a work of art wants to communicate. In spite of his high ambitions for art, it would be missing the point to assume that Mahler intended to propagate a program that makes art into a form of religion, as some critics have suggested.[87] In the end, art is not the center of Mahler's philosophical program. Rather, art can serve to help our understanding of the realities surrounding us. Goethe's *Faust* propagates a view of reality that is aesthetic in nature. If we view reality as a simulation of something else, then this view has an inherent aesthetic dimension. Art may be a privileged medium that makes this principle clear, but it should not become the object of a (semi-)religious adoration itself. What Mahler advocates is a dialogue between all manifestations of this aesthetic consciousness. This would explain the remarkable freedom with which he uses philosophy, literature, and the visual arts as resources to illustrate the meaning of his music.

It is generally assumed that Mahler's understanding of the final scene of *Faust Part II* was influenced by Siegfried Lipiner's 1894 dissertation on Goethe's *Faust* and by conversations between the two friends. Unfortunately, Lipiner's thesis, entitled "Homunculus: A Study on Faust and Goethe's Philosophy" [*Homunkulus. Eine Studie über Faust und die Philosophie Goethes*], has been lost.[88] However, it is possible to gain some insight into Lipiner's ideas about Goethe's text based on another

dissertation, Siegfried Lipiner's *World of Thoughts and Ideas* [*Die Gedanken-und Ideenwelt Siegfried Lipiners*], defended in 1936 in Vienna by a student named Ida Schein, who had access to Lipiner's unpublished writings, including *Homunkulus*. Schein does not give a comprehensive overview of the central argument of Lipiner's thesis, but she refers to and quotes from it a number of times. For our interpretation of the final scene of *Faust Part II*, the passage in which she discusses Lipiner's dissertation in the context of Schopenhauer's critique of metaphysics—more specifically, Schopenhauer's view that we have access only to representations of reality, not reality itself, and that our access to the world beyond representation is provided by the human will—is particularly relevant.[89] Goethe seems to have understood our will as being directed toward knowledge that does not consist of multiple ideas but of "*one* idea" [eine *Idee*].[90] This central idea is closely connected to our will and represents a form of knowledge. Yet its exact nature cannot be defined in a positive sense and, according to Lipiner, remains an enigma. Nevertheless, it would be wrong to assume that our will has no direction at all. By giving in to our will to gain knowledge of this central idea, we distance ourselves from our individual will and from our material needs and surrender instead to a more general will.[91] Interestingly, in order to clarify this concept of the will, Lipiner referred to the Dutch–Jewish philosopher Spinoza and his theory of substance.[92]

On the basis of Schein's thesis, one can conclude that Spinoza's work provided Lipiner with one of his dissertation's key arguments. For Lipiner, Goethe's *Faust* was about the philosophical conflict between a materialistic and an idealistic view of the world. The title of Lipiner's thesis, "Homunculus," refers to the attempt of Faust's assistant Wagner to create a life form, a homunculus, from inorganic matter alone[93]—an attempt that fails miserably. According to Lipiner, the recognition that our soul is a continuous element, while our body changes all the time, leads us to reject the "myth" of Homunculus.[94] That does not mean, however, that Lipiner was an idealist and believed in the supremacy of mind over body. After Nietzsche's rigorous debunking of such idealism, that would have been naïve. Much earlier, Spinoza had already offered a way out of this dilemma by presenting his theory of substance,[95] which had acknowledged humans' dependence on the body and on matter while simultaneously claiming that body and mind function as an indivisible unity. In contrast to Schein, who saw Lipiner as an unabashed idealist and who is herself quite critical of the Spinoza analogy—without a doubt because it conflicted with her image of Lipiner as a deeply religious person in the traditional Protestant sense—I believe that it was this thinking of mind and body together, as an alternative to materialism

or idealism, that attracted Lipiner. The second set of references to Spinoza in Schein's dissertation[96] follows a rather vague paragraph in which she discusses Lipiner's view of the principle of entelechy in Goethe's *Faust*. The concept of entelechy is usually associated with Aristotle or Gottfried Leibniz, but it also makes sense in a discussion of Spinoza's theory of substance, since he too assumed the existence of a basic drive or tendency in all living beings (conatus).[97] Our affects are the most substantial manifestation of this basic drive, which is constitutive for human nature.[98]

Even though the final scene of *Faust* is not mentioned directly in any of the passages of Lipiner's thesis Schein discusses, and even though his mention of the concept of entelechy is only an indirect reference to the final scene of *Faust Part II*, this scene is clearly on Lipiner's mind in the statements analyzed above. How do Lipiner's references to Spinoza help us understand Mahler's interpretation of this scene? Spinoza's philosophy enables a synthesis of a number of key thoughts articulated in the final scene of *Faust Part II*. It allows us to make a connection between otherwise heterogeneous elements in Goethe's text. One of Spinoza's major contributions to the history of Western philosophy is the idea that man's dependence on body and matter is, in the end, not a negative thing.[99] Spinoza does not see a real opposition between what the body and what the mind wants.[100] This is an insight of crucial importance also in Goethe's *Faust*. The idea that man's behavior is driven by a will underlying his actions, and that his affects are indicative of this basic drive, is another key element of Spinoza's thinking found in Goethe's work. The end of *Faust Part II* is a powerful articulation of the connection between emotional life and our purpose in the world. However, though our affects (according to Spinoza) are indicative of the road we need to take, we do not know our goal in life;[101] a thought reflected in Goethe's admission that any knowledge of our driving force can only be incomplete and imperfect.

Both Lipiner and Mahler speak of the principle of entelechy that leads our actions and also guarantees some form of an existence of our essence after death.[102] The term is associated with the idea that organisms develop in a specific direction, toward a specific goal.[103] Though Spinoza believed in a dynamic principle steering man's actions, he thought it was impossible for us to know the goal toward which this striving is directed.[104] To interpret the notion of entelechy in the framework of Spinoza's philosophy makes *Faust* a much more radical text than an Aristotelian or a Leibnizian interpretation of the same notion would. An interpretation of the term, according to Spinoza's principles, emphasizes the openness of man's development. In this context, it is important

that for both Mahler and Lipiner the role of art is closely connected to man's dynamic nature, the will underlying his actions. For Lipiner, a work of art is an expression of man's will to gain knowledge of the idea.[105] Mahler states something very similar in his letters to Alma, as I have shown.

There are some other structural reasons why knowledge of Spinoza is important for an understanding of Goethe's *Faust*. Spinoza, like the literary figure Faust, is an icon for the transition from a medieval to a modern view of the world. In fact, some recent research sees Spinoza as a very early and exemplary representative of modernity, the instigator of a radical form of Enlightenment.[106] Spinoza's desire to reconcile man's metaphysical needs with a profoundly modern view of man must have been appealing to Lipiner and Mahler.

While Spinoza acknowledged the impact of tradition and man's need to be part of a community, his philosophy relativized traditions by pointing to their historical nature[107] while maintaining a certain universalism. Lipiner's deliberations on Spinoza's insights about the individual versus the collective help us understand a key insight in Goethe's text. Though humans individually need to make sense of their lives, they are part of a larger collective. The idea that man needs to overcome his own will in order to participate in a more general will is to be understood as an attempt to think of alterity and identity as related. Humans from different parts of the world may be different and represent different values, but, in the end, they all participate in one project; in Spinoza's terminology our "striving" is simultaneously individual and "ontologically universal."[108]

Lipiner's view of Spinoza is crucial for the understanding of Goethe's *Faust* drama in the context of the nineteenth-century Jewish affinity for Goethe. The thought that a Jewish philosopher stood at the beginning of modernity must have been intriguing to men such as Mahler and Lipiner. The insight in the Spinoza–Goethe nexus therefore constitutes a powerful defense of German–Jewish culture—a component of German culture that had come increasingly under attack in Vienna around 1900. Reading the final verses of *Faust Part II* with Spinoza in mind allows for a profoundly modern understanding of Goethe's program, despite the abundant religious imagery in these verses. Such an interpretation of these verses also shows Goethe's interest in diversity, his urge to accept cultural differences *while simultaneously* acknowledging the tendency of human nature to set priorities. Spinoza also showed that awareness of one's Jewish cultural background could be reconciled with underwriting the basic assumptions of modernity. At a time in which the discourse on the identity of German culture became

increasingly nationalistic and xenophobic—a trend that also involved Goethe's legacy in German cultural history—Lipiner and Mahler argued for a very different image of Goethe.

At first glance, the pairing of the final scene of *Faust*'s second part and the medieval hymn "Veni Spiritus Creator" in Mahler's Eighth Symphony seems illogical. It seems less so if one knows that Goethe translated the hymn and was very fond of it. The two texts show very different sides of Goethe. *Faust Part II* is a profoundly modern text, full of doubt and offering no easy answers. "Veni Creator Spiritus" expresses the confidence of a naive religious faith—a pre-dogmatic faith in the existence of God without the backing of religious doctrine—and it also expresses the belief that every human being deserves divine mercy.[109] It is in fact tempting to see the "Veni Creator Spiritus" and *Faust Part II* as the beginning and the end of the German cultural tradition. Around 1900, *Faust Part II* was, in form and content, still one of the most progressive works in German. Even though written in Latin, the "Veni Creator Spiritus" hymn is one of the first surviving documents from the German-speaking area. In Mahler's time, it was attributed to Hrabanus Maurus (ca. 780–856); today this attribution is in doubt although the text originated in Maurus's immediate environment around 800. Maurus, the archbishop of Mainz, is commonly known as Praeceptor Germaniae (teacher of Germany). At a time when Charlemagne's empire was split in three and the territory of present-day Germany gained independence for the first time, Maurus was a figure who contributed to shaping an independent German cultural identity.[110]

How did Mahler know about the hymn? One probable source is Goethe's correspondence with Carl Friedrich Zelter (1758–1832), a composer nowadays known mostly as Goethe's friend and as the teacher of Mendelssohn and Meyerbeer. A first edition of this correspondence was published in 1833 and 1834, shortly after the deaths of Goethe and Zelter in 1832. A second complete edition, with a commentary by Ludwig Geiger, was published by Reclam between 1902 and 1904.[111] Mahler most likely knew of this correspondence, and Zelter's background in music would have interested him. Natalie Bauer-Lechner, one of Mahler's closest intellectual partners, with whom he discussed his literary interests in detail, mentions the correspondence in her *Fragmente*.[112] Goethe added his translation of the hymn to a letter to Zelter, asking him to set the text to music, as he had done with other poems by Goethe, "so that it may be sung by a choir every Sunday in front of my house" [*damit solche jeden Sonntags vor meinem Hause chormäßig möge gesungen werden*].[113] It is interesting that Mahler again picks up on a musical project of Goethe's that did not materialize. There

is, however, a third and more complex reason why this hymn was attractive to Mahler. The literary scholar Mathias Mayer pointed out that Goethe had discussed the hymn with Zelter in the context of his plans to write a continuation to the *West-Eastern Divan* [*West-östlicher Divan*], a collection of poems published in 1819, one year before he requested a musical adaptation of the hymn from Zelter.[114] The poems of the *West-östlicher Divan* are based on poems of the medieval Persian poet Hafiz (ca. 1326–90), which Goethe knew in translations by the Austrian orientalist Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall published in 1812–13. Goethe was not interested in a more or less adequate translation of the Persian poems, but rather in a renewal of his own poetic production. Goethe's view of the East is full of Orientalist clichés. What appealed to him was not only Hafiz's focus on the here and now, on earthly love and the wisdom of the body, the role of nature, his light rather than dark view of life, but also the poetry's tendency toward mysticism and the religious imagery accompanying it. The materials that Goethe used in his poems in the *West-östlicher Divan* were not all of Eastern origin. Rather, Hafiz's work offered him a new way of looking at Western tradition and a chance to find a new vocabulary for his own philosophy of life. Hafiz clearly appealed to a cosmopolitan trend within Goethe's thinking. The poems of the *West-östlicher Divan* are the product of an imagined dialogue between East and West, but they also tend toward cultural relativism.

What in the text of "Veni spiritus creator" points to the hymn's relevance for the poems of the *West-östlicher Divan*? I would argue that it is the hymn's revalidation of the body and of the senses that makes it a model for a reconciliation of Eastern and Western religious thought. In particular, the verses "Illuminate our senses, / pour love into our hearts" (Accende lumen sensibus, / Infunde amorem cordibus) express this orientation toward the body as a site of mankind's redemption. Like the introductory stanza, these lines are exclamations; they call for something, demand something, and yet they simultaneously also express doubt by emphasizing that something is being sought. One can understand them as a call for love, but also as asking for the activation of an aesthetic sensibility that will change the subject's relation to the world fundamentally. The music of the Eighth Symphony accents the importance of these lines. Donald Mitchell writes of the "great aspiring cry of 'Accende lumen sensibus' that twice erupts in the [first] movement's central section" and points out that the Accende theme returns repeatedly in the second movement of the symphony.[115]

The focus on the body as something positive, as the site of love, but also as the location of an aesthetic sensibility toward the world, is a first continuity between the hymn and the final scene of *Faust Part II*,

the first and second movements of Mahler's symphony. There are two further points of agreement. Both works evoke a concept of redemption that includes all of mankind, as if there were a contract between God and his people.[116] At least two passages point to this. At the beginning of the hymn, the author speaks of "the hearts of those you created" [*quae tu creasti pectoral*], that is, of *all* those created by God, all living beings. Toward the end, the hymn evokes a vision of world peace: "Untie the chains of discord, / Fasten the bonds of peace" (Dissolve litis vincula, / Adstringe pacis foedera). The third continuity consists of the central place reserved for the aesthetic act. The first line of the hymn, "Come, creator spirit" [*Veni, creator spiritus*], is highly ambiguous on a fundamental level. Who is the "creator spirit"? Is it God, creator of the world, or is it the source of the artist's creative powers? It is exactly this ambiguity that attracted Goethe and, I would argue, Mahler. Goethe left us an intriguing aphorism about the text: "The enchanting church song 'Veni creator spiritus' is actually a call to Genius; for that reason it speaks forcefully to spirited and strong humans" [*Der herrliche Kirchengesang: Veni creator Spiritus ist ganz eigentlich ein Appell ans Genie; deswegen er auch geist- und kraftreiche Menschen gewaltig anspricht.*].[117] Goethe does not doubt that the "creator spirit" refers to his own aesthetic brilliance and not the figure of a conventional deity. The idea that aesthetic genius had taken the place of conventional religion certainly also appealed to fin-de-siècle Vienna with its adoration of the artist–hero as represented by the knight in Klimt's Beethoven frieze.

While I initially assumed many discontinuities between the texts of the first and second movements of the Eighth Symphony, a closer look revealed many continuities. The end of the second part of Goethe's drama *postulates* the possibility of a global community characterized both by difference and sameness, the medieval hymn at the beginning of the Eighth *demonstrates* the existence of a tradition within Christianity—one could say, particularly in view of the popularity of the hymn in Pentecostal celebrations at the core of Christianity—that centers on the body and is close to Oriental wisdom. Viewed from this perspective, the end of *Faust Part II* may not be as heretical as much of the nineteenth century thought. Mahler's primary interest though, I would argue, is not a renewal of the Christian tradition but a counter-reading of the German cultural tradition that emphasizes those moments within its history that showed openness toward other traditions. In its first and second movement, Mahler's symphony seeks to articulate a truly transcultural model, one that aims at a notion of community that is global and inclusive, not exclusive and national. "Veni creator spiritus" and the final scene of *Faust Part II* illustrate, in different ways, Spinoza's

insight that it is in the body, in the affects, and in human emotion that difference and sameness can be found. The above reference to the *West-östlicher Divan* is relevant also because continuity is established between the Eighth Symphony and Mahler's next major musical project, the *Song of the Earth* [*Das Lied von der Erde*], which incorporates "oriental" elements in a manner not unlike Goethe's approach in his *West-östlicher Divan*.

Even though the Eighth Symphony is one of Mahler's more accessible works—or precisely because of this—the work has remained controversial. In his monograph on Mahler, Adorno describes it as a "failed, objectively impossible resuscitation of the cultic" [*mißglückte, objektiv unmögliche Wiederbelebung des Kultischen*].[118] After Nietzsche's criticism of metaphysics, it is impossible to revive the metaphysical tradition, to act as if Nietzsche's criticism did not exist (unless, one could add, one wants to follow Wagner). While, according to Adorno, Mahler's Eighth suggests a traditional metaphysical frame, it actually refers only to itself: "In reality it worships itself" [*In Wahrheit betet es sich selbst an*]. In other words, Mahler has substituted an (empty) aesthetic act for traditional metaphysics, making the mistake to think that the aesthetic act, the act of invention lauded at the beginning of the symphony's first movement, can be a satisfactory substitute for a traditional model of metaphysics.

But if one follows the proposed reading of Goethe's text, a very different picture emerges. The aesthetic act is not seen as a (semi-) divine intervention, but as a search for knowledge that is a priori imperfect and incomplete. Tying the aesthetic act to a theory of affect makes it clear that this aesthetic act is not privileged. The implied search for knowledge is rather an expression of a general anthropological drive, of something that characterizes the actions of every human being. One therefore cannot speak of a community that finds unification under one ideology. In contrast to Adorno's claim, Mahler's Eighth does not seek to establish a collective "under the sway of a false consciousness" [*im Bann eines falschen Bewußtseins*]. As our analysis has shown, Mahler, in his (re)vision of Goethe's text, accepts the arbitrary and subjective nature of any attempt to make sense of life, while simultaneously acknowledging that mankind is driven by material needs and without a uniform metaphysical framework. In other words, the conceptual structure underlying the Eighth accepts the limits of metaphysics while all the while attempting to incorporate Nietzsche's anthropological basis for that criticism by giving prevalence to the body over the mind. The proof of mankind's desire for knowledge and meaning is for Spinoza, Goethe, Lipiner, and Mahler precisely in that materiality of the body and its desires.

Repeatedly one finds the suggestion in Adorno that it is the canonical status of *Faust* alone, its status as an icon in German cultural history, that interested Mahler, and not its content. For Adorno, *Faust* functions solely as a "cultural commodity" [*Bildungsgut*]. Thus the affirmative nature of the Eighth Symphony is for Adorno nothing but an act of regression. It is true that Mahler was attracted to Goethe because of his status as a cultural icon within German culture, but contrary to Adorno I would argue that Mahler was also interested in the specifics of *Faust*. A literary reading of Mahler's symphony proves that the Eighth is not just about creating community, but also about fostering individuality within this community and about acknowledging the difference among individuals. The symphony seeks to communicate an inclusive and tolerant notion of community, rather than the kind of exclusive and intolerant concept of community that the German nationalists among Mahler's contemporaries had in mind. The affirmative contains an element of negation, of difference. Spinoza's theory of affects makes it possible to conceptualize a notion of alterity while simultaneously acknowledging that there is an anthropologically uniform basis for this notion of alterity. In other words, human beings are different but also the same. In the end, the artist's desire and his search for knowledge or meaning are but one expression of the desire of mankind as a whole.

To some extent, Mahler's literary interests and the texts he selected for his compositions mirrored the preferences of his time. But he was no mere passive transmitter of what was fashionable at the time. The reconstruction of the literary and cultural contexts of the Eighth Symphony shows Mahler's assertiveness in creating his own space within German cultural history. The image of Mahler that emerges is that of someone who quite consciously made unconventional, but also very interesting choices among available texts and traditions. He was aware of the trend toward nationalism within the culture, and in certain ways he also adopted its vocabulary; yet within his work he steers his audiences in a very different direction. Around 1900, the names Goethe and Nietzsche stood for a reading of German culture at once diverse and inclusive (in the sense that diversity is considered a fundamental trait of German culture)—an ideal that was very much at odds with the attempts of some of Mahler's contemporaries to use German culture for nationalist purposes. Mahler was not naïve in his ideas and cultural preferences; he was aware of the political connotations of the culture of his time and very actively sought to reform his contemporaries' understanding of precisely what constituted German culture. In his symphonies and song cycles, Mahler quite consciously attempted to rewrite German cultural history by choosing the modern over the traditional, the eclectic

over the monolithic, and the cosmopolitan over the nationalistic. The final scenes of *Faust Part II* articulate, as I hope to have shown, an interest in diversity combined with a profound sense of modernity.

Much has been written about the German–Jewish symbiosis in Austrian culture around 1900 in general, and in the work of authors and intellectuals of Mahler's generation (Freud, Schnitzler, Kafka, to name a few) in particular.[119] It is important, however, to distinguish between these intellectuals' participation in German and Austrian culture and their often-assumed desire to assimilate into that culture. Without a doubt, they identified, each in their own way, with German culture, but it would be wrong to assume on the basis of such an identification a passive attitude toward German culture or a naiveté toward its underlying political agenda. Arthur Schnitzler, an admirer of Mahler's music, was remarkably outspoken about the problematic status of Jews in Austrian society in his texts published around the time of the first performance of the Eighth Symphony (including *Der Weg ins Freie* [1908] and *Professor Bernhardi* [1912]). Mahler's contemporaries Freud and Kafka later in life became increasingly interested in their Jewish cultural roots. Does something similar also hold true for Mahler? Mahler knew quite well what it meant to be labeled a Jew, and he responded to this issue in some of his later works. In the case of the Eighth, Mahler's choices are reflective of his desire to produce a work of art for the masses that was inclusive of and representative of the cultural diversity of Germany and Austria. It is certainly possible to read *Das Lied von der Erde* as motivated by a desire to reflect on the diversity and similarities among cultures, but so can the Eighth Symphony. Mahler's Jewishness matters not only for an understanding of why he composed the music he did, but also for an adequate comprehension of that music. Mahler was not a composer who passively transmitted what others did before him, as has long been the stereotype, but rather someone whose engagement with tradition was deliberate and autonomous.

This analysis can also help us understand the complex and problematic relationship between Mahler and Wagner, and in particular how Mahler responded to the cultural and aesthetic program Wagner formulated in his writings. There is no doubt that Mahler admired Wagner's operas and his work as a conductor, and he contributed much to the Wagner cult in Vienna around 1900. But the conservatism, nationalism, and anti-Semitism expressed in Wagner's later writings are an entirely different matter. In the vast literature about Mahler, surprisingly little has been said about his relationship to Wagner's cultural–political writings. While Mahler as a conductor promoted Wagner's operas, as a composer he chose a very different route. While Mahler rarely addressed

Wagner's anti-Semitism, his cultural choices were decidedly different. To know that Goethe considered Meyerbeer a suitable candidate to write the music for "his" *Faust* is highly interesting in view of the fact that, for Wagner, this composer personified all that was wrong with German culture.[120] But Spinoza, Goethe, and Nietzsche also stand for a trajectory of German cultural history that is very different from Wagner's. What Mahler envisioned in his works was more modern, more diverse, and much more inclusive than anything Wagner had in mind. Only by reading Mahler's compositions in the context of German literary and cultural history is it possible to identify a polemical aspect at the root of his work that has often been ignored, but nevertheless is very clearly there. The desire to read tradition differently, and the critical impetus accompanying that desire, may be among the most appealing aspects of Mahler's oeuvre and may explain, at least in part, its allure today.

Notes

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1. Richard Specht, *Gustav Mahlers VIII. Symphonie: Thematische Analyse* (Leipzig: Universal-Edition, 1912), 6; see also Specht, *Gustav Mahler*, 5–8th eds. (Berlin: Schuster & Loeffler, [1918]), 252.

2. See William J. McGrath, *Dionysian Art and Populist Politics in Austria* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1974), 2–5. Within the Pernerstorfer Circle, some members were more interested in aesthetics and others more in politics (87–99; see also 246). In other words, membership in the Circle did not necessarily mean a whole-hearted subscription to a nationalistic and conservative political philosophy, even though this was an important part of the group's identity.

3. For a chronological reconstruction of Mahler's work on the Eighth Symphony, see Constantin Floros, *Gustav Mahler: The Symphonies* (Cambridge, UK: Amadeus, 2000), 214–16.

4. Engelbert Pernerstorfer and Victor Adler, for instance, became prominent leaders of the Social-Democratic Party (see McGrath, *Dionysian Art*, chaps. 7 and 8 [182–237]). Georg von Schönerer, in contrast, became a leader of the conservative, nationalist, and increasingly anti-Semitic pan-Germanic movement (McGrath, *Dionysian Art*, 165, 166). There are indications that Mahler and Adler later in life felt affinity for each others' goals (McGrath, *Dionysian Art*, 243–45).

5. Such a preference for German over Austrian culture is quite typical in Vienna's educated, cosmopolitan Jewish families, as Steven Beller has shown in *Vienna and the Jews 1867–1938: A Cultural History* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 144.

6. See, for instance, Esteban Buch's recent reconstruction of this tradition in *Beethoven's Ninth: A Political History* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2003).

7. An example of an excellent musicological reading of the Eighth that also includes detailed attention to the symphony's texts is Donald Mitchell's *Gustav Mahler: Songs and Symphonies of Life and Death* (Woodbridge, UK: The Boydell Press, 2002), 503–614. For the cultural impact of the Eighth in its reception after Mahler's death, see, among others, Karen Painter, "The Aesthetics of Mass Culture: Mahler's Eighth Symphony and Its Legacy," in *Mahler and his World*, ed. Karen Painter (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002), 127–56. For the controversial (critical) role of Mahler's work in its Austrian reception after his death, see the detailed study by Gerhard Scheit and Wilhelm Svoboda, *Feindbild Gustav Mahler: Zur antisemitischen Abwehr der Moderne in Österreich* (Vienna: Sonderzahl, 2002).

8. Wolfgang Menzel, *Die deutsche Literatur*, vol. 2. (Stuttgart: Franckh, 1828), 209, 214, 215, 216. For a detailed discussion of Menzel's text and its impact on nineteenth-century thinking, see Jeffrey L. Sammons, "Schiller vs. Goethe: Revisiting the Conflicting Reception Vectors of Heinrich Heine, Ludwig Börne, and Wolfgang Menzel," *Goethe Yearbook* 13 (2005): 1–17.

9. See Menzel, *Die deutsche Literatur*, 2:217–19.

10. Menzel, *Die deutsche Literatur*, 2:228.

11. See, for instance, Menzel, *Die deutsche Literatur*, 2: 206, 208, 217, 219. See also Sammons, "Schiller vs. Goethe," 3.

12. Menzel, *Die deutsche Literatur*, 2:121.

13. Menzel, *Die deutsche Literatur*, 2:130.

14. Menzel, *Die deutsche Literatur*, 2:132.

15. Karl Robert Mandelkow, *Goethe in Deutschland: Rezeptionsgeschichte eines Klassikers*, vol. 1: *1773–1918* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1980), 134.

16. Mandelkow, *Goethe in Deutschland*, 1:135.

17. Among those who preferred Goethe to Schiller were Börne and Heine. As Sammons has shown, Heine was one of the first intellectuals to problematize his contemporaries' preference for Schiller over Goethe. See "Schiller vs. Goethe," 6, 7, 9.

18. See Hans Joachim Kreutzer, *Faust: Mythos und Musik* (Munich: Beck, 2003) for an overview of all musical adaptations based on *Faust*.

19. See Hans Schwerte [=Hans Schneider], *Faust und das Faustische: Ein Kapitel deutscher Ideologie* (Stuttgart: Ernst Klett, 1962), 119; chap. 5 (94–147).

20. Schwerte, *Faust und das Faustische*, 161, 162; Mandelkow, *Goethe in Deutschland* 1:229, 253.

21. The following summary of a nationalistic interpretation of *Faust* is based on texts by the famous and influential literary scholar Heinrich Düntzer and by August Spieß. See Schwerte, *Faust und das Faustische*, 76, 105.

22. Schwerte, *Faust und das Faustische*, 167.

23. Schwerte, *Faust und das Faustische*, 103; Mandelkow, *Goethe in Deutschland*, 1:245.

24. Mandelkow, *Goethe in Deutschland* 1:245.

25. For more information on Gustav von Loeper's biography and his Goethe editions, see Schwerte, *Faust und das Faustische*, 149.

26. The following is based on Gustav von Loeper's "Vorbemerkung des Herausgebers" in Goethe, *Faust: Eine Tragödie*, ed. Gustav von Loeper (Berlin: Gustav Hempel, 1870), xxx. See also Schwerte, *Faust und das Faustische*, 150, 151.

27. Loeper, "Vorbemerkung," xxxi.

28. See, for instance, Schwerte, *Faust und das Faustische*, 117, 191, 193, 196.

29. See Heinrich Heine, *Die romantische Schule*, vol. 3, *Sämtliche Schriften*, ed. Klaus Briegleb (Munich: DTV, 2005), 400–02. See also Schwerte, *Faust und das Faustische*, 54, 55; and Mandelkow, *Goethe in Deutschland* 1:242. Heine's ambivalent attitude towards Goethe is discussed in Wilfried Barner, *Von Rahel Varnhagen bis Friedrich Gundolf: Juden als deutsche Goethe-Verehrer* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 1992), 14, 16.

30. Heine, *Die romantische Schule*, 402.

31. Friedrich Nietzsche, *Nachgelassene Fragmente 1887–1889*, vol. 13, *Sämtliche Werke: Kritische Studienausgabe*, ed. Giorgio Colli and Mazzino Montinari (Munich: DTV de Gruyter, 1999), 411.

32. Richard Wagner, "Beethoven," in *Dichtungen und Schriften Jubiläumsausgabe in zehn Bänden*, ed. Dieter Borchmeyer (Frankfurt am Main: Insel, 1983), 42, 43. The idea that Goethe, in contrast to Schiller, was unsuccessful as a dramatist, particularly with respect to *Faust*, can also be found in the work of Hans Pfitzner: "Der zweite Teil Faust ist ganz und gar Lesedrama," in *Werk und Wiedergabe*, vol. 3, *Gesammelte Schriften*, (Augsburg: Dr. Benno Filser Verlag, 1929), 118, 115–19.

33. Friedrich Nietzsche, *Der Fall Wagner: Ein Musikanten-Problem*, in *Kritische Studienausgabe*, vol. 6 (Munich: DTV de Gruyter, 1999), 18.

34. Nietzsche, *Der Fall Wagner*, 18.

35. See Barner, *Von Rahel Varnhagen*, 12; see also Barbara Hahn, "Demarcations and Projections: Goethe in the Berlin Salons," in *Goethe in German-Jewish Culture*, ed. Klaus L. Berghahn and Jost Hermand (Columbia, SC: Camden House, 2001), 31–43.

36. See Nietzsche, *Nachgelassene Fragmente 1884–1885*, in *Sämtliche Werke*, 11:472; Nietzsche, *Nachgelassene Fragmente 1885–1887*, in *Sämtliche Werke* 12:90.

37. See Barner, *Von Rahel Varnhagen*, 30ff. Among those who viewed Goethe as a "Jewish" author was Albert Bielschowsky whose Goethe biography Mahler knew (33).

38. George L. Mosse, *German Jews Beyond Judaism* (Cincinnati, OH: Hebrew Union College Press, 1997), 44.

39. For a critical discussion of the place of Goethe in German–Jewish culture, see Erhard Bahr, "Goethe and the Concept of Bildung in Jewish Emancipation," in *Goethe in German-Jewish Culture*, 16–28; in the same volume, Klaus L. Berghahn discusses Goethe's very ambivalent views of Jews in "Patterns of Childhood: Goethe and the Jews," 34–15.

40. Alma Mahler, *Gustav Mahler. Erinnerungen und Briefe* (Amsterdam: Allert de Lange, 1940), 37.

41. See Sander Gilman, *Jewish Self-Hatred: Anti-Semitism and the Hidden Language of the Jews* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990), 139.

42. Nietzsche, *Götzen-Dämmerung*, in *Sämtliche Werke* 6:151; Nietzsche, *Nachgelassene Fragmente 1884–1885*, 688, 689.

43. Nietzsche, *Der Fall Wagner*, 19.

44. For a description of the façade in the context of the architectural history of the Burgtheater, see Josef Bayer, *Das neue K.K. Hofburgtheater als Bauwerk mit seinen Sculpturen und Bilderschmuck* (Vienna: Gesellschaft für vervielfältigende Kunst, 1894), 69.

45. Such a monumental privileging of Goethe over Schiller in the nineteenth century is not uncommon. Rietschel's Goethe–Schiller monument in Weimar from 1859, for instance, shows Goethe as slightly taller than Schiller, something that in real life was most likely not the case (see Sammons, "Schiller vs. Goethe," 1).

46. Detailed factual information on the history of these monuments can be found in Gerhardt Kapner, *Die Denkmäler der Wiener Ringstrasse* (Vienna: Jugend & Volk, 1969), 29–37, and on the following website: http://www.suf.at/wien/ringstr_uebers.htm

47. Kapner, *Die Denkmäler der Wiener Ringstrasse*, 36.

48. Kapner, *Die Denkmäler der Wiener Ringstrasse*, 31.

49. Kapner, *Die Denkmäler der Wiener Ringstrasse*, 33.

50. Kapner, *Die Denkmäler der Wiener Ringstrasse*, 36.

51. See *Neue Freie Presse*, 27 Aug. 1899, no. 12576; in the following I refer to pages 1 and 2. See also Beller's analysis of this material in *Vienna and the Jews*, 152, 153.

52. In the issue of 28 Aug. 1899, no. 12577, however, a detailed report on the Goethe celebration in the Hofoper can be found for which Mahler performed Beethoven's *Egmont* overture and Mozart's *Zauberflöte*: "Das Haus war nur mäßig gut besucht. Diejenigen aber, die gekommen waren, hatten einen großen, ungetrübten Genuß" (2).

53. See Marian Bisanz-Prakken, *Gustav Klimt: Der Beethovenfries. Geschichte, Funktion und Bedeutung* (Munich: DTV, 1980), 26. Alfred Roller would later collaborate with Mahler on his Wagner stagings at Vienna's Court Opera.

54. The exhibition catalogue contained a detailed description of the frieze and the artist's intention; the text is reprinted in Bisanz-Prakken, *Gustav Klimt*, 47, 48.

55. A leading motive behind the establishment of the Secession was its desire to open up Vienna for art from outside of Austria and to participate fully in European modernism. See Peter Vergo, *Art in Vienna 1898–1918. Klimt, Kokoschka, Schiele and their Contemporaries* (London: Phaidon, 2001), 23, 26.

56. See Bisanz-Prakken, *Gustav Klimt*, 49–51. Klimt used Richard Wagner's explanatory notes on the Ninth in his "Bericht über die Aufführung der neunten Symphonie von Beethoven im Jahre 1846 in Dresden," in *Dichtungen und Schriften: Jubiläumsausgabe in zehn Bänden*, vol. 9, ed. Dieter Borchmeyer (Frankfurt am Main: Insel, 1983), 12–28.

57. Wagner, "Beethoven," 103, in *Dichtungen und Schriften*, 9:38–110; see also Bisanz-Prakken, *Gustav Klimt*, 49.

58. See Wagner, *Beethoven*, 42, 43.

59. See also Klimt's painting *Nuda Veritas* from 1899 that also quotes Schiller: "If you cannot please all through your deeds and work of art—do justice to a few. To please many is bad. Schiller" [*Kannst du nicht allen gefallen durch deine That und dein Kunstwerk—mach es wenigen recht. Vielen gefallen ist schlimm. Schiller*]. Friedrich Schiller, *Votivtafeln*, in *Werke und Briefe*, vol. 1 (Frankfurt am Main: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1992), 181, 174–82.

60. Jens Malte Fischer, *Gustav Mahler. Der fremde Vertraute* (Vienna: Zsolnay, 2003), 435.

61. Michael P. Steinberg calls the second movement of Mahler's Eighth "a kind of unstageable metaopera" in his *The Meaning of the Salzburg Festival; Austria as Theater and Ideology, 1890–1938* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1990), 214.

62. Nietzsche, *Der Fall Wagner*, 19.

63. Bisanz-Prakken, *Gustav Klimt*, 48.

64. Siegfried Lipiner saw Goethe's *Faust* stylistically as a model for a new form of literature. See Ida Schein, "Die Gedanken- und Ideenwelt Siegfried Lipiners" (Ph.D. diss., University of Vienna, 1936), 63. A copy of this dissertation can be found in the archives of the Deutsches Literaturarchiv Marbach.

65. "I was reading around in 'Eckermann,' like I usually do during the summer" [*Ich las wie meistens im Sommer im 'Eckermann'*], Mahler writes to his old Hamburg friend Adele Marcus in August 1908 from Toblach (*Briefe* [Wien: Paul Zsolnay Verlag, 1996], 370).

66. Johann Peter Eckermann, *Gespräche mit Goethe in den letzten Jahren seines Lebens* (Frankfurt am Main: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1999), 306.

67. Eckermann, *Gespräche mit Goethe*, 219, 220. For a detailed discussion of Goethe's statements and his knowledge of musical history, see Kreutzer, *Faust. Mythos und Musik*, 59–61.

68. See Marc Weiner, *Richard Wagner and the Anti-Semitic Imagination*, 2nd ed. (Lincoln: Nebraska University Press, 1997), 52, 53.

69. Another source of reflection about a musical adaptation of *Faust* is Goethe's correspondence with the composer Carl Friedrich Zelter. In a letter to Goethe from 21 June 1829, Zelter harshly criticized Berlioz's adaptation of *Faust* because of its extreme use of orchestral instrumentation. It is likely that Goethe would have agreed with him. See Goethe, *Briefwechsel zwischen Goethe und Zelter in den Jahren 1799 bis 1832*, vol. 2, ed. Hans-Günter Ottenberg and Edith Zehm (Munich: Carl Hanser, 1991), 1244.

70. Mitchell, *Gustav Mahler*, 529–32.

71. "Übrigens werden Sie zugeben, daß der Schluß, wo es mit der geretteten Seele nach oben geht, sehr schwer zu machen war, und daß ich, bei so übersinnlichen, kaum zu ahnenden Dingen, mich sehr leicht im Vagen hätte verlieren können, wenn ich nicht meinen poetischen Intentionen, durch die scharf umrissenen christlich-kirchlichen Figuren und Vorstellungen, eine wohltätig beschränkende Form und Festigkeit gegeben hätte." Eckermann, *Gespräche mit Goethe*, 489.

72. Gustav Mahler, *Ein Glück ohne Ruh': Die Briefe Gustav Mahlers an Alma*, ed. Henry-Louis de la Grange and Günther Weiß (Berlin: Siedler, 1995), 389. A more detailed analysis of this letter can be found below.

73. Mahler, *Ein Glück ohne Ruh'*, 388.

74. Berthold Auerbach, quoted in Mandelkow, *Goethe in Deutschland*, 1:155.

75. See Albrecht Schöne, *Faust*, vol. 2: *Kommentare* (Frankfurt am Main: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1999), 779. See Wilhelm von Humboldt, "Der Montserrat bei Barcelona," in *Wilhelm von Humboldts Werke, 1799–1818*, vol. 3, ed. Albert Leitzmann (Berlin: B. Behr, 1904), 39–57.

76. For my translations I have consulted the *Faust* translations of Stuart Atkins; in general, however, I provide a translation that follows the German text as closely as possible.

77. For a discussion of this motif in the Eighth Symphony, see Eveline Nikkels, "Der Weg zum neuen Morgen," in *A 'Mass' for the Masses. Proceedings of the Mahler VIII Symposium Amsterdam 1988*, ed. Eveline Nikkels and Robert Becqué (The Hague: Nijgh & Van Ditmar Universitair, 1992), 148.

78. See Schöne, *Faust*, vol. 2: *Kommentare*, 788–93.

79. Schöne, *Faust*, vol. 2: *Kommentare*, 788. Gottfried Arnold (1666–1714) was a theologian and church historian highly critical of the church as an institution. The *Unparteyische Kirchen- und Ketzer-Historie* was also one of Goethe's sources for information on Spinoza. In the following, I will argue that Spinoza can be seen as a key figure for Mahler's understanding of *Faust*.

80. See Schöne, *Faust*, vol. 2: *Kommentare*, 804.

81. Mahler, *Ein Glück ohne Ruh'*, 388. The following quotes from Mahler's letter can be found on pages 388 and 389.

82. What "of it" (daran) refers to is not clear from the context (Alma blacked out one-and-a-half lines immediately preceding this quote); see Mahler, *Ein Glück ohne Ruh'*, 388.

83. "Gleichnis" is very hard to translate. Atkins uses the term "symbol" (*Faust I & II*, ed. and trans. Stuart Atkins, 305). I prefer "simulation" because the German term "Gleichnis" emphasizes the aspect of similarity (not necessarily inherent to symbols) and not the aspect of a tradition of understanding specific to symbols.

84. See Goethe, *Faust*, vol. 1, ed. Albrecht Schöne (Frankfurt am Main: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1999), 733. In the following, I will refer to this edition.

85. Mahler, *Ein Glück ohne Ruh'*, 385, 389.

86. Mahler, *Ein Glück ohne Ruh'*, 385–86.

87. Floros speaks of a religion of art ("Kunstreligion") in relation to the end of the Eighth. See Constantin Floros, "Die 'Symphonie der Tausend' als Botschaft an die Menschheit" in *A 'Mass' for the Masses*, 121.

88. Siegfried Lipiner's promotion file in the archive of the University of Vienna does not contain a copy of the dissertation. According to a handwritten note accompanying a letter from Lipiner's widow, Clementine Lipiner, in this file, the copy of his dissertation from that file was given to her after Lipiner's death in 1911. Schein's dissertation shows that in the 1930s this copy was still in the possession of Lipiner's relatives.

89. The following summary is based on Schein, "Die Gedanken- und Ideenwelt Siegfried Lipiners," 83, 84.

90. Schein, "Die Gedanken- und Ideenwelt Siegfried Lipiners," 83.

91. Robert Zimmermann also makes this point in *Über das Tragische und die Tragödie* (Vienna: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1856), 293. Zimmermann was one of Mahler's university teachers (see Herta Blaukopf, "Mahler an der Universität. Versuch, eine biographische Lücke zu schließen," in *Neue Mahleriana. Essays in Honour of Henry-Louis de La Grange on His Seventieth Birthday*, ed. Günther Weiß [Berne: Peter Lang, 1997], 13) and Lipiner's main dissertation advisor (dissertation file Siegfried Lipiner; see note 88).

92. Schein, "Die Gedanken- und Ideenwelt Siegfried Lipiners," 83.

93. Schein, "Die Gedanken- und Ideenwelt Siegfried Lipiners," 106. See vv. 6835–60.

94. Schein, "Die Gedanken- und Ideenwelt Siegfried Lipiners," 106.

95. For a concise explanation of Spinoza's theory of substance in the context of early-modern Western philosophy, see Willi Goetschel, *Spinoza's Modernity: Mendelssohn, Lessing, and Heine* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2004), 25–27.

96. Schein, "Die Gedanken- und Ideenwelt Siegfried Lipiners," 104, 105.

97. See Goetschel, *Spinoza's Modernity*, 30, 31, for a discussion of these related but differing concepts.

98. Goetschel, *Spinoza's Modernity*, 48, 49.

99. See Goetschel, *Spinoza's Modernity*, 51, 52. See also Jonathan Israel, *Radical Enlightenment: Philosophy and the Making of Modernity 1650–1750* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2001), 162, 231.

100. Goetschel, *Spinoza's Modernity*, 49, 75, 80.

101. Goetschel, *Spinoza's Modernity*, 30; Israel, *Radical Enlightenment*, 233.

102. See Schein, "Die Gedanken- und Ideenwelt Siegfried Lipiners," 104; see Mahler, *Briefe an Alma*, 384, 389.

103. See Goetschel, *Spinoza's Modernity*, 30.

104. Goetschel, *Spinoza's Modernity*, 30, 31.

105. Schein, "Die Gedanken- und Ideenwelt Siegfried Lipiners," 83, 84n1.

106. See Israel, "Introduction," in *Radical Enlightenment*, 11; see also Goetschel, *Spinoza's Modernity*, 4, 6; and Adam Sutcliffe, *Judaism and Enlightenment* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 13, 134.

107. See Goetschel, *Spinoza's Modernity*, 55, 62, 63; Sutcliffe, *Judaism and Enlightenment*, 119.

108. Goetschel, *Spinoza's Modernity*, 30.

109. See Alexander von Bormann, "Metaphysik der Unmöglichkeit?: Zum Text von Mahlers VIII. Symphonie," in *A 'Mass' for the Masses*, 95, 96.

110. See Dietrich Türnau, *Rabanus Maurus, der praeceptor Germaniae. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Pädagogik des Mittelalters* (Munich: J. Lindauersche Buchhandlung, 1900), 51, 60.

111. See Thomas Richter, *Die Dialoge über Literatur im Briefwechsel zwischen Goethe und Zelter* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2000), 13.

112. Bauer-Lechner, *Fragmente: Gelerntes und Gelebtes* (Vienna: Rudolf Lechner & Sohn, 1907), 95.

113. Letter from Goethe to Zelter, 12 April 1820. See Goethe, *Briefwechsel zwischen Goethe und Zelter in den Jahren 1799 bis 1832*, vol. 1, ed. Hans-Günter Ottenberg and Edith Zehm (Munich: Carl Hanser, 1991), 596.

114. See Mathias Mayer, "Islamisiertes Christentum, poetisierte Religion: Goethes Übersetzung eines spätlateinischen Pfingsthymnus," *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 29 May 2004, 35. To prove that Goethe thinks about the 'Veni creator spiritus' in the context of a continuation of the *West-östlicher Divan*, Mayer refers to a 11 May 1820 letter from Goethe to Zelter.

115. See Mitchell, *Gustav Mahler*, 525, 576, and 579.

116. See Von Bormann, "Metaphysik der Unmöglichkeit," 95.

117. Goethe, *Maximen und Reflexionen*, in *Werke*, vol. 12 (Munich: Beck, 1982), 472, fragment 762.

118. This and the following quotes are taken from Theodor W. Adorno, *Mahler: A Musical Physiognomy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 138, 139 (translation modified); also in *Mahler: Eine musikalische Physiognomie*, in *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. 13, ed. Rolf Tiedemann and Klaus Schultz (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1997), 283.

119. I would like to thank Paul Reitter (Department of Germanic Languages and Literatures, Ohio State University) for reading my paper and his suggestions concerning this topic.

120. See Weiner, *Richard Wagner and the Anti-Semitic Imagination*, 52, 53.

William Schuman, World War II, and the Pulitzer Prize

Steve Swayne

In his April 4, 1943 review of the New York premiere of William Schuman's Secular Cantata No. 2, *A Free Song*, fellow composer and *New York Herald Tribune* critic Virgil Thomson dismissed the work as frivolous, unintelligible, and dull:

> The title . . . refers, I take it, since the composition is partly fugal in style, not to musical freedom but to freedom of some other kind, economic, social, religious, amorous, or political, no doubt. The times being what they are, one would probably be safe in betting it was the latter, though of certain evidence I have none, the chorus's effective enunciation of the text being zero in row U. The music's intrinsic interest seemed also to this listener to add up to a not high figure.[1]

The times being what they were, just over a week later, Chalmers Clifton, acting chairman of the advisory committee for the first-ever Pulitzer Prize in Music, wrote to Frank D. Fackenthal, then provost of Columbia University and de facto administrator of the prizes:

> The [Music] Advisory Committee for the Pulitzer Prize recommends that the award for 1942–43 be made to William Schumann [*sic*] for his SECULAR CANTATA NO. 2, A FREE SONG. The decision was unanimous and was arrived at after a careful consideration of compositions in the fields of orchestra, chamber music, chorus, opera and ballet first performed or published during the period from April 1st 1942 to April 1st 1943.[2]

This is a story about those times, about a man who tried to find his footing in the midst of them, about a prize that reflects those times and marked that man, and about a piece that stirred debate then and now.[3]

The story on its surface is the familiar one of the left-of-center composer who opposed political fascism, promoted musical populism, and supported the war effort with "patriotic music written in the midst

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of a national and world crisis . . . 'music [that] was meant to console and uplift, to encourage and exhort.'"[4] Its peculiar interest lies in its exposure of an ideological gap of sorts. When his elders turned to folk song, Schuman (1910–92) turned to fugue. Others wrote of cowboys and Indians; he wrote symphonies and suites, concertos and cantatas. A published Tin Pan Alley composer himself, he criticized "music . . . of a background type used in pictures [that] does not carry enough intrinsic interest to hold up under repeated performance" (his description of Aaron Copland's *Lincoln Portrait*).[5] He chose to celebrate the metropolis over the heartland, the present day over yesteryear. And his decisions resulted in critical and popular acclaim that, at the very least, remind us that in the late 1930s and early 1940s, simplicity and nostalgia were but one avenue open to the American composer who sought and found an audience.[6]

* * *

As most students of American music know, the late 1930s witnessed the astronomical rise in Schuman's fortunes. The drubbing his Second Symphony (1937) received may have shaken the young composer at first, and later he would withdraw the symphony.[7] But Schuman also had influential supporters. Critic Paul Rosenfeld, through his pen and stature, multiplied the number of Schuman's boosters when he wrote that the symphony and the short choral work *Prologue* (1937) "have doubled our impression of the talents of a young composer recently the recipient of a Guggenheim scholarship."[8] Copland would hear the Second Symphony at least twice and sat on a jury that awarded it highest honors in a composition competition. While his remarks later would narrowly focus on the choral work *Pioneers* (1937), it is clear that Copland had other Schuman scores in mind when he wrote that "Schuman is, so far as I am concerned, the musical find of the year."[9] By 1942, Schuman had received a second Guggenheim fellowship, the first-ever Town Hall League of Composers Award for his Third String Quartet, and the first-ever New York Music Critics Circle Award for his Third Symphony.

His rising public stature was tempered by his sense of civic duty. On March 25, 1940, according to the *San Francisco Examiner*, Schuman arrived in that city as part of

> a nationwide musical education survey, en route to attend the National Conference of Music Educators in Los Angeles. "American composers have finally come down from their 'ivy towers' and are really producing living music for living people," Schuman declared. "They have learned

> they can achieve more success for themselves and for the common good of American music by pulling together than by boosting their own works."
>
> . . . His national survey is aimed directly at fostering better appreciation of American music among school children. "With over 30,000 high schools maintaining symphony orchestras averaging fifty musicians each, our immediate task is to urge American composers to write music for American youths, in an idiom they can feel and play emotionally and successfully," Shuman [*sic*] added.[10]

Living music for living people meant, for Schuman, writing music that the masses could sing. On June 30, 1940, the *Sunday Worker* ran a profile on Schuman's Secular Cantata No. 1, *This is Our Time* (1940):

> Schuman, who teaches music at the Sarah Lawrence College, believes that a composer writing in a democracy should compose music for the people without making any artistic compromise, as so many modern composers have done and are doing. For he feels that when such a compromise is made the result is, as in so many choral pieces, progressive words and "backward" music. An artist, he holds, can be progressive only in terms of the materials of his art, not by perjuring his art or resorting to the facile phrase for effect.
>
> Therefore uppermost in Mr. Schuman's mind when he was invited to write an American choral work, was, firstly, music for the people and secondly, high artistic quality, since as a composer, he desires to write for the most advanced groups and yet to be understood by the people.[11]

The author of the article chose not to attribute any direct quotations to Schuman, so it is difficult to determine to what degree Schuman subscribed to the larger program that the *Daily Worker* and *Sunday Worker* represented. But Schuman clearly sympathized with causes that opposed fascism. He was pleased to have won what turned out to be a sham contest organized by the Musicians Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy; he later voiced his support for the Spanish Republican cause.[12] And while fascism was his principal target, Schuman the reliable Democrat expressed sentiments that could be construed as radically socialist.[13]

> Since Mr. Schuman is convinced that it is the duty of the present-day composer to write not only with the great symphony orchestras, chamber music groups and distinguished soloists in mind, but for non-professional ensembles and school bodies as well, it is easy to see that the People's Philharmonic Choral Society would furnish material to quicken his musical impulses, especially since he thinks highly of its capacities.[14]

As for this particular ensemble, music critic Henry Simon wrote of the impact this chorus had on both critics and the public. After complaining about having to sit through a "thoroughly routine performance" of *Die Walküre* at the Metropolitan Opera, Simon

> went up to Carnegie Hall where the NYA Symphony and the People's Philharmonic Chorus were giving anything but a routine performance. They couldn't do that because they don't sing in public often enough.
>
> Here's a gang of kids paid by the government to make good music and a couple of hundred garment and needle-trade workers, laundrymen and housewives who work long evenings to get fun out of singing. . . . They did *Prologue* and *This Is Our Time* by William Schuman.
>
> It was something . . . *This Is Our Time* says just what the title means. It is the American people's time to work, build foundations, laugh and dance. The music, which has been slightly rewritten and improved since last summer, says exactly that as well as the words, and the workers' chorus sang it just as hard as it could. The thunderous applause showed that the idea got across, no mistake.[15]

So if Schuman was well served by the people, he in turn sought to serve the people well. And to him, this meant not only concentrating on the accessibility and integrity of his music but also honing the message to which he wed his music and reaching as many with that message as possible.

He was hardly alone in advancing a message that was both populist and antifascist. On the same day that saw the premiere of Schuman's first secular cantata in New York City, U. S. Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes delivered what the *New York Times* called a "striking Independence Day address," in which Ickes "called upon the American people 'to yell down the west wind' their 'great, hard, angry, shouting, razzberry laugh' at the 'superior people' across the Atlantic who call the United States a 'decadent, worn-out nation.'"[16] If Schuman saw the *Times* article about the speech, he did not comment publicly on it. When, however, *Life* magazine later ran excerpts of the speech—saying that it "easily topp[ed] all other 1940 Fourth of July rhetoric and match[ed] the eloquence of Britain's Churchill"[17]—Schuman took notice, so much so that he was compelled to write Ickes personally.

In his letter, Schuman told Ickes how he had been so moved by the speech (as reported in *Life*) that he wanted permission to set portions of it to music. Figuring that Ickes was unfamiliar with him and his work, Schuman offered the names of Henry Allen Moe, secretary of the Guggenheim Foundation; Serge Koussevitzky, conductor of the Boston

Symphony Orchestra; and Constance Warren, president of Sarah Lawrence College, as references that could vouch for his caliber as a composer. But the request for permission served as a pretext for a different agenda:

> What I have in mind has to do with schools, colleges and community groups in connection with instilling in them the democratic ideal. Many schools have been holding "Assemblies for Democracy". It is my understanding that for the most part these assemblies prove very little and often degenerate into mere flag waving instead of truly vital and dramatic presentations of the things Americans should fight for. To interest boys and girls, Democracy has got to be made as exciting as a baseball game.[18]

(Throughout his life, baseball would be one of Schuman's touchstones. His maternal grandfather said of him, "That boy is only interested in two things: the fiddle and baseball." He sustained a serious leg injury in a collision with another player in a game of baseball when he was forty.[19] And his first opera, *The Mighty Casey* [1953], is based on Ernest L. Thayer's famous poem "Casey at the Bat.") Schuman's musical education survey had fired his imagination, and Ickes's speech further fueled it. He related to Ickes his travels and his assessment of what he saw and heard:

> This past spring, in a survey I made with two colleagues for the Rockefeller Foundation, I had the opportunity of traveling over the country and hearing various high school dramatic and musical organizations. The quality of the performing abilities of our boys and girls is simply phenomenal, but the material they use is often of the most trite and banal description.

Schuman had already addressed these musicians in his choral works, informed as they were by his experience of directing the all-women's, all-amateur Sarah Lawrence College Chorus from 1938 on. But now he hoped to enlist the powers of the Department of the Interior in a greater cause. Something far more important than the quality of music hung in the balance:

> Briefly, would something like this be feasible: could we get together a group of our best composers and writers who would agree to turn out material which would deal with the vital issues in the life of people living in a democracy and include as well a real educative message as to the genuine threats to the democratic way. I mean the composers whose works are played by the great symphony orchestras of the country, the

> best men we have; I mean too our best authors. This is vitally important so that the quality of the material turned out will be acceptable to the school administrators. The cooperation of educators would be sought in endorsing the material and indicating its suitable place in the curriculum.
>
> This material could be issued through normal commercial publishing channels. The group of men and women who are writing it might come together simply through their desire to help in this very real aspect of national defense. Wouldn't it then be possible for the branch of your department which has to do with education to endorse these specially created works and publicize the fact of their existence to the parties most concerned?[20]

Schuman was no stranger to the role the federal government could play in advancing a composer's career. As early as the spring of 1936, he benefited from performing opportunities that were extended to contemporary composers through the Composers' Forum-Laboratory, an offshoot of the Federal Music Project (FMP) of the Works Progress Administration.[21] Schuman proved adept in handling questions that audience members posed to the composers as part of the Forum-Laboratory's format; he himself called his 1936 foray his "first public triumph as a public speaker,"[22] and not long after his initial success as an orator, the leaders within the FMP tapped him to speak at events beyond the usual Forum-Laboratory concerts.[23]

But the governmental role Schuman envisioned went well beyond an arrangement in which a composer would receive a subsidized performance in exchange for stimulating conversation. By August 1940, France had fallen to the Nazi armies and Mussolini had allied his nation with Hitler's. Schuman wanted to rouse his fellow citizens from the torpor that had overcome them in the wake of Germany's triumphs, and after his positive experiences with the FMP, it was natural for Schuman to turn to the government and ask it, through Ickes, to deliver the wake-up call. Who better than American composers, underwritten by the federal coffers, to deliver "a real educative message as to the genuine threats to the democratic way. . . to help in this very real aspect of national defense"?

Implied in Schuman's suggestion is the idea that many of these propaganda pieces would require texts. How else to inculcate into these young women and men the virtue of democracy and the vice of fascism? And yet, Schuman stated that the composers he had in mind—"the best men we have"—were writing for the "great symphony orchestras of the country." (No doubt Copland and Roy Harris were foremost in his mind.) His remarks about "over 30,000 high schools maintaining

symphony orchestras averaging fifty musicians each" also suggest that choral music did not hold a monopoly on the imaginations on the young people he hoped to reach with his democratic message of top-drawer music composed by the finest composers for amateur performers.

With this in mind, the four orchestral scores Schuman completed after his letter to Ickes provide a fascinating chronicle of his own attempts to answer the message he asked Ickes to disseminate. The first, *Newsreel in Five Shots* (1941), seems on its surface to offer little in support of democracy or in opposition to fascism. The first four movements in particular—"Horse Race," "Fashion Show," "Tribal Dance," and "Monkeys at the Zoo"—have neither clear titular nor musical references to the events of the day, and the fifth, "Parade," uses few of the signifiers (high flutes and piccolos, extensive percussion battery) that are usually associated with a military marching band.[24] But the circumstances surrounding *Newsreel*'s composition give evidence of its place in fulfilling Schuman's democratic ideals.

> One of the things I wanted to do was to write music that could be performed by kids, because I love kids. I always have. . . . I knew that I could do it with chorus, and I thought the band was another way that I could do it. I wanted to have some outlet for another side of my desire to write music, which was to write for large numbers of performers who weren't necessarily of professional caliber. . . . [*Newsreel*] was my first experience. I got better at it after that because the *Newsreel* is too difficult to play in terms of its musical content, I would say . . . the materials [are] much more difficult than the subject matter would indicate. . . . I haven't written simple band pieces, but some of them in later years have been very, very popular and have been played all over the place, and that still goes on. *Newsreel*, I guess, was the first one I did.[25]

If, by his own account, Schuman failed to provide a work that could be navigated by the high school musicians he had visited the year before, it was not because he did not try. *Newsreel* provides a template for the type of work that Schuman wanted his colleagues to produce and the government to distribute: musically substantive, comprising short and variegated movements, illustrative without being either parodistic or jingoistic, participatory in American democracy by inviting youth to join more seasoned adults in the serious enterprise of making music.

That serious enterprise is seen even more clearly in the two instrumental works that follow *Newsreel*. The ink had barely dried on Schuman's Third Symphony (1941) before he began work on his Fourth (also 1941). One reads in Warren's presidential report of May 19,

1941 for Sarah Lawrence College that "William Schuman, who has been the recipient of a second Guggenheim Fellowship this year, has recently finished his Third Symphony."[26] Two months later, Schuman went to Tanglewood to hear Leonard Bernstein conduct his American Festival Overture (1939), a work whose "folk material" comes from the playground, not the prairie.[27] On the bottom of the program, in his almost illegible hand, Schuman wrote notes about his visit: "A most remarkable performance—Bernstein should develop into the first sensational American conductor. He has everything. Weekend spent with Copland—a slap on the back for Sym. No IV (mv. 1 & 2) –"[28]

Schuman himself believed that a symphony could not promote democracy or fascism but would be affected by the times in which the music was written. An article in *Overtone*, the newspaper for the High School of Music and Art in New York City, carries the headline "Schuman Urges Musicians to Compose" and appeared in conjunction with a visit Schuman paid to the school in May 1941, that is, after he had completed the Third Symphony and when he was in the early stages of composing the Fourth. When asked if political events affect composition, he replied that "composition is the result of your life's experience and will be influenced by it, but music alone cannot express a detailed political philosophy."[29] According to Schuman, then, his two symphonies were artistic expressions that nevertheless communicated something about the life and circumstances of their creator.

In the case of the two symphonies, there may also be more specific references to the more immediate times as well. The prayer-like Chorale in the second movement of the Third Symphony; the long militaristic snare drum solo initiating the Toccata that follows; the heraldic gesture in the same movement (mm. 373ff.) where the trumpet cuts through the orchestra over the accompaniment of rim shots (an effect novel enough that Schuman or his editor felt obliged to explain it in the score[30]); the headlong rush that marks the ends of both movements of the Third and the last movement of the Fourth: these and other moments in the Third and Fourth Symphonies draw on a more popular vein of musical language than did the Second Symphony, with its then-notorious seven-minute trumpet C and its final four minutes, an unrelentingly slow, *fortissimo* aural assault.[31] The Third and Fourth, in the spirit of *Newsreel* and the choral works, stretch listeners without placing impossible demands on them. The former has cemented a place in the repertoire while the latter has fallen into neglect, but both emerged from a time when Schuman felt that American composers were obligated to reach the widest audience possible with the highest quality music imaginable, all in order to strengthen the spirit of the American

public when world events worked to enervate that spirit. And he did so without drawing upon folk material or nostalgic images of America.

But as it happened, Ickes would not be drawn into helping Schuman reach his fellow citizens through music. Walter Onslow, supervisor of press service for the Division of Information within the Department of the Interior, answered Schuman on Ickes's behalf. He enclosed the Independence Day speech, informing Schuman that, "provided it is for a noncommercial purpose," he could use Ickes's speech, but "if any composition embracing portions of his text is to be published and placed on sale other arrangements will have to be made." As for the larger purpose that animated Schuman's letter—enlisting composers under the department's sponsorship—Onslow redirected Schuman:

> The Office of Education no longer is a part of the Interior Department. . . . The Secretary, therefore, no longer has connection with educational activities. It would not be possible, therefore, for him to follow up your suggestion as you have outlined it. Perhaps you would want to take up this matter directly with Dr. Studebaker, the Commissioner of Education.[32]

If Schuman wrote to John W. Studebaker, no letter has yet come to light. For the moment, then, Schuman's grand idea was shelved, and his own commitment to use music to promulgate democratic ideals muted as he continued to write compositions without texts and (mostly) without programs and call on musical language that carries a range of significations, at times clear, at times open to multiple interpretations.

If *Newsreel* draws closest to Schuman's political views at this point in his life and the Third and Fourth Symphonies straddle those views, the Concerto for Piano and Small Orchestra moves the furthest away. Schuman had begun the work in 1937 and completed it the following year. He was not satisfied with it, though, and he returned to the concerto after completing the Third and Fourth Symphonies. Its premiere, with Rosalyn Tureck at the piano, took place on January 13, 1943. Schuman reflected:

> I still like a lot of the materials that are in that work. I love the opening; it's a marvelous opening. And I like some of the ideas in the slow movement. . . . I made a mistake in the publication because I should have withheld it, but I didn't know it. I didn't see it objectively at that time. . . . It's not that I am ashamed of it—it's just a juvenile piece—it's between a juvenile piece and an early piece.[33]

The concerto is a curious piece, stylistically closer to the early works than to the works Schuman was composing in the shadow of war. In

many ways, it sounds as though Schuman was biding his time as a composer, and in many respects, the first half of 1942 found him waiting for the next big move in his personal life.

It was not as if Schuman had not been moved to act on his political views prior to Pearl Harbor. On June 18, 1941, he wrote to Warren that "the local draft board requests that I notify my employer of my Selective Service classifacation [*sic*]: Class 3A-dependency status-deferred until further notice."[34] Warren, in the same presidential report in which she mentioned the Third Symphony, also spoke of the "present crisis," which, given her simultaneous warning against "war hysteria," must have seemed more of a fiscal crisis to Warren than a political one.[35] For his part, Schuman continued to see the crisis in terms of rousing America against the threat of fascism; modern music, he believed, was one way to awaken them. In a flyer disseminated less than a week before Pearl Harbor, Schuman and his associates advertised a series of eight lectures, using working-class language for seemingly non-working-class ends:

> Music resembles modern industry in its three basic divisions of manufacturer, distributor and consumer. The composer is the manufacturer, the performer distributor of his wares and the consumer is you, the listener. Successful music requires that all three factors function efficiently. Do you do your part as efficiently as the composer and the performer? Do you really listen? In order to get the most out of any composition it is essential to be aware of what the composer is driving at—to be conscious of the music and not off in the clouds thinking of something else. Serious music requires serious attention if all but the most obvious elements are to be heard.
>
> Stock arguments against studying how to listen usually express the fear of intellectualization and the loss thereby of the emotional appeal. My teaching experience and that of my colleagues tends to prove that a knowledge of what to listen for increases—not decreases—the emotional quality of the music.
>
> These meetings are meant for people who love music and are serious about learning more about it. No technical equipment of knowledge about music is necessary. Through playing recorded symphonies and discussing them we hope to sharpen your awareness of music, to make serious music more understandable for you. When you go to a concert it need not be that you check your brains with your hat.[36]

The cost for the series ($10) was modest, so here again Schuman attempted to engage the kinds of Americans that sang in the People's

Philharmonic Choral Society, this time not simply through his compositions but through a broader understanding of music.

At first glance, Schuman's lecture series reads as a truncated version of the fifteen lectures Copland offered the New School for Social Research in 1936–37, compiled and published in 1939 as *What to Listen for in Music*. Schuman reviewed the book for *Modern Music*,[37] but his qualified praise there reflects his own music education pedigree (B.S. 1935 and M.A. 1937, both from Teachers College at Columbia University) as well as his strong opinions springing from that training and his extensive experience among musical amateurs at Sarah Lawrence College.[38] With his lectures to a New Rochelle audience, he hoped to strengthen one arm of the tripartite musical industry he himself had identified. With Ickes and others in government, he sought to inflect the nature of his colleagues' works. And at the Juilliard School of Music, whose presidency he assumed in 1945, he would improve the lot of performers, especially in their relationship to contemporary music. As with his politics and aesthetics, he constructed his educational philosophy in relative independence from his composer peers; unsurprisingly, it was *sui generis*, as his lecture series would have been.[39]

The lectures, however, were not to be. On December 7, 1941 everything changed.

* * *

In the authorized history of the first fifty-seven years of the Pulitzer Prizes, John Hohenberg offers an account of America's musical life that awkwardly distills into one page what Virgil Thomson, in his *American Music Since 1910: 20th-Century Composers*, took almost forty pages to say. With Thomson as his sole source, Hohenberg wrote that

> at the time of Pulitzer's death in 1911, the foundations for the growth of a distinctively American form of musical composition had been laid by Edward MacDowell, Horatio Parker, and George W. Chadwick. It was still subordinate as a native musical idiom to the operetta music of Victor Herbert and Reginald DeKoven, the blues popularized by W. C. Handy, and the catchy rhythms of jazz. But before 1920, Harvard, Columbia, and the University of California became centers of competent musical instruction and training under the supervision of French-trained American composers. And by 1930, such native composers as Charles Ives and Carl Ruggles found younger talent in profusion emerging from the widening academic musical community to join them. From Harvard and Columbia, the cause of musical education was taken up by almost every other major university in the land and three impressive music schools were founded—Eastman in Rochester, Curtis in Philadelphia,

> and Juilliard in New York. Nadia Boulanger, the great Parisian teacher, used to tell her gifted American students of the 1920s and 1930s, "Watch out! American music is about to take off just like Russian music did in the 1850s." And it did.[40]

Hohenberg's history of the music prize begins in earnest with the award for Copland's *Appalachian Spring*. The Pulitzer Prizes, he notes throughout his history, did not always go to the most worthy works (hence, his failure to talk about what preceded the Copland). The happy coincidence of Copland's evergreen score, the advisory board's prescient acknowledgment of the score's merits, and his reduction of Thomson gave Hohenberg reason to gloss over the commitments to music made by the Pulitzer estate prior to 1945.

The story of the music prize, however, goes back to Joseph Pulitzer's own history as a newspaperman. In his will, he stipulated that the awarding of prizes would commence only after the School of Journalism at Columbia (which the monies from his will also funded) had successfully operated for three years. He also sketched out the awards and traveling scholarships: four awards for journalism, four awards for letters and drama, one award for education, three scholarships for journalism, one for art, and one for music. From the outset, then, Pulitzer's focus was on the written word, and while some prizes were dropped (education) and others expanded (reporting), the emphasis from the beginning was on texts. Music, like art, may have been among Pulitzer's loves, but it was not at the heart of his view of the world or of the prizes.[41]

Pulitzer's views of arts and letters, though, went a long way in determining which works would be considered for prizes. "While the terms of the journalism awards were professionally phrased, those for the arts bore the unmistakable imprint of the thinking of Pulitzer's era—a high-flown sense of morality, a sturdy reliance on the values of a Puritan society, a sense of uplift, and self-sacrifice."[42] Pulitzer's specifications for the drama and biography prizes are particularly telling: the play must be performed in New York and "shall best represent the educational value and power of the stage in raising the standard of good morals, good taste, and good manners"; the biography at its core is about "teaching patriotic and unselfish services to the people."[43] The standards, of course, would change over time; plays that did little to improve good morals would win, as would biographies of persons who might not make it into an imaginary Patriots' Hall of Fame.

In those early days, another person also shaped the Pulitzer Prizes into awards that would honor works that unapologetically sought to better the moral and nationalistic spirit of the age. Nicholas Murray

Butler, whose numerous accomplishments would later include running for vice president of the United States on the Republican ticket in 1912, seeking the Republican nomination for president in 1920 and 1928, and winning the Nobel Peace Prize in 1931, was appointed acting president of Columbia University in 1901 and assumed the presidency the following year. He held that post until his retirement in October 1945, and his reign over Columbia—during which the student body increased from 4,000 to 34,000—also extended to the formation, administration, and expansion of the Pulitzer Prizes.[44] Like Pulitzer, Butler viewed the arts through a moral lens. In a 1904 draft memo for the prizes, Pulitzer indicated that he wanted the prize for the novel to recognize a work of fiction that "shall best present the whole atmosphere of American life, and the highest standard of American manners and manhood." Butler changed the wording to read "wholesome atmosphere," the advisory board approved this change in 1915, and until the public debacle over Sinclair Lewis's *Arrowsmith* in 1926, when Lewis refused the prize that year on account of a snub by the Pulitzer Advisory Board over his novel *Main Street* (1920), Butler's emendation stood.[45]

Butler refracted much of life through this powerful prism. After America entered World War I, he "proclaimed a moratorium on academic freedom in which he threatened all faculty members who 'are not with whole heart and mind and strength committed to fight with us to make the world safe for democracy.'"[46] He also single-handedly prevented Ernest Hemingway's *For Whom the Bell Tolls* from receiving the Pulitzer Prize for Fiction in 1941. When the advisory board affirmed their choice of the Hemingway novel, "Butler angrily moved to the doorway of the Trustees' Room and there announced that he would refuse to submit the Board's recommendation to the [university] Trustees." His brinksmanship went unreported for over twenty years, but no one dared cross him at that time.[47]

Before considering Butler's role in the change from the music scholarship to the music prize, one other aspect of the prizes needs to be considered. Because journalism is given primacy in the awards, it is not surprising that excellent work in covering major stories is more likely to win a prize than excellent work in covering less prominent stories. And when war is the major story, the prizes follow the story. The first biography prize, announced shortly after Woodrow Wilson took the nation into World War I, went to *Julia Ward Howe*, a book by the daughters of the woman who wrote the words to "The Battle Hymn of the Republic."[48] From the beginning, war dictated who won and who did not, especially in journalism. "During the initial period of the prizes, 1917–1923," Honenberg writes, "wartime and war-related journalism

won eight out of seventeen prizes that were bestowed, while six others were passed entirely [i.e., not awarded; hence, almost half of the journalism prizes given dealt with the war]. All types of newspaper work were recognized . . . with a strong feeling of patriotic sentiment running through everything."[49]

It was war that affected the decision to initiate the first-ever prize in music and, with Butler active on the advisory board, influenced which piece would be chosen to receive that prize. On December 17, 1941, Douglas Moore, former recipient of a Pulitzer traveling scholarship in music and future recipient of a Pulitzer Prize for Music, wrote to Butler. Moore served as chairman of the music department at Columbia, and on behalf of the faculty he inquired about the disposition of Pulitzer's will as it related to music:

> At the time the will was made, few fellowships existed for the aid of talented young composers and the Pulitzer Scholarship has performed a notable service in extending assistance. However, in recent years a number of agencies have been created which make much greater opportunities for young composers. There is the Prix de Rome; there are the Guggenheim fellowships; there are composition fellowships at endowed conservatories such as the Juilliard School and the Curtis Institute. In fact, to face the situation frankly, one must admit that the opportunities somewhat exceed the amount of available talent. On the other hand, there is a great need in this country of improvement in the prestige of the American composer of demonstrated ability. There is still an unfortunate tendency to regard our composers as inferior to our writers and painters. Every year the Pulitzer Prize is a coveted honor, adding to the prestige and reputation of the recipient. Music would profit enormously by similar recognition. It is curious when one reads of the award of the Pulitzer Prizes that distinguished creation in music goes unrecognized. We believe that the time has come when the usefulness of the fund which Mr. Pulitzer left for music could be increased if the prize were awarded on a basis similar to that of the prize in the novel, poetry, drama, journalism, etc.

Moore then sketched out a form of adjudication that resembled the other committees that made recommendations to the advisory board:

> Three musicians of national standing could be designated and the principal performing organizations of the country be requested to send in nominations to this jury for consideration. . . . We should greatly appreciate your consideration of this matter and would be glad to supplement these suggestions with any additional information that might be needed.[50]

At a time when most Americans were shaken to their core and driven to unite to fight their enemies abroad, Moore's words about "a great need in this country of improvement in the prestige of the American composer of demonstrated ability" are not difficult to parse. World War II made the creation of a Pulitzer Prize in Music a national obligation.[51]

In his desire to change the music scholarship into a music prize, Moore found a natural ally in Butler. According to Hohenberg, Butler "forcefully presented" Moore's recommendation at the spring 1942 meeting of the Pulitzer Advisory Board. It was too late to award a music prize in 1942, but plans were made to give out a music prize the following year.[52]

The year 1942 also saw the publication of Butler's book *Liberty–Equality–Fraternity: Essays and Addresses on the Problems of Today and Tomorrow*. The preface is dated April 2, 1942. The day and year had particular significance for Butler: it was his eightieth birthday. He marked the occasion by laying out what democracy and liberty meant to him. While he refrained from stifling independent thinking, as he did during World War I, he nevertheless did not shrink from giving the measure of those who possessed the "international mind" that had been his focus for decades:

> It is now plain that, whatever may appear on the surface, the underlying struggle is between a world whose economic, social and political systems are unified and held in control by armed force, and a world of free, independent and self-governing nations, each of which, whether great or small, is protected in its freedom by rules of international law and international morality, upheld by a world organization with an international police force. . . . The first and predominant policy of the democracies must be to win the brutal and murderous war into which, wholly against their will, they have been driven. For the democracies, this is a war of self-defense. Everything in which they believe and for which they have gained so much during the past three hundred years is now at stake. . . .
>
> [The democracies] must understand what Liberty and what Democracy really mean. They must grasp the fact that these are not mere words. They are the names and symbols of ideas and ideals. Agreement as to their meaning must be so universal among the democratic peoples that the application of these ideas and ideals can go forward with all reasonable speed and safety.
>
> This in turn means that public opinion in the democracies must be educated to the fullest possible understanding of these ideas and their problems.[53]

While Butler said nothing about music in his book, the sentiments portrayed here provide a clue to what kinds of Pulitzer-nominated work will meet with his approval. And in this instance, the distance between the ideas espoused in Butler's preface and in Schuman's letter to Ickes is negligible. But this is getting ahead of the story.

As with so many other aspects of the Pulitzer Prizes, Columbia provost Fackenthal instantiated what President Butler envisioned. He set up the music jury, consisting of Chalmers Clifton, an adjunct member of the Columbia music faculty who taught conducting and score reading; composer Quincy Porter; and conductor and cellist Alfred Wallenstein. Clifton would serve as acting chairman for the three-man music jury. With the administration of the prize in place, all that remained was to solicit scores for the jury to examine. Fachkenthal assumed that duty on behalf of the jury.

* * *

With America's entry into World War II, Schuman's efforts to use music in support of the war accelerated. Not infrequently, this put him at odds with his colleagues at Sarah Lawrence, who seemed less prone to act than was Schuman. The faculty met the day after the United States entered the war. According to the minutes,[54] "There was a period of informal discussion of some of the immediate problems arising from the state of war. . . . Students should be told what faculty were doing for defense." Fifteen faculty members volunteered what they were doing for the war effort, with activities ranging from "training to be wardens" to "teaching public speaking in the Yonkers Y.W.C.A." Only one was "engaged in research important to defense"; most of the activities amounted to social work.

Schuman was not present for that meeting, but apparently he was very busy figuring out how he could lend his particular talents to the war effort. Sarah Lawrence president Warren received a letter dated December 18, 1941 from Guy M. James,[55] a captain in the Army infantry stationed at the Overseas Discharge and Replacement Depot at Fort Hamilton in Brooklyn. In the letter, James thanked Warren for her December 16, 1941 letter, in which she apparently had offered to send some of the students to Fort Hamilton to cheer the outgoing soldiers. (Warren's letter to James is lost.) James expressed no particular urgency, writing that he would be in contact "after the first of January [to] make some definite arrangements as to dates and hours." On

another matter, one introduced by Warren, James was considerably more specific:

> With reference to Mr. Schuman, I have arranged with the Corps Area Morale office at Governors Island to have him meet there with Captain Maurice F. King and Captain French, who are in charge of music and theatricals, and who will be happy to arrange the programs he desires to put on. I would suggest that he contact these officers personally at the earliest possible moment, in order to complete his plans before the Christmas holidays.

So Schuman had contacted Warren and asked her to intercede on behalf of his ideas for concerts.

Indeed, earlier in that academic year, the majority of a faculty meeting had been spent wrestling over the parameters of an upcoming tour that Schuman and the Sarah Lawrence College Chorus were planning to take to Buffalo, Detroit, Cleveland, and possibly Washington D.C. At that meeting, "Mr. Schuman said that this would involve the absence for one week of between 75 and 90 girls who would be in the Chorus in the latter part of April," this at a time when the student body numbered 299 students.[56] While the faculty moved to approve the chorus tour, any undertaking that involved more than one-fourth of the entire student body had tremendous ramifications for the campus community. Schuman clearly had enormous clout, so his moves to involve himself and the campus in the war effort would similarly have repercussions beyond those on his wife Frances.

Warren forwarded James's letter to Schuman on the same day she received it, and while Schuman would later respond to James's letter, he decided to go further up the command chain. On Christmas Eve 1941, Schuman wrote to Harold Spivacke:

> If there is any way in which I can be of service to you in your work as Chairman of the Joint Army and Navy Committee please call on me. I am most anxious to enter into this important phase of our war effort in whatever capacity seems most suited to my particular training and experience. If you wish to see me I could meet you in New York or if necessary in Washington.[57]

With this letter, Schuman began a yearlong correspondence with Spivacke as both men tried to find a way to make music a serious element of the war. Spivacke wrote back without delay. "As you can well imagine we are all tied up in organizational work and therefore cannot take advantage of your kind offer at the moment. As soon as the

proper moment arrives, however, we shall call on you."[58] Perhaps Spivacke would have called on Schuman eventually on his own accord, but Schuman continued to press his case for direct involvement in the armed services so insistently that Spivacke would hardly have had occasion to write Schuman before Schuman was writing him.

On that same Christmas Eve, Schuman wrote to one of the persons James had recommended to him. It took Captain Maurice F. King more than two weeks to respond to Schuman, and when he did, he gave Schuman a one-week window of time to meet before King was scheduled to leave for Fort Benning, Georgia. Schuman wrote back immediately, and King and he agreed to meet on January 15, 1942 to discuss Schuman's possible role in the armed services. The meeting with King never took place, however, as King was shipped off to Fort Benning two days ahead of schedule:

> It is with sincere regret I could not meet you before coming down here, and I hope that in spite of my absence, you did accomplish what you had in mind with Captain French and Private Rosenstock.
>
> Should you be "caught in the draft" while I am here, please let me know your final military "resting place" as I may again return to my former kind of duty, and in this case, may be able to aid you in finding a music assignment in the military service.[59]

Whatever became of the meeting with French and Rosenstock is unknown, but it appears to have had the same result as the correspondence with Ickes. During the first half of 1942, six members of the Sarah Lawrence faculty were called up for governmental duty; Schuman was not one of them.[60] So instead of serving Uncle Sam, he revised the Piano Concerto.

Warren, in the meantime, began to sound increasingly like Schuman in her understanding of what was at stake in the war. While her words on the college's preparations for the war noticeably omitted any mention of how the arts contribute to this activity, she enunciated an educational philosophy that echoed what Schuman had written to Ickes nearly two years earlier:

> I feel that Sarah Lawrence College should at this time keep in mind three important objectives: (1) helping students to become as adult as possible, intellectually and emotionally; (2) helping them to play their part in a democratic community; (3) giving them skills with which to maintain this democracy. I can pledge the devotion of the faculty to these objectives as our contribution to the war effort.[61]

Schuman affirmed Warren's objectives in his actions and words.

The affinity between Warren and Schuman, however, did not keep them from sparring over the role of the college chorus during this time. The tour to Buffalo, Detroit, and Cleveland failed to materialize, but the chorus had a successful concert in the nation's capital on April 25, 1942. On the concert were "selections from the Musical Comedies of Lorenz Hart and Richard Rodgers"; perhaps these frivolities during wartime drove Warren to speak out at the next gathering of the faculty:

> Miss Warren said that the public could readily understand a group going off for study purposes, but if the Chorus, dance or dramatics group went during college time it would lay the college open to criticism as people would think this was not for the purpose of learning but merely to show off what had been learned. She asked the faculty to consider this point before voting on the measure. The opinion was expressed that the college should not give in to the point of view that the arts were not as important as other subjects; also that such programs could be an important asset in the college's public relations.[62]

If Warren shared Schuman's views on democracy, she did not share his views about how music could be used to foster democracy. In the end, Schuman won this battle at the college—the faculty approved a touring program favorable to Schuman—but it also propelled him to explore afresh how he could use his music to support democracy in a more concrete manner.

Six weeks after the faculty meeting in which Warren doubted the advisability of tours during the academic year, Schuman wrote again to Spivacke. A flurry of articles in the *New York Times* in June of 1942 chronicled the activities of the new Army Specialist Corps, created by executive order in February of that year and formally established on June 11. One article related that "each member of the corps . . . must be ineligible for drafting for combat service under Selective Service, and must have a specialty of value to some phase of military activity."[63] Another publication from that same summer informed the public that "the Army Specialist Corps' purpose is to provide men possessing professional, scientific, and administrative qualifications, but otherwise ineligible for active duty because of age or physical requirements, to meet specific needs or vacancies in the Army and other agencies of the War Department."[64] According to Schuman, he was "informed that [the Corps] will accept only 4F men from the first draft. With both of these things in mind, I asked my draft board to reclassify me from 3A [dependency deferment]. After the usual red tape was muddled through, I was

reclassified 4F [physically, mentally or morally unfit for service] as of June 30. This would make me eligible for the Specialists [*sic*] Corps."[65]

The 4F classification, as it turned out, was for legitimate reasons. Schuman suffered from a nonprogressive form of muscular atrophy. Though he could pull things toward himself, had no strength to push things away. Because of the atrophy, Schuman had to submit a Physical Defect Waiver as well as obtain a statement from the local draft board as to the reasons for his classification. If the variance were approved, then Schuman could reasonably expect to receive a commission.[66]

Obtaining a waiver was not the only challenge. By mid-June the Corps had received over 180,000 applications for an estimated 11,132 officer positions.[67] More significantly, whoever informed Schuman of the need to switch to 4F was misinformed. The regulations drawn up for the Corps indicate that, subject to certain restrictions, "the minimum physical requirements for appointment in the Corps will be the same as those . . . for limited military service (class 1–B standards)."[68] In his zeal to make himself eligible for the Corps, Schuman, by his reclassification, may have inadvertently made himself ineligible.[69]

Unaware of his error, Schuman indicated that he was ready to receive a commission and volunteered to meet Spivacke in Washington. All Spivacke had to do was give the word:

> I do not plan to take any further steps without hearing from you inasmuch as you are the only person who to my knowledge is in a position to advise me. Would the Specialists [*sic*] Corps have need for my services as a composer or in a general executive capacity in music? I feel that part of being patriotic is to continue to do creative work as long as it is humanly possible to do so. If, however, this can be coupled with a direct war job in music, I am prepared to offer my services.[70]

Spivacke's administrative assistant answered Schuman, sending him a questionnaire to fill out, a draft rating blank for his draft board to complete, and an authorization for a physical examination, which was necessary before a commission could be extended.[71] By August 12, Spivacke had the completed application before him and wrote to Schuman to ask if his status had changed and, "should an appointment be offered you, if you are prepared to accept it immediately without any reservations whatsoever." Spivacke also invited Schuman to meet with him in person if he was planning to be in Washington. Spivacke's letter was sent to Schuman's New Rochelle home just as Schuman and his wife headed to Martha's Vineyard for vacation. The forwarded letter arrived, and on August 17, Schuman wrote to Spivacke to tell him that

his draft status was unchanged and that, "if I am offered the post of Music Adviser in the Army Specialist's [*sic*] Corps as outlined in your communications, I would be ready to accept with no reservations whatsoever." It certainly did not hurt that the salary Spivacke proposed—$3,800 per annum—was $50 more than what Schuman was making at Sarah Lawrence.[72]

By this time, however, Schuman despaired of receiving a commission. His frustrations spilled over in a phone conversation he had with Jerome Swinford, the senior member of the Sarah Lawrence College music faculty. Whatever Schuman said on the phone, it troubled him sufficiently that the next day, he wrote to Swinford to clarify and defend his position. The letter is one of the most intimate pictures of Schuman we have.[73] In it, Schuman began by noting that Swinford "did not want to discuss the possibility of my being called by the Army. The fact that you did not refer to this in your letter or ask me about it has been quite a surprise and frankly last night I felt a bit hurt by your lack of interest." He went on to explain that he was instructed not to speak to the Sarah Lawrence administration while his application was being processed. In Swinford's case, he felt he had to make an exception, given their working relationship. He also divulged that he had indeed accepted Spivacke's invitation to meet in person. "With the college, and only that, in mind, I went to Washington at my own expense to try to find out if a decision could be reached without further delay." He then gave a second reason why he was asked not to say anything: "all colleges are in the same boat."

After this more lighthearted remark, Schuman got down to the core of the issue, both practically and emotionally:

> The job is by no means one that I want but it is one that I know I can do effectively. As you know, I feel very strongly about the all-out nature of the war effort and this seems to be my only opportunity for service.
>
> If my medical history causes my rejection, as it very well may, this letter is pointless. But on the one chance in ten that I am accepted, I want you to know what's what.
>
> Now that I've said my piece I feel a lot better.

One gets the sense from the letter that Swinford did not take the war effort as seriously as Schuman did. As Schuman had written to a more sympathetic soul (Spivacke), "part of being patriotic is to continue to do creative work as long as it is humanly possible to do so."[74] And what

could be more patriotic for a musician than to wed creative work and governmental service?

In so many respects, Schuman was uniquely suited to serve as a music officer to the Army. The young professor who first wowed the campus community by demonstrating how to play every instrument in the orchestra and then more than doubled chorus participation during his tenure as conductor[75] possessed the skills necessary

> to assist in the development of a well-rounded music program. Among other things, [the music officers] help to select and train song-leaders, to organize glee clubs, quartets, and choruses; they capitalize upon the interest of those who can be stimulated to enjoy the playing of pocket-sized instruments; they assist band-leaders, chaplains, and medical officers in providing the maximum of soldier participation possible.[76]

Music officers assisted in the development of "Hit Kits" and V-discs, so that soldiers overseas could stay abreast of the latest popular songs stateside. Schuman had worked these trenches before as a composer, and his knowledge of popular song was considerable:

> I used to win money at parties by betting someone that I could sing 150 songs with the verses and without mistakes. If you don't do it with the verses, any idiot can do it: you have to know the verses. In fact, I used to play a game with Leonard Bernstein in which he would just play the introduction and I had to spot the song from the introduction.[77]

The Music Section of the Army also produced songbooks for the Women's Army Corps (WACs) and the Army Nurse Corps: "These books provide the material most likely to be found acceptable to [the female corps]; the collections contain songs that have remained popular over many years. A combination of these books with the Army 'Hit Kit' gives a broad selection for any group or individual who wants to sing within the Army."[78] Schuman's experience as an arranger for, and conductor of, amateurs (usually all-female) fit right into the ideology of the Army's Music Section of the Special Services Division. One can imagine the higher-ups loving the Rodgers and Hart medley that Schuman had arranged for his chorus.

But Schuman proved to be prescient in regard to the concerns about his physical condition. On September 21, 1942, two separate letters were sent from two different offices. Both contained the same message. In one, Schuman was informed that "the Office of The Surgeon General has returned an adverse record on your physical condition and does not recommend a waiver"; in the other, he read that

"because your physical examination failed to meet the standard requirements, no waiver was recommended, and your application is withdrawn from consideration."[79] Schuman was also probably unaware of the challenges then facing the Army Specialist Corps. Founded at the instigation of Secretary of War Henry Stimson, the Corps' administration was hampered by internal delay and external competition with other divisions of the Army of the United States. It may have been Schuman's best and only chance for military service, but by October 1942, the Army Specialist Corps was disbanded.[80]

Schuman took almost a month to write to Spivacke, offering his perspective on the news that he had received. As with his letter to Swinford, Schuman's letter to Spivacke gives a glimpse into Schuman's heart at this period of his life. But it also contextualizes two compositions in ways that put both works in a different light:

> Meeting you was a great pleasure and one that I hope will be repeated some happier days. You can well imagine my keen disappointment at the decision of the Surgeon General's Office. It was a particularly surprising move since my 4F status was frankly established from the start.
>
> Since I cannot serve in the Specialist's [*sic*] Corps I'm trying to do what I can with my pen. The first work is a Cantata for Chorus and Orchestra which Koussevitzky will perform. It has wonderful words by Walt Whitman. If I've done my job well it can't help but be a moving patriotic affair. A projected work for the Philharmonic's program next Spring is "Prayer for Freedom." I'm not writing down in these compositions, but the subjects come very honestly at this time.
>
> If there is any way in which I can be of service to you in your splendid work I think you know that you can count on me.[81]

Years later, Joseph Hawthorne, music director of the Chattanooga Philharmonic, asked if he could change the title of the work to "Prayer." Hawthorne had come to believe that this was the work's original title, and since the war was far in the past, the simpler name seemed more appropriate to him. Schuman replied, "Actually the work was never called 'Prayer.' At one time it was called 'Prayer 1943' but then I later changed the title to its present one, 'Prayer in Time of War.' Therefore, I would appreciate your using this title."[82] Schuman himself seemed to have forgotten its tentative name, though in another letter to Hawthorne, he vividly remembered the circumstances surrounding its composition:

> You will recall that at this point during the war our fortunes were at a low ebb. While there is no programmatic intention in this piece in the

> sense of a story line, or the depiction of a realistic event, the title indicates my mood in completing the work. I might mention that this particular "Prayer", relating as it does to war, has in it moods far removed from the usual quietude of prayerful meditation because the prayer, like our cause, was for military triumph as the only possible way left to us for moral victory.[83]

So perhaps Schuman did not tell the whole story to the students at the High School for Music and Art. Not only was the "Prayer for Freedom" a response to the events of the day, but it also portrayed, however ambiguously, the political philosophy adopted by the liberal defenders of democracy in the early years of the war.

The cantata, of course, is *A Free Song*. On the last page of the full score, one can read the words "NEW ROCHELLE, N.Y. Oct. 16, 1942," inscribed the day before Schuman wrote to Spivacke. The text comes from three Whitman poems, all from the "Drum-Taps" section of *Leaves of Grass*. As the score indicates, Schuman "adapted" them, in keeping with his lifelong practice to tailor Whitman to suit his needs.

> [Whitman's] been a long, long love of mine, along with ten million others . . . . [He] appealed to me first because I respond to it in social terms. I respond to it in terms of his wonderful imagery and language. I find it especially suitable for choral setting because you can do anything with it, because he was a poet . . . of ideas and line and not of form. It's a rambling almost prose style. Of course, there are certain exceptions where he has very tight poems, but they are few and far between. And so I found that I was able to take words and rearrange them.[84]

Schuman's use of this Civil War–era Whitman poem places him squarely in the musical and poetic rhetoric of the era, as Roy Harris ("Year That Trembled" and "To Thee Old Cause," 1941; "Beat! Beat! Drums!" 1946), Charles Naginski ("Look Down Fair Moon," 1942), Kurt Weill (Three Songs from W. W., 1942),[85] Henry T. Burleigh ("Ethiopia Saluting the Colors," 1943), and Norman Dello Joio ("Vigil Strange" etc., 1941), all set poems from "Drum-Taps" in reaction to the war. In his study of musical settings of Whitman, John Samuel Wannamaker concluded that "Whitman's Civil War experiences still evoke responses in times of conflicts, and that composers are inclined to turn to Whitman texts under similar times of stress."[86]

For the opening movement (Part I), Schuman began with the first half of Whitman's "Long, Too Long America" to create a slow keening call to awaken to the tragic circumstances all around:

> Long, too long America,
> Traveling roads all even and peaceful you learn'd from joys and prosperity only,
> But now, ah now, to learn from crises of anguish.[87]

The first line, set to seconds (major and minor) and tritones, yields to a more harmonious setting of the second line, which in turn switches at the third line to sound the tocsin in a slow-moving cascade of interlocking fifths that create descending and overlapping seventh chords above the roll of the timpani and the stroke of the tam-tam. Then the chorus, *a cappella* save for an A-flat held in half of the string basses, repeatedly calls upon someone or something to "look down," with the requisite word painting of descending seconds.

The disquieting A-flat gives way to E minor as the music continues with the entirety of "Look Down, Fair Moon":

> Look down fair moon and bathe this scene,
> Pour softly down night's nimbus floods on faces ghastly, swollen, purple,
> On the dead on their backs with arms toss'd wide,
> Pour down your unstinted nimbus sacred moon.[88]

The first four words pick up the descending seconds in the linking passage and extend them into a D–C-sharp–B–G figure, around which this second half of Part I is built. Echoes of the "crises of anguish" idea recur, using the "fair moon" idea in canon, at "ghastly, swollen, purple," leading to the third line intoned in *fortissimo* octave Es. The music returns to quietude and ends with a duet between oboe and English horn on the "fair moon" idea.

At this point, Part II begins with a lengthy instrumental fugue. The music is a close cousin to both the Third Symphony's Fugue, which also followed a dirge of sorts in the symphony's opening Passacaglia, and its Toccata, with the opening themes sounded in both instances by the bass clarinet and growing in activity and volume. Olin Downes called this one of Schuman's "sandier stretches" where "the use of the fugue formula does not recompense for the absence of a commanding utterance."[89] Yet its role in the piece functions much like the instrumental prologue in the fourth movement of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony by

providing a foil against which the singers offer a competing narrative. Just as in the "Ode to Joy," in *A Free Song* the tutti orchestra returns to its opening statement (the fugue theme) immediately before the chorus enters and changes the tone to one of celebration.

Fugues in Schuman reflect his lifelong interest in music for amateurs. The Four Canonic Choruses (1932–33) were the first pieces he published, an early indicator of how imitative counterpoint would suffuse his musical language and educational philosophy. In Part I of *A Free Song*, Schuman deployed canonic devices for the chorus; an instrumental fugue naturally extends this compositional choice. Novices (such as those who populated the Harvard and Radcliffe choruses that premiered the cantata) can learn canons and rounds quickly and enjoy the textural complexity that they create with relatively little effort. Musical imitation is also egalitarian and was as organic to Schuman's political inclinations as it was to his musical vocabulary. It is unlikely that he was familiar with the theoretical literature that viewed fugue in rhetorical terms,[90] but practically, imitation for Schuman served as a musical analogue that pointed to the triumph of democracy over tyranny.

For the choral section of Part II, Schuman selected ten lines from the lengthy "Song of the Banner at Daybreak." Unlike Part I, which has no given name, Schuman called Part II "Song of the Banner," and the title in both Whitman and Schuman inevitably recalls the Francis Scott Key poem "The Star-Spangled Banner," written in commemoration of the American victory over the British at Fort McHenry in the War of 1812:

> O a new song, a free song,
> Flapping, flapping, flapping, flapping, by sounds, by voices clearer,
> By the wind's voice and that of the drum,
> By the banner's voice and child's voice and sea's voice and father's voice,
> Low on the ground and high in the air . . .
> Where the banner at daybreak is flapping. . . .
> I hear and see not strips of cloth alone,
> I hear the tramp of armies, ~~I hear the challenging sentry,~~
> I hear the jubilant shouts of millions of men, I hear Liberty!
> I hear the drums beat and the trumpets blowing.[91]

Most significant in Schuman's setting are the adaptations he made in the final four lines he culled from Whitman. First, the pronoun is changed throughout into its plural, a typically collectivist gesture on

Schuman's part. For the eighth line he added an intensifier—"We hear *again* the tramp of armies"—to remind us that we have successfully fought this fight before, and he omitted the dated reference to a sentry. Finally, he reversed the final two lines and repeated the first line between the two, allowing him to reaffirm the theme of freedom and end with the chorus, at the top of its range, to exclaim "We hear Liberty!"

As Schuman predicted, the cantata had its desired effect at its premiere, as can be heard in the audience's response to Koussevitzky's 1943 performance.[92] The Pulitzer advisory committee also responded positively and submitted *A Free Song* as the sole candidate for the first-ever Pulitzer Prize in Music.

* * *

In the original Pulitzer Plan of Award, the following provision was made:

> Nothing in this plan relating to the preliminary selection or nomination of candidates for the several prizes and traveling scholarships shall be deemed to limit in any way the authority and control of the Advisory Board who may, at their discretion, modify any of the provisions relating to the preliminary selection or nomination of candidates.[93]

According to Hohenberg, "This was the first signal that the Board would regard all jury reports as advisory, that the Board would insist on its right to overrule juries and impose its own judgment on the contenders, and that the Board would, if necessary, select its own prize winners."[94] If, in 1915, Fackenthal and Butler had not wanted the advisory board to carry this much weight in the determination of the prizes, by 1943 Butler at least had substantively changed his views. The advisory board had on numerous occasions given prizes to works that had not been recommended by the juries that had been appointed by the board, often to the public consternation of those jury members. And as Butler's determination to keep Hemingway from winning a prize demonstrates, sometimes only one man (usually Butler) could sway the outcome. Though he was eighty-one when the advisory board convened in April of 1943, it is difficult to imagine that Butler was not interested in making the first music prize a significant statement.

Hohenberg also gives ample evidence of juries changing their collective minds at the eleventh hour. Jury members split over which novel or play should receive the prize; often rifts developed along lines of morality, with some adjudicators temperamentally incapable of voting for a

work they considered debased or others overly persuaded by another work that exuded virtue. Any adjudicator who was familiar with Butler would also be aware of his whims and tastes.

Clifton was most likely such an adjudicator.[95] A native Mississippian, he graduated with distinction from the Cincinnati Conservatory (1907) and Harvard (1912). He also conducted widely in the Boston area before traveling to Europe to study with Vincent d'Indy and André Gedalge. He continued to conduct in Europe and, upon his return to the States, secured various conducting assignments until, in 1922, he was appointed music director of the American Orchestral Society of New York. Throughout his career, he promoted American music at the Society and in his role as guest conductor with orchestras in Baltimore, Cincinnati, Minneapolis, Boston, and New York. After stepping down from the Society in 1932, his activities became more diffuse. The mid-thirties found him at Columbia, where he came in contact with Moore and Fackenthal. For eighteen continuous years he served on the music jury for the Pulitzer Prizes, retiring in 1960. He died in 1966.

Three other aspects of Clifton's life inform the story of Schuman being awarded the first music prize. First, while Clifton was best known as a conductor, he also was a composer in his own right. His sympathetic attitude toward American composers must have come in part from his own experience as a composer whose works were rarely performed.

A natural extension of this sympathy was the FMP, an arm of Franklin Delano Roosevelt's New Deal Works Progress Administration. Clifton served as the New York director of the FMP for four years (1936–40). In that position he had frequently come into contact with Schuman. At one point, Schuman wrote to Clifton to see whether the copying department of the New York FMP could extract the parts for his Second Symphony. Clifton's assistant answered Schuman "in the absence of Mr. Clifton. . . . Upon inquiry, I learned that the Prelude and Fugue had been copied and are ready to go into rehearsal, and that there is now so much work to be done in the Copying Department, that it would be impossible to copy the parts of your Symphony this season."[96] While the premiere of the symphony would have to wait until the following spring, Schuman was nevertheless becoming an FMP darling. In January 1938 he received word from Clifton of the outcome of a composition contest:

> Dear Mr. Schuman:
>
> You have been chosen one of the winners by the Committee, consisting of Dr. Howard Hanson, Harold Morris, Lee Orean Smith, Lehman Engel

> and Roy Harris, for the Choral Contest, held by the WPA Federal Music Project, in cooperation with Carl Fischer, Inc., the Columbia Phonograph Company and the Columbia Broadcasting System. The names are listed in accordance to the wishes of the Committee as to their importance:
>
> William Schuman, Sarah Lawrence College, Bronxville, N.Y.
>
> Armin Loos, 75 Pierrepont Street, Brooklyn, N.Y.
>
> David Diamond, 86 Jane Street, New York City
>
> John Vincent, Western Ky. Teachers' College, Bowling Green, Ky.
>
> Elliott Carter, 51 East 55th Street, New York City
>
> You will be notified as soon as arrangements have been completed for the performance, broadcast, recording, and publication of some or all of these works.[97]

Clifton's letter, while individually addressed to Schuman, was essentially a form letter. Even so, Clifton must have heard about Schuman's success as a speaker for the FMP, so his success as a composer could only burnish Schuman's image in Clifton's mind.

Lastly, Clifton was a World War I veteran, having received a commission as first lieutenant in the Intelligence Service and served overseas for two years during the war. He was also the director of a music workshop for veterans at Halloran Hospital in Staten Island from 1942 to 1945. There is no extant personal correspondence between Schuman and Clifton during these years, and the closeness of their relationship is a matter of conjecture. But having fought in the first war that was waged to make the world safe for democracy and continuing his service into the second such war, Clifton may have had a weak spot for a work that explicitly heralded the dawning of democracy.

While there is no extant evidence that Moore recommended that Clifton be appointed to the Pulitzer music jury, Moore earlier had recommended Clifton for another jury, at which time Moore wrote that Clifton was "socially very acceptable, a fine executive and a distinguished musician."[98] Other evidence that Fackenthal and Butler relied on Moore comes from an undated and unsigned letter inviting "the directors or authorized representatives of all the important performing groups in the United States" to nominate for the first-ever Pulitzer award in music "a musical composition by a composer of established residence in the United States which in your opinion would merit consideration as the outstanding American composition of the season." The language in this letter closely parallels the language in Moore's December 1941 letter to Butler, and Fackenthal had explicitly asked

Moore to "draw up a nomination form for the new Pulitzer Prize in Music." Moore dawdled, though, and in late September 1942, the secretary of Columbia wrote to him, asking where the form was. A typeset form, which accompanied the unsigned letter, was eventually produced.[99]

Moore clearly had the ear of Butler in initiating the music prize, and he had the words of Clifton concerning the machinations of the jury. Schuman ran into Moore soon after the Pulitzer announcement. "I said: 'Gee, I was excited.' [Moore] said: 'I could have told you that weeks ago.'"[100] How much influence upon the music jury Moore exercised from the sidelines is impossible to know, but given that the Pulitzers remained the bailiwick of Columbia and that the music prize was the Columbia music faculty's brainchild, it is difficult to imagine that there were no conversations between Moore and Clifton about the first prize, and all the more so given Moore's casual remark to Schuman.

Fackenthal began to solicit scores in early February 1943. He began by drafting a form letter. The header provides the names and addresses for eleven composers, arranged in no discernible order: Howard Hanson, Leo Sowerby, Walter Piston, John Alden Carpenter, Roger Sessions, Samuel Barber, Arthur Shepherd, Edward Burlingame Hill, Randall Thompson, Gail Kubik, and David Diamond. All are identified as "Mr." save one: Barber, who by this time was in the Army, is addressed as "Private":

> Dear
>
> The Advisory Committee for the Pulitzer Award in Music has asked me to write you for information concerning any of your larger works which will have received first performance or publication within the period April 1, 1942 to March 31, 1943, together with a statement as to the date and place of its first performance. If you have a composition which falls in this category, would you be good enough to send me the score for examination by the committee.[101]

The list is striking for the range in ages of the letter recipients, from the twenty-seven-year-old Diamond to the sixty-nine-year-old Hill. Equally significant are the names not listed. Columbia had long cultivated musical conservatism, first with Daniel Gregory Mason (who taught at Columbia from 1905 until 1942) and then with Moore. And yet musically conservative composers—Louis Gruenberg, Deems Taylor, and William Grant Still, to name three—as well as ultra-moderns—Henry Cowell, Carl Ruggles, Wallingford Riegger—appear not to have received the form letter.

Nor did they receive individual letters, as did a select group of three composers. On behalf of the music jury, Fackenthal sent Schuman the following letter:

> The Advisory Committee for the Pulitzer Award in Music would like to examine the score of your Concerto for Piano and Orchestra.
>
> Would you be kind enough to forward it to my office for consideration, together with a statement as to the date and place of its first performance.

The language is the same for letters sent to Copland and Harris, with the names of the pieces changed: Copland was invited to submit the "Rodeo Suite," *Lincoln Portrait*, and *Music for Movies*; Harris was asked to send "the score of your new Symphony" (the Fifth).[102] In neither the Schuman nor the Copland papers is there a letter in reply to Fackenthal, and their respective publishers have no evidence that they sent the requested scores to Columbia. In Schuman's case, it is possible that he voluntarily substituted *A Free Song* or *Prayer in Time of War* for the rather slight concerto; there is no evidence either way. But clearly, someone was advising Fackenthal to solicit these particular scores, and Moore once again is the likely source. Two weeks earlier, Moore had complimented Schuman on the latter's January 13, 1943 Town Hall concert dedicated to his music, at which the piano concerto was premiered. "The concerto at a single hearing is a dashing and effective piece," he wrote. "I look forward to further acquaintance with it and I am sure I shall have many opportunities in the future."[103]

To many of these composers, the letters from Fackenthal were the first public acknowledgement that there was a Pulitzer Prize in Music. Those composers not contacted by Fackenthal would have to find out about the prize through other means. An announcement from Fackenthal's office that appeared in the *New York Times* on March 18, 1943 broadcast the prize's inauguration:

> Believing that the time has come when the cause of American music will be better served by an award for distinguished composition than by continuing the [music] scholarship, inasmuch as there are a number of opportunities for young composers which did not exist when Joseph Pulitzer made his will, the trustees of the university have exercised their power to modify the regulations governing the awards.

The announcement set both the monetary amount for the prize ($500) and the parameters of the works being considered: "musical composition in the larger forms of chamber, orchestral or choral work, or for an

operatic work, including ballet, first performed or published by a composer residing regularly in this country."[104] Schuman's later statement in an interview that "nobody knew there was a Pulitzer Prize in music" that first year or that the news of the monetary award being halved came on the same day as the public announcement of the prizes[105] was a misremembrance on his part.

How the music jury unanimously decided on *A Free Song* remains a matter of conjecture. Less than three weeks separate the cantata's first performance in Boston (26 March) and Clifton's letter to the advisory board (12 April). There is no record of whether Clifton, the other two members of the music jury, or members of the advisory board attended the April 3 New York premiere of the cantata. Koussevitzky's Boston Symphony Orchestra program included other pieces that would interest the Pulitzer people: Copland's *Lincoln Portrait*, another candidate for the prize; and Barber's First Essay for Orchestra, which, although ineligible for the prize, would help the committee assess the Second Essay, which was eligible.[106] Beethoven's Fifth Symphony rounded out the program. The headline for Thomson's review of the concert, "Superficially Warlike," reflects both the tenor of the times and Thomson's sideward stance to that spirit. Thomson parodied the war theme beyond his remarks on Schuman's piece: "the military note was added to this performance [of the Barber] by the composer's presence, bowing, in uniform"; the Copland resembled "a half-dozen snapshots taken at various epochs of [Lincoln's] life, including something from the war period, of course"; and the statement that the motto of the Beethoven does not resemble the Morse code for "V" (three dots and a dash, i.e., shorthand for "victory") but "really consists, in its most frequent statement, of four dots, and in its initial, or motto, form of three dots and something the length of about fifteen dashes, a signal not admitted, so far as I know, in any telegraphic alphabet."[107]

One may read such comments, as does Thomson biographer Anthony Tommasini, as "jocular attempts to boost readers' morale." But Thomson was agnostic toward war in general. World War I found Thomson seeking combat not out of patriotism but out of a "yearning toward novel experience"; "you wanted to be a part of what so many were experiencing, to try yourself out, to prove your endurance." He never left the States, though, and his bemusement at the "superficially warlike" aspects of the 1943 Carnegie concert resonate with a sadder-but-wiser attitude of an older man whose military service failed to measure up to his expectations. As for World War II, Thomson said little about it in print. The war inconvenienced him, forcing him

out of his beloved Paris in 1940 and creating the conditions that led him to become a music critic for a daily paper. His friends allegedly found him "shockingly detached" toward the rise of fascism, the plight of Jews, and Hitler's reshaping of the continent.[108] Simply put, Thomson did not share Schuman's urgency or concern toward the conflict.

If war was worthy of light satire in Thomson's hands, it was viewed differently on the part of the audience. Downes caught the spirit of the concert:

> Messrs. Schuman and Barber, the latter in army uniform, with Mr. Will Geer, the reciter of the occasion, . . . were repeatedly called back to the stage. . . . There was no doubt a dramatic symbolism as musical balance implied in the conclusion with Beethoven's incomparable Symphony of Liberty. The eerie premonitions of the scherzo and the wildly victorious finale brought conductor and orchestra salvos of applause.[109]

The audience and the critics diverged in their opinions on Schuman's cantata. While Downes, like Thomson, had doubts about the merits of *A Free Song*, that Saturday afternoon in Carnegie Hall the audience threw its full support behind Schuman and his effort to honor the war.

War was also worthy of honor in the minds of the advisory board and its ancillary committees. The jury for the fiction prize in 1943 settled on Upton Sinclair's *Dragon's Teeth*, noting how the novel "is actually a story of well-meaning Americans waking up to the threat of the German system of ideas." Thornton Wilder's "fantastic comedy," *The Skin of Our Teeth*, won the drama prize that same year, with its story about the indestructibility of humankind, including during the waging of warfare.[110] And the winners of the journalism prizes reflected the fact that, by April 1943, the nation had endured a year when it was fully at war and not merely contemplating it: all of the journalism prizes went to war-related stories. *A Free Song* fit neatly into the importance the advisory board (and Butler) placed in rallying the nation behind the war.

The music jury, however, chose not to acknowledge this. In fact, Clifton's letter says nothing about the merits of *A Free Song* or why the jury selected it instead of the other works that were eligible that year: "Mr. Schumann's cantata, recently performed by the Boston Symphony Orchestra, and published by G. Schirmer, Inc. in vocal score complies with the requirements both of performance and publication, as established by the rules governing the award."[111] Such a perfunctory

recitation of the work's qualifications is all the more striking when placed next to the jury's report two years later for *Appalachian Spring*:

> The best stage music of the year. It is very simple, using fragments of Springfield Mountain and other American folk tunes interwoven and developed with great elegance and deftness, showing great experience with the orchestra, and with musical materials. Above all, it is an entirely satisfactory vehicle for the dance.[112]

(Clifton was also the chair for that jury; the other members were composers Cowell and Otto Luening.) The jury's failure to speak of the cantata's strengths is notable.

Yet one person who must have approved of their choice was Butler. No documentary evidence has surfaced that suggests that he pressured the music jury to pick *A Free Song*, though his own history makes it easy to imagine that Butler may have persuaded the jury to choose the Schuman piece. Since he was present at the April 30, 1943 advisory board meeting, he literally approved the choice of the music jury. Schuman had sought to assist the war effort with his pen; the music jury, the advisory board, and Butler implicitly concurred with Schuman that the cantata was "a moving patriotic affair" and thus worthy of the first Pulitzer Prize in Music. Butler in particular must have been pleased.

* * *

Schuman later would tell the story of how on Monday, May 3, 1943, he heard the announcement about the Pulitzer Prizes on the radio:

> I had finished the chorus rehearsal at Sarah Lawrence. I was driving home from Bronxville to Larchmont. Leonard Bernstein and Henry Simon . . . were coming for dinner, and on the way home I turned on the radio, and it said that Pulitzer Prizes were announced today for literature and so on and so forth. And it said: "Now for the first time in the history of the Pulitzer Prize, there is an award given for music," and there it was. They announced my name. . . . When I got home, everybody had been calling. It had been in the afternoon papers. Bernstein knew—Frankie didn't know, as I recall it, and my students at Sarah Lawrence were furious with me. They said: "You can't tell us you didn't know this, this afternoon. You didn't tell us!" Later that evening I got a telegram from Nicholas Murray Butler, misspelling the name of the piece and my name.[113]

If Butler's office misspelled Schuman's name, it was only following Clifton's letter.[114] But just as Schuman embellished the prize's alleged lack of publicity and reduced monetary value, so he also misremembered where he was when he first heard the news. He did learn of the prize through the radio, not by telegram, and the conditions under which he turned on that radio once again position the prize within the context of the times in which the prize was awarded. An unnamed reporter for the school newspaper gave the story a particular spin for the Sarah Lawrence community:

> William Schuman, Professor of Music at Sarah Lawrence, who has received the first Pulitzer Prize for music for his "Secular Cantata No. 2, A Free Song," told a *Campus* reporter yesterday afternoon [Tuesday, 4 May 1943] that he first learned of the honor while listening to the radio at his home.
>
> "I was eager to hear about the fighting in Tunisia," Mr. Schuman said, "and tuned in on the radio. I recognized the Boston accent of Quincy Howe. He announced the news of the Pulitzer winners and my name was among them. Naturally it was exciting."
>
> Mr. Schuman, who pointed out that Pulitzer Prize winners usually are informed a week in advance, said it was not until 8 o'clock Monday night that he received official confirmation from Columbia University.
>
> He said he was "awfully pleased" that the award had gone to the cantata, pointing out it was based on a work by Walt Whitman which he likes. He explained that the work was first performed by the Boston Symphony Orchestra in March and the next month in New York. On the latter date the critics were slightly less enthusiastic than on the first occasion.[115]

Did Schuman tell the reporter about the critical response to the work, or had the reporter been following the press coverage of Sarah Lawrence's campus icon on her own?[116] Whichever the case, Schuman's reason for turning on the radio resonates completely with his reason for writing the cantata in the first place. On November 8, 1942, Allied Forces landed in North Africa in order to wrest Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia away from the Axis powers; on March 16, 1943, the Allied Forces launched offensives at Mareth, El Guettar, and Maknassy Pass, all in Tunisia; by May 13, an estimated quarter million Axis soldiers who had fought in North Africa had become prisoners of war; the "second Stalingrad" (in Goebbels's words) had ended. "From a distance of sixty years," writes historian Rick Atkinson, "we can see that North Africa was a pivotal point in American history, the place where the United

States began to act like a great power—militarily, diplomatically, strategically, tactically."[117] It is hardly a surprise that Schuman would follow Tunisia; it is a happy coincidence that he received news of his own major victory when he was tuning in to hear about the fortunes of the Allied troops.

Some sixty years after the first Pulitzer Prize in Music was awarded, questions about the meaning of the prize continue to be raised, not the least by its recipients. John Adams may have shocked some in the musical establishment when he volunteered that

> among musicians that I know, the Pulitzer has over the years lost much of the prestige it still carries in other fields like literature and journalism. Anyone perusing the list of past winners cannot help noticing that many if not most of the country's greatest musical minds are conspicuously missing. Be they mavericks . . . or be they composer-performers . . . or especially be they our great jazz composers . . . most if not all of these genuinely creative spirits have been passed over year after year, often in favor of academy composers who have won a disproportionate number of prizes.(note)

New York Times music critic Anne Midgette got Adams to vent his frustration days after he was awarded the Pulitzer for *On the Transmigration of Souls*. She created a litany of names: mavericks "like John Cage, Morton Feldman, Harry Partch or Conlon Nancarrow"; composer-performers "like Steve Reich, Philip Glass, Terry Riley." Adams himself listed "Monk (Meredith or Thelonious) [and] Laurie Anderson" among those who had been passed over. And the mention of jazz composers certainly recalls the brouhaha that occurred when Duke Ellington was passed over for a special citation in 1965. (Schuman himself publicly rebuked the Pulitzer Advisory Board for not issuing a music prize in either 1964 or 1965 and called the slight to Ellington "utterly preposterous."[118])

But Adams and fellow Pulitzer honoree John Corigliano misunderstand what the music prize has represented. Corigliano may be correct when he stated that the prize "changed into another kind of award completely: by composers for composers," but he was dead wrong when he offered that "the Pulitzer was originally intended to be for a work that is going to last, to mean something to the world."[119] Corigliano's winning work, the Symphony No. 2 for String Orchestra (2000), may one day meet that test, as may *On the Transmigration of Souls*. But the fact that Adams's work—written in the shadow of a massive attack on American soil as an attempt to bring solace to the nation and hope for the future—won a Pulitzer says more about the prize than Corigliano's

remarks could ever say. To paraphrase Barbara Zuck, perhaps prize-winning music written in the midst of a national and world crisis cannot be judged historically by the same standards as prize-winning music composed in relatively peaceful periods.[120] From its instigation, the music prize was not above politics or world events; at times the works that triumphed did so expressly because of politics (e.g., composers honoring other composers, such as Morton Gould's 1995 win for *Stringmusic*) or world events (e.g., 7 December 1941 and 11 September 2001). It was not necessarily created to honor music that is going to last.

Still, it is not hard to hear Thomson as prophetic, point out the failings in *A Free Song*, and scoff at Schuman's prize. One can also adopt Corigliano's measure and conclude that the first Pulitzer Prize should have gone to *Rodeo*. But Schuman understood that the times required occasional pieces that would actively promote democracy. And so he cobbled together three Whitman poems to yield an elegy to the war dead and a paean to implacable liberty, which, Schuman held, meant a great deal because the costs to secure it were so high. He was once asked if he had a musical creed or philosophy. His answer: "It is not enough that the musician be content with technical proficiency alone. He must be equipped to contribute, through his profession, to the development of music as a constructive force in contemporary life."[121] Thus, he had every reason to be "awfully pleased" when the award was announced. In light of the times in which it premiered and in light of the Prizes' history of recognizing work that supported the war effort (at least up until the Vietnam conflict[122]), *A Free Song*, as Schuman knew, was "a constructive force in contemporary life," the right piece for the right time that happened to receive the right award for the right reasons.

Notes

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1. Virgil Thomson, "Superficially Warlike," in his *The Musical Scene* (New York: Knopf, 1945), 125. According to Thomson biographer Anthony Tommasini, Thomson titled his own reviews. Tommasini, *Virgil Thomson: Composer on the Aisle* (New York: Norton, 1997), 336.

2. Letter from Chalmers Clifton to Frank D. Fackenthal, 12 Apr. 1943, courtesy of the Pulitzer Prize offices, E.M. Kliment, deputy administrator.

3. In a letter to Aaron Copland, 12 April 1943, Arthur Berger wrote that "Schuman has achieved a real low in his Free Song. An indication of his musical taste is his choice of words. I don't think Whitman ever wrote anything worse than the words Schuman singled out from all the good stuff to choose from. 'Pour down your unstinted nimbus, sacred moon.' I suppose a composer does not think verbally, so he is not to be blamed too much for his choice of words. But Schuman duplicates the feeling of the words he picks, instead of attempting to improve upon them. Also, it is significant that most of the great works of the past were remarkably successful in their texts: the Bach Passions, Gluck, Mozart's operas, the Ninth, even Persephone." See Wayne D. Shirley, "Aaron Copland and Arthur Berger in Correspondence," in *Copland and His World*, ed. Carol J. Oja and Judith Tick (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005), 195–97. Shirley assumes that Berger would have heard *The Free Song* in the Boston Symphony Orchestra's New York City concert of 3 April. But he may have encountered *A Free Song* as did Copland, who wrote to Schuman from Hollywood on Saturday evening, 27 March 1943, shortly after hearing a broadcast of the work: "Typical Schuman in conception and orchestration; full of imagination on the instrumental side (I loved those clarinets);—but the choral writing not my dish, giving the whole a somewhat forced impressiveness. I'd like to hear it again—and hope you have records." Schuman responded on 31 March 1943. "I don't agree that you would have had the same opinion of the Cantata had you heard it in the flesh. Piston thinks it my best composition and told me so and then wrote a letter to tell me again. It can't possibly sound forced because it isn't. Take it from me Aaron it's a swell piece and it would have swept you right along. When you do hear it all this will happen to you and if it doesn't you can't blame me for trying." Both letters are in the William Schuman Collection, Additional Material Received, July 1995, Correspondence 1930s–1986, Folder "Copland, Aaron," Rose Building of the New York Public Library for the Performing Arts (hereafter, Rose-WS).

4. Barbara A. Zuck, *A History of Musical Americanism* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1980), 196–97. Zuck here quotes Boris Schwarz, *Music and Musical Life in Soviet Russia, 1917–1970* (New York: Norton, 1973), 180. Copland wrote to Robert Palmer (25 Jan. 1942) that "the big success of the winter has been Bill Schuman's *Third Symphony*." Copland continued, "I had felt for some time that here was a 'big talent.' Bill was typical of young American music of the time—left of center, but more tonal and less experimental than the generation that came of age in the twenties. Schuman's work reflects his personality—full of drive and conviction, not lacking in emotional content, with a love of the grandiose and a wonderful eloquence." Aaron Copland and Vivian Perlis, *Copland 1900 through 1942* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1984), 350.

5. Schuman to Copland, 31 Mar. 1943, Rose-WS, Correspondence 1930s–1986, folder "Copland, Aaron." This letter, cited by Howard Pollack, seems to contradict Pollack's statement that "Schuman was not in the least troubled by the 'surface accessibility' of Copland's more popular scores." It does reveal, as Pollack reports, that

"[Schuman] wept over *Lincoln Portrait*," but Schuman went on in the letter to criticize that work as well as *Music for Movies* and the Piano Sonata. See Pollack, *Aaron Copland: The Life and Work of an Uncommon Man* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2000), 191.

6. Numerous studies have explored music and politics in 1930s and 1940s America. Zuck (esp. 89–198) remains a valuable and comprehensive source. More recent authors have followed Zuck, focusing on the radical left of the early and mid-1930s (with an emphasis on Copland) and the shift toward agrarian and cowboy references later in that decade (with an emphasis on Roy Harris and Copland). See Beth Ellen Levy, "Frontier Figures: American Music and the Mythology of the American West, 1895–1945" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2002), esp. 97–203 and 220–377; Elizabeth B. Crist, "Copland and the Politics of Americanism," and Beth E. Levy, "From Orient to Occident: Aaron Copland and the Sagas of the Prairie," both in *Copland and His World*, 277–306 and 307–50, respectively; and Crist, *Music and the Common Man: Aaron Copland during the Depression and War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005). Morris Dickstein's firsthand account of these years also makes valuable reading ("Copland and American Populism in the 1930s," in *Copland and His World*, 81–100). And Leon Botstein places the American musical scene at this time in an international context; see his editorial, "After Fifty Years: Thoughts on Music and the End of World War II," *Musical Quarterly* 79, no. 2 (1995): 225–30.

7. Listeners sent in letters to the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) after the 11 September 1938 broadcast of the symphony. Schuman told Vivian Perlis that "there was some farmer in Iowa who said: 'For two days I've had a headache and aspirin wouldn't take it away. That awful music!' And one letter was worse than the next, so I called [conductor Howard] Barlow, and I said: 'I am terribly sorry I got you into all that trouble.' He said: 'Trouble? What we want is audience reaction. I am going to program it again.'" William Schuman, interview with Perlis, Yale University's Oral History, American Music Project, Major Figures in American Music Collection, interview no. 46 (hereafter, OHAM-WS), 72. The Boston critics savaged Serge Koussevitzky's February 1939 performances with the Boston Symphony Orchestra, which dissuaded neither Barlow nor Schuman from allowing the symphony to be performed by the Baltimore Symphony Orchestra in March 1940. For music critics' reviews of Koussevitzky's and Barlow's performances, see note 31 below.

8. Paul Rosenfeld, "Copland–Harris–Schuman," *Musical Quarterly* 25, no. 2 (1939): 379.

9. Aaron Copland, "Scores and Records," *Modern Music* 15, no. 4 (May–June 1938): 245, as quoted in K. Gary Adams, *William Schuman: A Bio-Bibliography* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1998), 7.

10. "Vital Music of U.S. Composers Lauded," *San Francisco Examiner*, 26 Mar. 1940, in William Schuman Papers, New York Public Library for the Performing Arts JPB 87–33 (hereafter, NYPL-WS), box 188.

11. Hugh J. Riddell, "Music in Praise of Democracy," *Sunday Worker*, 30 June 1940, in NYPL-WS, box 188.

12. OHAM-WS, 70.

13. Schuman's son Anthony called his parents "Roosevelt Democrats" (personal communication, 18 Aug. 2005), and his daughter Andrea said that her father "was very suspicious of potential 'front' organizations, which many committees involved in support of the Spanish civil war proved to be" (personal communication, 19 Jan. 2006). On his 1958 application for a federal security clearance—a necessary step in accepting an invitation to join the Advisory Committee on Cultural Information of the United States Information Agency—Schuman answered "No" to the question "Are you now, or have you ever been, a member of the Communist Party, U.S.A., or any communist or fascist organization?" (NYPL-WS, box 42, folder 3). For more on Schuman's politics, see Flora Rheta Schreiber and Vincent Persichetti, *William Schuman* (New York: G. Schirmer, 1954), 40–41.

14. Jerome D. Bohm, "A New Cantata," *New York Herald Tribune*, 30 June 1940, in NYPL-WS, box 188.

15. Henry W. Simon, "Workers Sing the Way Valkyries Ought To," *PM*, 3 Dec. 1940, NYPL-WS, box 188.

16. "Ickes Asks Scorn for 'Superior Race'," *New York Times*, 5 July 1940, 8.

17. "Americans Arm Against Hitler's Ideas As France Drifts Away from Democracy," *Life* 9, no. 3 (15 July 1940), 26.

18. Letter from Schuman to Harold Ickes, 6 Aug. 1940, NYPL-WS, box 20, folder 12.

19. OHAM-WS, 5 and 298.

20. Letter from Schuman to Ickes, 6 Aug. 1940.

21. See Kenneth J. Bindas, *All of This Music Belongs to the Nation: The WPA's Federal Music Project and American Society* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1995), 65. On 4 May 1936, Milton J. Cross, junior project supervisor of the Composers' Forum-Laboratory, wrote to Schuman concerning the scheduled 10 June performance of Schuman's "Four Chorale-Canons" (Four Canonic Choruses) by the Madrigal Singers under the leadership of Lehman Engel. (The program was rescheduled for 21 October 1936.) NYPL-WS, box 44, folder 11. For more on the Composers' Forum-Laboratory, see Melissa de Graaf, "Documenting Music in the New Deal: The New York Composers' Forum Concerts, 1935–1940" (Ph.D. diss., Brandeis University, 2005).

22. OHAM-WS, 69.

23. In a 21 October 1938 letter to Schuman, Frances McFarland, assistant to the New York City Director of the FMP and the person "in charge of Music Education," expressed her personal appreciation and thanks for Schuman's "brilliant and informative talk on contemporary music at our Midtown Branch." McFarland went on to inquire about Schuman's availability the following month "to discuss in detail, modern teaching methods and material for teaching purposes. I have had many requests from our teachers to invite you to be present at this session." NYPL-WS, box 44, folder 11.

24. "By the way," Samuel Schuman wrote to his son, "why not elaborate on the Parade of the Newsreel and you have a fine military piece—Think it over." NYPL-WS, box 150, folder 12.

25. OHAM-WS, 145–46. According to a story in *The Pittsburgh Press*, "high school bands throughout Pennsylvania will be given a piece he has written at the request of

their state director—'News Reel,' his first piece for high school bands." "Nation at War Still Needs Music, Composer Says," *Pittsburgh Press*, 10 Dec. 1941, NYPL-WS, box 189.

26. Constance Warren, "President's Report: Faculty," 19 May 1941, 5, in *Sarah Lawrence College President's Reports*, Nov. 1938 to May 1941 (book 3). I wish to thank Abby Lester, Sarah Lawrence College archivist, for her inestimable assistance in my research.

27. "The first three notes of this piece will be recognized by some listeners as the 'call to play' of boyhood days," Schuman explained. "In New York City it is yelled on the syllables, 'Wee-Awk-Eee' to get the gang together for a game or a festive occasion of some sort. This call very naturally suggested itself for a piece of music being composed for a very festive occasion. From this it should not be inferred that the Overture is program music. In fact, the idea for the music came to mind before the origin of the theme was recalled. The development of this bit of 'folk material,' then, is along purely musical lines." "American Festival Overture by William Howard Schuman," *Boston Symphony Orchestra Concert Bulletin, 59th Season 1939–40*, vol. 59, no. 6 (17 Nov. 1939), 245. NYPL-WS, box 188. "Unlike many of our composers," wrote Nathan Broder, "he has never utilized folk music and he imitated it, deliberately, only once in the 'Fanfares' movement of 'This is Our Time'." See "The Music of William Schuman," *Musical Quarterly* 31, no. 1 (Jan. 1945): 26.

28. "Tanglewood," mimeographed program of 18 July 1941 concert, with annotations by Schuman, NYPL-WS, box 188.

29. "Schuman Urges Musicians to Compose," *Overtone of Music and Art* 7, no. 5 (1 June 1941), NYPL-WS, box 188.

30. "For Rim-shot place one stick end on the drumhead and lean it against the rim. Strike the stick with the other one." William Schuman, *Symphony No. III* Study Score (New York: G. Schirmer, 1942), 72.

31. With the exception of Moses Smith in the *Boston Transcript*, the Boston reviews of the symphony were negative, with most of them focusing on the long-held pedal tone. "When in the course of the single movement this pedal tone . . . is dropped, the listener experiences a blessed sense of relief, as when a dentist removes his drill" (Warren Storey Smith, "Myra Hess Soloist at Symphony; Work by Schuman Is Received Rather Coldly," *Boston Post*, 18 Feb. 1939); "The striking trick about the score is the almost constant iteration of the note C. . . . The persistent sounding of this note, set off by chords totally unrelated to it, constitutes a violent assault upon the sensibilities. It is this assault of monotony aggravated by dissonance that marks the score, rather than its adventures in contrapuntal writing. . . . The applause yesterday was no more than polite, and the author was called on to take only one bow" (L. A. S., "Myra Hess Symphony Soloist," *Boston Monitor*, 18 Feb. 1939). When the Baltimore Symphony Orchestra performed the work in March 1940, the reviews were guarded yet more favorable. "Undoubtedly the ear does find itself discomfited, at first hearing, in trying to assimilate the dissonances of Mr. Schuman's score, but there is no denying that this symphony contains much that is arresting and distinctive. The work, reflecting much of the color of Sibelius, is divided into three sections, the first of which revolves around a sustained 'C' in the trumpet, a note that becomes like a bright object held in a hypnotist's hand, holding one's attention to the point that the rest of the orchestration is heard only as in a haze" (W. W., "Baltimore Symphony Presents Fifth Concert,"

Baltimore Sun, 4 Mar. 1940); "The outstanding feature of William Howard Schuman's 'Symphony No. 2' in C Major was a long monotone held by the trumpets through fully a third of the composition, the horn players alternating their breaths so as to keep the tone on the single note without a pause or break. It continued with a fine disregard for whatever else the rest of the orchestra was doing until it beat into the ears of the listeners like the voice of conscience. At a point where it seemed about to cause a mass reaction in the audience the note changed, and an audible sigh went up from all parts of the hall. As an experiment in mass psychology it was extremely interesting, but had that single trumpet blast gone on much longer it might easily have worked a serious effect on an unstable mind" (R. B. C., "All-American Program Given Here By Baltimore Symphony," *Baltimore Evening Sun*, 4 Mar. 1940). These and other reviews are in NYPL-WS, box 188.

32. Letter from Walter Onslow to Schuman, 14 Aug. 1940, NYPL-WS, box 20, folder 12.

33. OHAM-WS, 104.

34. Letter from Schuman to Warren, 18 June 1941, in "Schuman, William H. 1936–1994," faculty folder, Sarah Lawrence College archives.

35. Warren, "President's Report: The College and the Present Crisis," 19 May 1941, 12, in *Sarah Lawrence College President's Reports*, Nov. 1938 to May 1941 (book 3). "The number of people in this country with incomes large enough to make it possible to pay board and tuition fees of $1,700 is limited at best and, as I said before, the imposition of drastically heavier taxes will tend to decrease that number materially," wrote Warren. "I do not anticipate that we will begin to feel the serious effects of this until another year. In the meantime, our best course is to continue to try to offer an education so good that families will make real sacrifices to secure it for their daughters."

36. "William Schuman's Meetings on Music," 1 Dec. 1941, NYPL-WS, box 188. The meetings were to "be held on Tuesday evenings beginning January 13th, 1942 at the Thomas Paine Memorial Hall, North Avenue, New Rochelle, N.Y. They will begin at 8:45 promptly." In looking through *The* [New Rochelle, N.Y.] *Standard-Star* between 1 Dec. 1941 and 15 Jan. 1942, this author found no mention of the meetings.

37. William Schuman, "Layman's Guide and Student Opera," *Modern Music* 16, no. 2 (Jan.–Feb. 1939): 135–37. For Schuman's work on what would be the third edition of Copland's book, see Pollack, *Aaron Copland*, 546; and Adams, *William Schuman: A Bio-Bibliography*, 243.

38. As early as November of 1936, Schuman was astounding the Sarah Lawrence community with his lectures on music. "Mr. Schumann [*sic*] conducted the second of the recently instituted music hours last Wednesday afternoon. . . . A large attendance of some eighty people heard Mr. Schumann." See "Versatile Schumann Holds Music Hour," *The Campus* (Sarah Lawrence College newspaper), 2 Nov. 1936, 6. His negative views of Teachers College are found in Schreiber and Persichetti, *William Schuman*, 10. His alternate approach to music education appears in his "Unconventional Case History," *Modern Music* 15, no. 4 (May–June 1938): 222–27. Also see note 23 above.

39. The uniqueness of Schuman's educational ideas reemerged upon the publication of *The Juilliard Report on Teaching the Literature and Materials of Music* (New York: Norton, 1953), which outlined a curricular approach that was widely admired but nearly impossible to replicate.

40. John Hohenberg, *The Pulitzer Prizes: A History of the Awards in Books, Drama, Music, and Journalism, Based on the Private Files over Six Decades* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1974), 224. According to E. M. Kliment, deputy administrator of the Pulitzer Prizes, "the Pulitzer Administrative files from the earlier years of the prizes' history are sparse, and particularly so during the war years. Consequently, there is very little correspondence from the year the music prize was first awarded. . . . Typically, there's no formal record of deliberations—why the music jury recommended the Schuman piece it did, or why the Advisory Board awarded it the prize. . . . There is no complete tally of how many pieces or composers the jury considered that year. . . . [Hohenberg's books] are the most official historical records that exist." Personal communication, 14 and 15 July 2004. Hohenberg was the Pulitzer administrator from 1954 to 1976 and, in addition to *The Pulitzer Prizes*, authored *The Pulitzer Diaries: Inside America's Greatest Prize* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1997), whose chronicle begins in 1952.

41. Hohenberg, *The Pulitzer Prizes*, 18–24.

42. Hohenberg, *The Pulitzer Prizes*, 19.

43. Hohenberg, *The Pulitzer Prizes*, 19–20.

44. Information on Nicholas Murray Butler comes from http://nobelprize.org/peace/laureates/1931/butler-bio.html

45. Hohenberg, *The Pulitzer Prizes*, 55–57. For more on the struggle over Lewis, see Fritz H. Oehlschlaeger, "Hamlin Garland and the Pulitzer Prize Controversy of 1921," *American Literature* 51, no. 3 (Nov. 1979): 409–14.

46. Hohenberg, *The Pulitzer Prizes*, 29. For a broader view of the Red Scare of 1917–1920, see Chip Berlet and Matthew N. Lyons, *Right-Wing Populism in America: Too Close for Comfort* (New York: Guildford Press, 2000), 87–91.

47. Hohenberg, *The Pulitzer Prizes*, 144–46. Hohenberg posits that Butler held a personal antipathy toward Hemingway's works, although Hohenberg offers no documentation to support this assertion (92–93).

48. Hohenberg, *The Pulitzer Prizes*, 31.

49. Hohenberg, *The Pulitzer Prizes*, 38.

50. Letter from Douglas Moore to Nicholas Murray Butler, 17 Dec. 1941, courtesy of the Pulitzer Prize offices, E.M. Kliment, deputy administrator.

51. The first Stalin Prizes had been announced earlier in the year, so it is doubtful that Moore and his colleagues were responding to the awards given to "165 writers, composers, film directors, architects, actors and dancers." See "Soviet Gives More Prizes," *New York Times*, 17 Mar. 1941, 2.

52. Hohenberg, *The Pulitzer Prizes*, 171.

53. Nicholas Murray Butler, *Liberty–Equality–Fraternity: Essays and Addresses on the Problems of Today and Tomorrow* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1942), xi–xii.

54. Faculty minutes for Tuesday, 9 Dec. 1941, Sarah Lawrence College, vol. 14 (1941–42).

55. Letter from Guy M. James to Warren, 18 Dec. 1941, NYPL-WS, box 21, folder 7.

56. Faculty minutes for Tuesday, 4 Nov. 1941, Sarah Lawrence College, vol. 14 (1941–42). The enrollment figures are found in Warren, "President's Report," 25 Nov. 1941, 1, in *Sarah Lawrence College President's Reports*, Nov. 1941 to May 1945 (book 4).

57. Letter from Schuman to Harold Spivacke, 24 Dec. 1941, NYPL-WS, box 21, folder 7. Spivacke's actual role was to chair the subcommittee on music for the Joint Army and Navy Committee on Welfare and Recreation while he served as head of the music division of the Library of Congress (1937–72). Serving with Spivacke were Roy Dickinson Welch, music consultant of the U.S. Treasury; Howard Hanson, director of the Eastman School of Music; Earl V. Moore, director of the School of Music of the University of Michigan; Harry Fox of the Music Publishers Protective Association; Eric Clarke, secretary of the Metropolitan Opera Association; Noble Sissle, president of the Negro Actors Guild of America; Clifford U. Buttelman, executive secretary of the Music Educators National Conference; Olin Downes, music critic of the *New York Times*; Ray Erlandson of the Music War Council of America; Harry Futterman of the Armed Forces Master Records, Inc.; Raymond Kendall, music coordinator of the National USO and music consultant for the U.S. Armed Forces Institute; "as well as representative members of the Army, Navy, and civilian music organizations." Raymond Kendall, "Music for the Armed Services," *Musical Quarterly* 31, no. 2 (Apr. 1945): 144.

58. Letter from Spivacke to Schuman, 27 Dec. 1941, NYPL-WS, box 21, folder 7.

59. Letter from Maurice F. King to Schuman, 25 Jan. 1942, NYPL-WS, box 21, folder 7. According to King's letters, Schuman wrote to King on 24 Dec. 1941 (King answered on 10 Jan. 1942) and again on 12 Jan. 1942 (King replied on 13 Jan. 1942). While King's letters are extant, Schuman's letters appear to be lost.

60. Warren, "President's Report: Faculty," 12 May 1942, 6–7, *Sarah Lawrence College President's Reports*, Nov. 1941 to May 1945 (book 4).

61. Warren, "President's Report: The College and the War," 12 May 1942, 17, in *Sarah Lawrence College President's Reports*, Nov. 1941 to May 1945 (book 4).

62. Faculty minutes for Tuesday, 26 May 1942, Sarah Lawrence College, vol. 14 (1941–42).

63. "Specialist Corps Is Set Up for Army," *New York Times*, 12 June 1942, 11. See also "Army Will Reduce Officers at Desks," *New York Times*, 19 June 1942, 10; "Chief of the New Army Specialist Corps and His Staff," *New York Times*, 24 June 1942, 14; and "Joins Army Specialists [*sic*] Corps," *New York Times*, 27 June 1942, 24.

64. "Contemporary Topics," *Public Administration Review* 2, no. 3 (Summer 1942): 277.

65. Letter from Schuman to Spivacke, 5 July 1942, NYPL-WS, box 21, folder 7. Schuman's draft registration certificate is dated 16 Dec. 1940; his first Local Board classification card, dated 4 June 1941, lists him as 3A; his 30 June 1942 and 5 Dec. 1945 cards list him as 4F. NYPL-WS, box 150, folder 14.

66. Letter from Fernand G. Dumont, Chief, Athletic & Recreation Branch, to Schuman, 17 Aug. 1942, NYPL-WS, box 21, folder 7.

67. "Army Will Reduce Officers at Desks," 10.

68. "Army Specialist Corps Regulations (Tentative; 42. Physical examination and standards; c. *Physical Standards*," [United States] War Department, Washington, 24 Mar. 1942, 20.

69. In a codicil to the regulations, exceptions to the 1B standard were expanded. "(1) *Provision No. 1.*—No individual will be accepted who has a physical defect which, in the opinion of the examiners, renders the applicant unsuitable for the type of work (arduous, moderate, or light) which he is expected to perform. (2) *Provision No. 2.*—In exceptional cases an applicant may fall below the standards prescribed in MR 1–9 for limited service (class 1–B), and yet be considered by the medical examiners as suitable for the type of work for which he is applying. In such cases waivers of the defects may be recommended. All reports of physical examinations for appointment will be forwarded in duplicate by the medical examiners direct to the requisitioning agency which requested the report." "Army Specialist Corps Regulations (Tentative), Changes No. 3; 42. Physical examination and standards; c. *Physical Standards*," [United States] War Department, Washington, 20 May 1942, 1.

70. Letter from Schuman to Spivacke, 5 July 1942, NYPL-WS, box 21, folder 7.

71. Letter from Doris Goss to Schuman, 10 July 1942, NYPL-WS, box 21, folder 7.

72. Letter from Spivacke to Schuman, 12 Aug. 1942, and letter from Schuman to Spivacke, 17 Aug. 1942, NYPL-WS, box 21, folder 7. In his letter, Schuman incorrectly gave the month as July. According to various official documents, Schuman was contracted to receive $3,600 "for the college years 1941–1944," subject to cancellation if the tuition feed dropped below ten per cent (using 1940–41 as a baseline). In August of both 1941 and 1942, he was also sent a lump sum payment of $150 as adjusted compensation above and beyond his contracted salary. NYPL-WS, box 33, folder 9. A *New York Times* article gives salary ranges for various ranks within the Army Specialist Corps. Spivacke's proposed salary fits within that of captain ($3,500–$4,600) and first lieutenant ($3,200–3,800), suggesting that Schuman would have been commissioned as a captain. See "Specialist Corps to Wear Uniforms," *New York Times*, 7 May 1942, 5.

73. Letter from Schuman to Jerome Swinford, 4 Sep. 1942, NYPL-WS, box 33, folder 9. Emphasis in original.

74. Schuman to Spivacke, 5 July 1942.

75. See "Versatile Schumann [*sic*] Holds Music Hour,", 6 (at which Schuman lectured on orchestration and played woodwinds); "Schuman Further Reveals Self As A One Man Orchestra," *The Campus*, 9 Nov. 1936, 6 (brass and percussion); and "Schuman Plays Four 'Fiddles' At Music Hour," *The Campus*, 16 Nov. 1936, 6 (strings). Information on chorus participation was compiled from the Sarah Lawrence College archives, box marked "Chorus," folder marked "Lists and Composers."

76. Kendall, "Music in the Armed Services," 143. Kendall wrote that "the program of the Music Section of the Special Services Division . . . began to take form during 1940, reaching a particularly active stage during the summer of 1942, at which time a number of music officers were commissioned to carry out the plans of the Music Section. This selected group of nationally known music educators and professional musicians now numbers seventy, of which more than half are functioning outside the Continental United States" (141–42). In one famous case, an officer did more than "assist

band-leaders": Glenn Miller entered the Army as a captain in the Specialist Corps and went on to lead the Army Air Force Band. See "Glenn Miller in Army," *New York Times*, 11 Sep. 1942, 24; and George T. Simon, *Glenn Miller and His Orchestra* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1974), 311–14 and 321–22.

77. OHAM-WS, 38.

78. Kendall, "Music in the Armed Forces," 143. The WACs were also known as the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps, or WAACs.

79. Letter from Fernand G. Dumont, Chief, Athletic & Recreation Branch, to Schuman, 21 Sep. 1942, and letter from Theodore P. Bank, Acting Chief, Athletic & Recreation Branch, to Schuman, 21 Sep. 1942, NYPL-WS, box 21, folder 7.

80. "Stimson Abolishes Specialist Corps," *New York Times*, 1 Nov. 1942, 30. For a history of the Army Specialist Corps, see Henry L. Stimson and McGeorge Bundy, *On Active Service in Peace and War* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1948), 456–57; and Keith E. Eiler, *Mobilizing America: Robert P. Patterson and the War Effort, 1940–1945* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press: 1997), 252–54.

81. Letter from Schuman to Spivacke, 17 Oct. 1942, NYPL-WS, box 21, folder 7.

82. Letter from Schuman to Joseph Hawthorne, 20 Oct. 1958, NYPL-WS, box 20, folder 6.

83. Letter from Schuman to Hawthorne, 18 Nov. 1952, NYPL-WS, box 20, folder 6.

84. OHAM-WS, 128.

85. A fourth song, "Come Up from the Fields Father," was considered too grim to publish, given its subject of a letter from a soldier-son who had already died in battle. I thank Wayne Shirley for this observation.

86. John Samuel Wannamaker, "The Musical Settings of the Poetry of Walt Whitman: A Study of Theme, Structure, and Prosody" (PhD diss., University of Minnesota, 1972), 145–46.

87. Walt Whitman, *Complete Poetry and Collected Prose* (New York: Library of America, 1982), 445.

88. Whitman, *Complete Poetry and Collected Prose*, 453.

89. Olin Downes, "Schuman Song Led by Koussevitzky," *New York Times*, 4 Apr. 1943, 43.

90. See Gregory G. Butler, "Fugue and Rhetoric," *Journal of Music Theory* 21, no. 1 (Spring 1977): 49–109.

91. Whitman, *Complete Poetry and Collected Prose*, 420–23; in this printing, the poem continues to the end of 426.

92. The Historical Music Recordings Collection housed in the Fine Arts Library of the University of Texas at Austin provided the author with a digital transfer of the 27 March 1943 Boston performance.

93. Hohenberg, *The Pulitzer Prizes*, 23.

94. Hohenberg, *The Pulitzer Prizes*, 23–24.

95. Information about Clifton comes from David Ewen, ed., *Living Musicians* (New York: H. W. Wilson Co., 1940), 83–84; J. T. H. Mize, ed., *The International Who Is Who in Music* (Chicago: Sterling Publishing Co., 1951), 117; David Ewen, ed., *Living Musicians: First Supplement* (New York: H. W. Wilson Co., 1957), 38; and http://www.libraries.uc.edu/libraries/ccm/clifton.html, accessed 22 July 2004.

96. Letter from Frances McFarland to Schuman, 2 Mar. 1938, NYPL-WS, box 44, folder 11. Schuman later withdrew the Prelude and Fugue (1937).

97. Letter from Clifton to Schuman, 25 Jan. 1938, NYPL-WS, box 44, folder 11. The five winning works were performed by Engel's Madrigal Singers, in the order listed, on 16 March 1938, both in a broadcast that afternoon and in an FMP concert that evening. The Singers also recorded the Choral Etude (Columbia C 17139D; the other side contains Ives's setting of Psalm 67). See Adams, *William Schuman: A Bio-Bibliography*, 68.

98. Memorandum from Moore to Fackenthal, 9 Jan. 1942, Central Files, box 382, folder 10, University Archives and Columbiana Library, Columbia University in the City of New York (hereafter CU-CF; Subject Files = SF). I wish to thank Jocelyn K. Wilk, assistant director, and Jennifer Ulrich, associate archivist, Columbia University Archives and Columbiana Library, for their assistance.

99. Letter to Moore from Fackenthal, 29 July 1942, and letter to Moore from Secretary [Philip M. Hayden], 22 Sep. 1942, CU-CF Box 382, folder 11. Unsigned letter to "directors or authorized representatives of all the important performing groups in the United States," n.d., CU-SF, Honors & Prizes, Pulitzer Prize, 1943. The music award nomination form is also in CU-SF, Pulitzer Prize, 1943.

100. OHAM-WS, 135.

101. Letter from Fackenthal to eleven composers, 2 Feb. 1943, courtesy of the Pulitzer Prize offices, E.M. Kliment, deputy administrator.

102. Letter from Fackenthal to Schuman, 4 Feb. 1943, NYPL-WS, box 33, folder 8; letter from Fackenthal to Copland, 4 Feb. 1943, CU-CF, box 50, folder 7; and letter from Fackenthal to Harris, 4 Feb. 1943, CU-CF, box 126, folder 10.

103. Letter from Moore to Schuman, 22 Jan. 1943, NYPL-WS, box 30, folder 6.

104. "Music Prize Added to Pulitzer Awards," *New York Times*, 18 Mar. 1943, 24.

105. OHAM-WS, 135. The decision to halve all the awards was made temporarily in 1941 and was formalized in 1942. See Hohenberg, *The Pulitzer Prizes*, 197, 171–72.

106. Barber's Second Essay for Orchestra, op. 17, was completed in 1942 and first performed by Bruno Walter and the New York Philharmonic Orchestra on 16 April 1942.

107. Virgil Thomson, "Superficially Warlike," 125–26.

108. Tommasini, *Virgil Thomson*, 362, 56, and 313–14. Thomson's World War I service is covered in the chapter "A Lovely War" (55–63). Tommasini did not provide sources to corroborate the reactions of Thomson's friends toward his views on World War II.

109. Downes, "Schuman Song Led by Koussevitzky," 43. In the review, "scherzo" is spelled "schezo." Tommasini compares the journalistic mien of Downes and Thomson; see *Virgil Thomson*, 335–36.

110. Hohenberg, *The Pulitzer Prizes*, 197, 205–06.

111. Letter from Clifton to Fackenthal, 12 Apr. 1943, courtesy of the Pulitzer Prize offices, E.M. Kliment, deputy administrator. See note 2 above. It is possible that the jury never saw a score for *A Free Song*. In his 5 May 1943 letter to Schuman affirming the selection of the cantata for the Pulitzer Prize, Fackenthal mentioned the imminent return of the manuscript of the Concerto for Piano and Orchestra but said nothing about the score of the cantata. Rose-WS, Correspondence 1930s–1986, folder "1943."

112. Hohenberg, *The Pulitzer Prizes*, 197, 226.

113. OHAM-WS, 134–35.

114. Clifton to Fackenthal, 12 Apr. 1943. On the bottom of the letter is scribbled "9 Edgewood Ave. / Larchmont, N.Y." Schuman lived at 91 (not 9) Edgewood Avenue until July of 1942, after which time he lived at 17 Springdale Road, New Rochelle. The actual 3 May 1943 telegram has the correct address with additional notations that suggest that two delivery attempts were made before the telegram was mailed that evening. Fackenthal followed up with a 5 May 1943 letter. "I take very great pleasure in confirming the fact that the Trustees of Columbia University . . . have awarded the Pulitzer Prize in Music . . . to 'Secular Cantata No. 2, A Free Soul.'" In Schuman's hand, in pencil at the bottom of the letter, appears: "A FREE SONG." Both the telegram and the Fackenthal letter are in Rose-WS, Correspondence 1930s–1986, folder "1943."

115. "Pulitzer Prize In Music Won By William Schuman," *The Campus*, 5 May 1943, 1. At this time, *The Campus* appeared on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays.

116. "They Had Knute; We Have Bill," *The Campus*, 8 Dec. 1943, 2.

117. Rick Atkinson, *An Army at Dawn: The War in North Africa, 1942–1943* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 2002), 3. Information about the Allies' North Africa campaign comes from Atkinson, as does the Goebbels's quotation (537).

118. Anne Midgette, "Dissonant Thoughts on the Music Pulitzers," *New York Times*, 9 Apr. 2003, E1. For the Ellington controversy, see Hohenberg, *The Pulitzer Prizes*, 197 and 284–88. For Schuman on Ellington and on the failure to award a prize in 1964 and 1965, see "Schuman Scores Pulitzer Awards," *New York Times*, 14 June 1965, 44; and Hohenberg, *The Pulitzer Diaries*, 148–49.

119. Midgette, "Dissonant Thoughts."

120. See Zuck, *A History of Musical Americanism*, 196–97.

121. Storm Hagerup Bull sent Schuman the questionnaire on 8 Oct. 1950 to assist Bull in editing the United States' section of the Norwegian music encyclopedia, *Musikkens Verden* (1951). NYPL-WS, box 5, folder 5.

122. For a review of the Pulitzer Prizes for both the Vietnam War and the Second Gulf War, see Tim Rutten, "Pulitzers Cast a Blind Eye on Iraq," *Los Angeles Times*, 9 Apr. 2005, E1.

Stravinsky's Four Star-Spangled Banners and His 1941 Christmas Card

H. Colin Slim

The great Russian-born composer Igor Stravinsky (1882–1971) had a way with national anthems. He made at least half a dozen arrangements of them for various countries. For no nation, however, was he its citizen in any accepted sense at the time he made his arrangement. In Italy, a visitor from Switzerland as a voluntary exile, he made one for Russia; in Switzerland, an émigré in transit, one for France; and finally as a landed immigrant (though still a French citizen), several versions for the United States. Late in March 1917, through some intermediaries, Kerensky's provisional government at Petrograd requested the self-exiled composer to set the "Song of the Volga Boatmen" as Russia's post-czarist anthem. Dictating his arrangement for winds and percussion to his collaborator and advocate Ernest Ansermet (1883–1969) on the night of 8 April, he called it "Hymne à la nouvelle Russie." Ansermet led its premiere in Rome the following evening at a gala benefit for the Red Cross.[1] Another decisive event, the General Armistice ending World War I, offered the possibility for him and his family to leave their safe haven of Switzerland.[2] He memorialized this opportunity and his love of France seven weeks later with an arrangement for solo violin of "La Marseillaise."[3] Emigrating with his entire family in June 1920, he became a French citizen in 1934. Thus it is hardly surprising that less than a year after filing his initial papers in August 1940 for U.S. citizenship he turned his attention to our national anthem. What distinguishes this venture from his previous two is not the quality but the quantity of harmonizations and ensuing arrangements as well as this country's reaction to them, right into our present new century.

To open his first and last concerts at the Hollywood Bowl in August 1940 and July 1966, respectively, Stravinsky led quite differing harmonizations of "The Star-Spangled Banner." The first one, from 1917, was by Walter Damrosch (1862–1950), a man he had met long

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ago in 1925 during his first visit to New York. In 1966, it was his own arrangement because he was celebrating its twenty-fifth anniversary. In July 1941 he acknowledged that "inspiration" and "suggestion" for the task came, respectively, from his "elderly" student—his elder by less than four years!!—and from the latter's son-in-law, a young conductor who was to lead its world premiere in Los Angeles only four months later. Finishing his arrangement for mixed chorus and large orchestra from his harmonization on 1 July but dating it on Independence Day, he was sufficiently intrigued by the anthem's melody to make three additional harmonizations the ensuing September, to contemplate making several others, and even to inscribe the tune itself on a patriotic Christmas card he sent soon after Pearl Harbor. Prior to a facsimile edition in 1983 of his fourth harmonization and its recording a decade later, the public knew only the first one. Some of these matters (by no means all) have figured in recent studies by Robert Craft and Stephen Walsh. Neither, of course, had any intention to write a history of Stravinsky's dealings with the U.S. national anthem. Access to primary sources from the composer's archives in the Paul Sacher Foundation at Basel, discoveries in the Library of Congress (LC), in the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Presidential Library at Hyde Park, in a private Pennsylvania collection, and in university libraries at Ann Arbor, Berkeley, Kansas City, Los Angeles, and Vancouver now permit detailed accounts of all four harmonizations and of critical and public reactions to the first one.

As an official national anthem of the United States of America, "The Star-Spangled Banner" was adopted by an Act of Congress only in 1931.[4] During World War I, however, orchestras were encouraged to play, and citizens to sing it. In November 1917, for example, the St. Louis Symphony was instructed to play it at every concert.[5] Immediately following the entry in 1917 by the United States into that conflict, several actions were taken against persons who refused to perform it, such as those against Episcopal Bishop David H. Greer at St. John the Divine in New York in August, and against German-born opera-singer Frieda Hempel (1885–1955) in Providence that October. The same month and place saw the most notorious of these incidents. A German national, Dr. Karl Muck (1859–1940), then conductor of the Boston Symphony Orchestra, initially refused to conduct the anthem in Providence on 30 October. (Ultimately, he was interned as an enemy alien and deported in 1919.)

During World War II, orchestras and other ensembles were once again encouraged to play it and audiences to join in by singing. On 11 July 1941, James C. Petrillo, president of the America Federation of Musicians, ordered its 138,000 members to play the national anthem at

the beginning and end of every musical program.[6] Among letters to the editor of the *New York Times* just preceding and following Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor, one advises orchestral conductors to encourage audience singing by facing them (as Stravinsky was to do in St. Louis, San Francisco, and Boston); another notes that Fabien Sevitzky (1891–1967) in Indianapolis does so; still another letter advises audiences to stand at attention and—of all things—be silent.[7] In mid-January 1942, the editor of the *Pacific Coast Musician* observed: "Since the outbreak of the European war and more especially since our being forced into it, audiences at public concerts have shown increased enthusiasm for singing the anthem."[8] That Stravinsky's first harmonization was "repeated three times" (played four times, as we shall see) at its premiere in mid-October 1941 suggests the chorus sang all its verses and that the Los Angeles audience was expected to join in. Of course, at least part of the nonparticipation there, in San Francisco early in 1942, and subsequently in Boston in 1944, could be attributed to the well-known lack of audience recall for verses two and three, and even for some words in the first verse. Directed at Los Angeles readers, an unsigned editorial in July 1940 praising those "few school children who have 'had to learn the darn thing'" goes on to criticize "the grown-ups [who] remain standing in utter silence." And just over a year later in the same journal, Lawrence Morton (1904–87) remarked: "America's defense efforts have lagged so sadly that many of our citizens don't yet know the words of 'The Star-Spangled Banner.'"[9]

Well before its congressional adoption, people had become accustomed to one or another "standard" harmonization of the anthem, frequently the one by Walter Damrosch. Chosen as a result of a government committee's decision in 1917, his version was published the following year by G. Schirmer (with an incorrect attribution of the melody to John Stafford Smith, 1750–1836), and his harmonization was then virtually (though never officially) enshrined by congressional adoption of the anthem's tune itself in 1931. For example, even though the U.S. Marine Band expressed some discontent about Damrosch's harmonization in 1931, it was soon resolved in his favor.[10] Finding it "generally accepted," the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR) then officially adopted it at their 46th Congress in 1937 "for use at meetings." Thus, in the 1930s and 1940s audiences across the land probably often sang Damrosch's harmonization and/or heard it played by orchestras, bands, and other ensembles. The harmonization of the anthem that Stravinsky led at his Hollywood Bowl concert in 1940 was surely Damrosch's, for a critic was to complain early in 1944 that the Los Angeles Philharmonic had been playing it for years (perhaps even since

the orchestra's founding in 1919). Whether Stravinsky attended a concert of young Los Angeles string players in September 1940 led by his fellow Russian émigré acquaintance, Julian Brodetsky (1894–1962), which opened with so impassioned a performance of the anthem that it shook the complaisance of its listeners, is unknown. Just possibly, however, this (or subsequent renditions) influenced Stravinsky's own equally fervent performance of a "standard" harmonization that he led a full year later in St. Louis (see below). In any event, by 19 March 1942, he had certainly heard at least one such young-person concert. That day he wrote Brodetsky, in his occasionally defective English spelling, "As I just read about the draft" (probably referring to the amendment on 16 February 1942 of the Selective Service Act), he "personaly [*sic*]" considered Brodetsky's activity "as most gratifying and culturaly most important for the progress of the musical art."[11]

The ultimate irony must be that the St. Louis and Boston Symphony Orchestras, just those which in World War I had promoted the national anthem, were both to be involved in problems of varying degrees when they came to perform Stravinsky's first harmonization of the same anthem during World War II. Explanations for hostile audience reactions to it in the 1940s must, however, be postponed to the close of this study. These require examination of performance circumstances, contemporary critical reaction, Stravinsky's extant manuscripts and printed sources, and comparative analyses of his other three harmonizations.

Scholars and casual readers alike, curious about the circumstances and reception of Stravinsky's first harmonization, will often seek in vain for reliable information in books, articles, and newspaper reports. Few such accounts are entirely accurate, including some reportedly by the composer himself. The following survey, enriched by access to several previously unknown sources, attempts to offer a reliable account of its origins, of events leading up to its premiere in Los Angeles on 14 October 1941, of its forced cancellation in St. Louis that December, of its performances in San Francisco, Washington D.C., and Baltimore in January 1942, of its reception—including the disastrous one in Boston in January 1944—together with some notion of its subsequent history. What ensues is based mainly on documents that Stravinsky (an unwearying compulsive) preserved himself and those recently come to light.

Motivations

His reasons for reharmonizing the anthem in the first place may have been as much musical as personal. During appearances with the Boston

Symphony Orchestra, first as pianist in 1925 and then as conductor in 1935, 1939–40, and early 1941, he heard its musicians play and then had to lead them himself in an arrangement commissioned in 1918 by the BSO jointly from two Harvard men, themselves composers: a native New Englander, Frederick Shepherd Converse (1871–1940), and Stravinsky's Chicago friend from 1925, John Alden Carpenter (1876–1951).[12] With the Los Angeles Philharmonic in 1935, 1937, 1940, and early 1941, he had to contend with the Damrosch arrangement. In Washington D.C. with the National Symphony early in 1941, he surely led the one made in the 1930s by its conductor, Hans Kindler (1892–1949), and in St. Louis in December 1941 he was forced to lead a not further identified "standard" arrangement rather than his own. In other U.S. cities he led their orchestras in various arrangements, probably Damrosch's more often than not. In a word, wherever he went as guest conductor, he was at the mercy of some "standard" version. All these arrangements by other composers may well have provoked his own. That his nature was fiercely competitive can scarcely be doubted, even if, for example, one just glances at the *Life* magazine photographs of him in 1937 showing off on Charlie Chaplin's exercise hoop.[13]

Preparations

Any detailed history must begin with Stravinsky leading the national anthem in a "standard" harmonization at a Hollywood Bowl concert on 27 August 1940. Some insecurity about it must have made him copy out its melody that day, probably from a first violin part, to judge by its high register during the second strain (see Appendix, no. 1b).[14] Apparently, unease about the national anthem in general and its harmonization in particular was in the air. One wonders, for example, if just a month earlier Stravinsky had seen the title of a long editorial in a popular Los Angeles arts magazine: "WANTED—A NEW NATIONAL ANTHEM,"[15] or if he had already sensed the dissatisfaction publicly articulated not long after: "The [Los Angeles] Philharmonic Orchestra . . . has been playing for years a very poor and unskillful arrangement by Walter Damrosch" (see Appendix, nos. 1b and 2).[16]

The ensuing tale has two parts: genesis of the first harmonization and publishing of its arrangements. The former depends largely on hitherto unknown recollections and documents of two men: Earnest Andersson (Ernest DeNeen Anderson, 1878–1943) and his son-in-law, the young conductor James Sample (1910–95). Most of these materials are in the Sample–Andersson private collection, Pennsylvania (henceforth, S–A priv. coll.). A publishing history, however, depends chiefly

upon correspondence between Stravinsky and Leonard Feist (1911–96), the owner of Mercury Music Corporation, correspondence now in the Paul Sacher Stiftung, Basel (henceforth, PSS).

James Sample had first met Stravinsky at a tea given by Nadia Boulanger (1887–1979) shortly before 1935 when the young man was in Paris studying conducting with and assisting Pierre Monteux (1875–1964), and a piano student on scholarship at the Mozarteum in Salzburg. Many years later Sample recalled that around the time that Stravinsky purchased his first house at 1260 Wetherly Drive (1 April 1941) he again met the composer.[17] Their reacquaintance was perhaps accomplished through Sample's father-in-law, Andersson, who was himself introduced early in 1941 to Stravinsky by the formidable Mrs. Leiland Atherton Irish, executive vice president and general manager of the Los Angeles Philharmonic.[18] Shortly after studying orchestration with his son-in-law (for some six months) and then generously offering the Stravinskys his house as a temporary residence on 21 February, Andersson became Stravinsky's student, primarily in orchestration and to some degree in composition, from the end of that February until his sudden death on 23 June 1943.[19] The occasion for Sample's reacquaintance with Stravinsky could have been an orchestra rehearsal on 22 April 1941. After Andersson's nineteenth lesson that morning, he and Stravinsky lunched together. Then, as Stravinsky wrote rather cryptically in his diary (perhaps mistranslated), they went "to audition" Sample "for his music." Actually, they went to hear him rehearse the Los Angeles WPA Federal Symphony Orchestra in the third movement ("Scherzo") of Andersson's *Futurama* Symphony, a work upon which both Stravinsky and Andersson were currently engaged concerning aspects of its orchestration. The same day, Andersson also recorded in his diary that Stravinsky was much impressed by Sample's fine musicianship, the composer remarking that Sample "had mastered much of the art of conducting" and "was modest and serious in his work."[20] Such comments might well imply that this was the first occasion that Stravinsky had heard Sample lead a rehearsal.

Despite previous accounts, it was apparently Sample who first stirred Stravinsky to reharmonize the anthem, even if the distinction drawn below between "inspiration" (Andersson) and "suggestion" (Sample) straddles a fine line. After all, Andersson had been working with Stravinsky for several months prior to the first documented reacquaintance of Sample with Stravinsky. The son-in-law's priority, however, stems from several factors. Its earliest written documentation appears in the final sentence of a letter of 2 [*recte*: 11] August 1941 from H. R. Amory, administrator in California of the Works Progress

Administration, to his superior in Washington, Howard O. Hunter, commissioner of the WPA (more about which later). Amory wrote Hunter that the Music Project of Southern California, proud to have been chosen for the premiere of Stravinsky's new arrangement, holds that "credit is due to Mr. James Sample, conductor of the Los Angeles WPA Symphony Orchestra, through whose preliminary associations with Mr. Strawinsky, this has been eventuated."[21] This can only mean that Sample suggested the anthem's reharmonization to Stravinsky because by then he had already invited Sample to lead its premiere.

Moreover, Sample later recalled a conversation he had had with the composer early in the summer (perhaps even after that same April rehearsal?). It concerned Stravinsky's 1917 harmonization of "The Volga Boatmen," an arrangement that Sample much admired.[22] Sample had told him that he longed for an equally dignified and musically expert harmonization of the U.S. national anthem. Shortly thereafter, Stravinsky requested copies of arrangements of "The Star-Spangled Banner" from Sample. Two were supplied.[23] One was in *Twice 55 Community Songs, Brown Book* (ed. Peter W. Dykema [Boston: Birchard, 1919, and later eds.]), no. 3 (supposedly by John Stafford Smith). The other was a reprint of Schirmer's 1918 piano–vocal edition of the anthem in Damrosch's harmonization, the one Stravinsky was soon to castigate but from which he adopted its more modern spellings of the anthem's words for three verses. At some point after receiving Damrosch's harmonization from Sample and early the ensuing June, Stravinsky annotated it in red pencil (Appendix, no. 2). He had also been making some sketches for his first harmonization, six of which survive (Appendix, no. 3). They are discussed below.

At lesson 44 on 17 June he first showed Andersson his new arrangement: "made the day before = June 16–41" (a non-lesson day) and then played it for him (Appendix, no. 4). Andersson wrote: "It is beautifully done and undoubtedly will become famous even if not officially recognized by Congress. It was written on paper from a spirally bound pad I had bot [*sic*] for him. He used one of my pencils which he autographed for me. He used 4 voices and a bass." This last statement precisely describes the pencil autograph (Appendix, no. 4), not the LC's fair-copy ink autograph for piano and chorus (Appendix, no. 5), which Stravinsky must have made shortly thereafter. Following the composer's fifty-ninth birthday celebration on 18 June at 1260 North Wetherly, into which Andersson inadvertently intruded in order to retrieve eyeglasses he had left the day before, "we went to his study and talked over means to put over" the new arrangement. Then Stravinsky had Andersson telephone Sample that evening to join them "and we talked over a proposed concert

to premiere" it.[24] Sample had totally forgotten about his suggestion made months earlier to Stravinsky. To his astonishment, Stravinsky showed him the new arrangement, played it several times on the piano, thus usefully coaching him in its proper performance, told him to take it home and try it out himself, and subsequently offered him its premiere.[25]

Though Stravinsky discussed his arrangement in 1958–59 with Robert Craft (b. 1923) without actually naming Andersson, let alone Sample, neither Andersson's diary nor Sample's testimony is to be doubted.[26] An exceedingly modest man, Sample briefly claimed priority when responding in 1957 to Richard Hill (then head of the Music Division at the LC): "I had the privielege [*sic*] of premiering the Stravinsky version in late 1941, and, off the record, of influencing him to attempt the job."[27] Over the next forty years, Sample amply documented his role in several tape-recorded interviews. Moreover, as shown below, during 1941 and 1942 Stravinsky acknowledged, both directly and indirectly, Sample's part in the genesis of the new arrangement.

Having already copied out the late compositional draft of his harmonization for solo piano (Appendix, no. 4) on 16 June, and after playing it the next day for pupil Andersson and then on 18 June, his birthday, for Sample, Stravinsky had Andersson photostat it in Los Angeles, 8 July, and then inscribed the autograph draft itself for him the following day

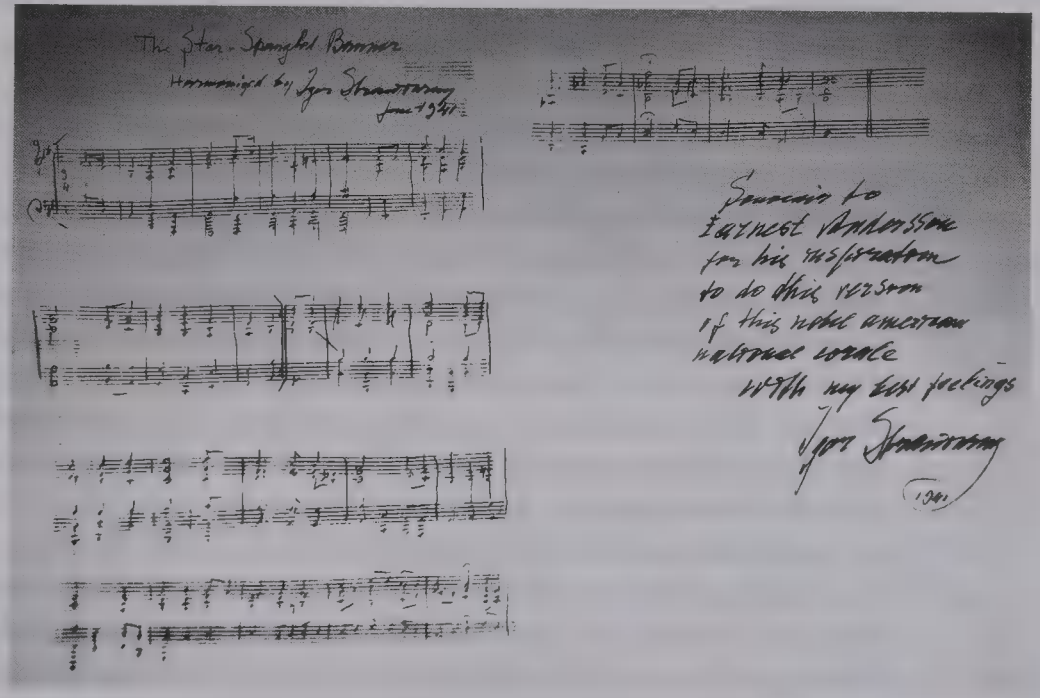


Figure 1. Igor Stravinsky, signed and dated holograph, two-page compositional draft for the *Star-Spangled Banner*, with autograph inscription, June 1941, to Earnest Andersson. Sample-Andersson private collection, PA.

(Figure 1).[28] Heading its cover: "in June" and the actual manuscript: "Harmonized by Igor Strawinsky / June 1941," he wrote in his interesting English spelling and diction: "Souvenir to / Earnest Andersson / for his inspiration to do this version / of this nobel [*sic*] american national corale [*sic*] / With my best feelings / Igor Strawinsky / 1941."

Anderssonian "inspiration" does not at all trump Sample's claim in 1957 of "influencing" the composer. After leading the world premiere at Los Angeles, he included it in his programs until the local orchestra of the WPA was disbanded in May 1942.[29] More than any other conductor, he led it innumerable times over the next forty-five years, among other occasions: with the Erie Philharmonic (in 1957 and 1965), the Fort Wayne (Indiana) Philharmonic (in 1968), and the Erie PhilharmonicYouth Orchestra (1986). He did so because he was convinced from the beginning, as he stated in a Salt Lake newspaper two days before the world premiere, that "Stravinsky's score eventually will be accepted as standard fare for choral and orchestral work."[30] Solid proof for Sample's claim to priority lies in a spelling almost as beguiling as that used for Andersson (Figure 2). Stravinsky inscribed an unstamped, undated photostat of his SATB piano–vocal autograph (Appendix, no. 5b) thus: "Dear Mr Sample / Happy to send you my version of your / noble national song witch [*sic*] your suggestion / brought about / very sincerely yours / Igor Strawinsky / July 1941."[31]

Yet, giving his compositional autograph (Appendix, no. 4) on 9 July to pupil Andersson was surely in appreciation. At a low ebb in Stravinsky's finances, Andersson proved not only a lucrative source of income but also a diligent factotum. Between 28 February 1941 and 15

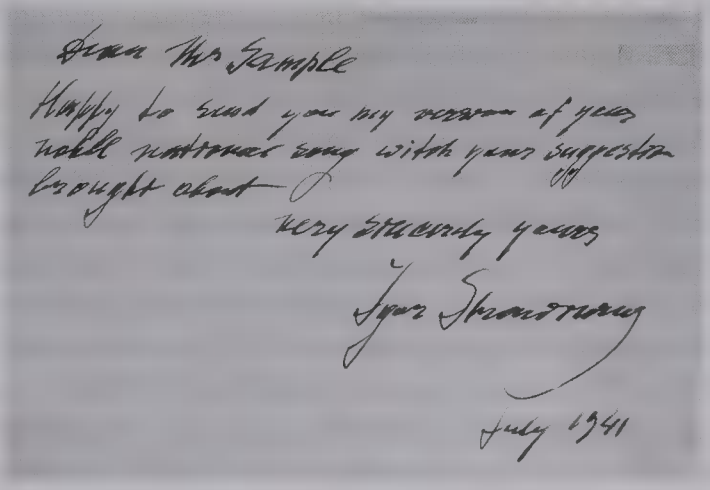


Figure 2. Igor Stravinsky, signed and dated holograph on sheet attached to three-page photostat, piano-chorus reduction of the *Star-Spangled Banner*, with autograph inscription, July 1941, to James Sample. Sample-Andersson private collection, PA.

December 1942, he took 215 lessons in composition at $25 each.[32] He arranged for photostatting (even paying for it) and for copyrighting (Appendix, nos. 4b, 5a–c, 6a–c), and he put Stravinsky's communications into good English. Having adroitly scraped away his pupil's name on three huge sheets of music paper printed on their lower edges, "EARNEST ANDERSSON," paper that Stravinsky admired and was given on 19 June,[33] the composer signed his harmonization for large orchestra and chorus (Appendix, no. 6) on its last page: "Finished July 4th 1941."

Andersson's diary reveals much more than this, however. Stravinsky really finished orchestrating by lesson 52 on Tuesday, 1 July, having already "inked in one of the three pages (over pencil). Beautifully copied" (Appendix, no. 6). At lesson 54 on Thursday before the big holiday, he gave this autograph to his student to be photostatted in four copies: one would be for Stravinsky; one for Sample; one for Andersson to send to the copyright office; and one for Andersson himself, who observed: "I am having it photostatted at my expense." (No photostat was yet designated for a publisher.) Just possibly these four photostats were made that very day because two of them (nos. 6a–b) slightly differ from and certainly precede the one made on 8 July (no. 6c). Moreover, at lesson 56 on Sunday, 6 July, Stravinsky requested red ink to correct his autograph orchestral score (no. 6), asking Andersson to send a "copy" (i.e., a photostat) of it to the copyright office. At lesson 57 on Monday, he brought him red ink, but by then Stravinsky wanted white ink. Tuesday the eighth was lesson 58, and he probably brought Stravinsky the desired white ink. That same day, operator Bowman, working for Economy Blue Print & Supply Company in Los Angeles, dated positive photostats (Appendix, nos. 4b, 5c, 6c) of each of Stravinsky's autographs as "7/8/41," and Andersson probably delivered them that very day (with their negatives) to Stravinsky. At lesson 59 on Wednesday the ninth Stravinsky "[had?] corrected [a] negative [photostat, no. 6a] of orchestra score of the Star-Spangled Banner with the white ink I took him," Andersson writes, also noting that he registered his "dated" photostats (nos. 4b, 5c, 6c) "so as to protect Stravinsky on copyright." He added that by the ninth Stravinsky had given him the inscribed pencil (no. 4a, its Fox Film origin possibly reflecting Andersson's interest in movies), the now inscribed autograph manuscript of his "June" compositional draft (no. 4), plus inscribed photostats (unstamped, undated) of the piano–vocal and orchestral scores (nos. 5a and 6b).[34] Sample confirms Stravinsky revising his score, recalling that shortly after seeing the new orchestration, he suggested the composer "reposition the horn parts, and to add several slurs and he accepted them all."[35] The orchestral–choral autograph (no. 6), though displaying

no alterations to its horns, reveals changes elsewhere. Indeed, the single extant negative photostat of the full score (no. 6a) and the positive photostats that I have examined (nos. 6b–c) deviate in small ways not only from their parent autograph but even from each other. An attempt to ease this bibliographical headache (a result of a presumed but now missing negative used during the photostatic process) is made below.[36]

Even more telling than Stravinsky's remarks for Andersson on the autograph compositional draft that he gave him (Appendix, no. 4), however, are those he inscribed early in July for his "elderly[!!]" student on that initial (unstamped) positive photostat of the autograph full orchestral–choral score (no. 6b) predating the one made by Economy on 8 July (no. 6c). Here he adumbrates concepts he was soon to rephrase on 14 August in a letter to his publisher, and once more the same month—with Andersson's assistance—when creating, writing, and sending his dedicatory letter to President Roosevelt, concepts he reiterated when interviewed in San Francisco in 1942. On Andersson's photostat (no. 6b), "my own version of your noble national chorale," he also wrote that he wanted "to mold this music in the traditions of the most severe classic voice leading which is quite diffirent [*sic*] from the usual scholarly conception of this kind of song."

The 8 July photostats enabled Andersson to apply for copyrights.[37] After giving daily lessons to Andersson, 5–9 July, Stravinsky left for Mexico on the tenth. On the twenty-eighth, the day after his return, he noted in his own diary that Andersson "sent my Star-Spangled Banner arrangement [in photostats] to be copyrighted."[38] Indeed, both 8 July photostats——the choral–piano arrangement and the choral–orchestral arrangement (Appendix, nos. 5c and 6c)—were so recorded by the U.S. copyright office on 1 August and subsequently assigned permanent numbers.[39]

Finally, Sample recounts that following the 14 October premiere Andersson suggested that Stravinsky have his autograph bound in Los Angeles (Appendix, no. 6). Sample took it to the binder, Charles L. Malotte. It required about two weeks and then Sample did the addressing and mailing of the bound autograph to Washington.[40] All this suggests that the bound score with its glued and Scotch-taped additions was mailed to the president early in November. According to Sample, no word ever reached Stravinsky about its receipt by the White House. Both Sample (1972) and Stravinsky (1958–59) later independently recalled that it was returned to the composer, though Sample—probably correctly—denied that it was ever sent to Mrs. Roosevelt.[41] Be this as it may, after its return his manuscript was apparently given to the WPA, which sent it to the LC in 1942.[42] It is currently displayed in the Jefferson Room.

Bureaucracy Delays a World Premiere; Negotiations for Publishing

Correspondence from mid-August 1941 onward in the FDR Presidential Library at Hyde Park, in the S–A private collection, and in the PSS, this last between Stravinsky and Leonard Feist, president of Mercury Music Corporation, affords virtual day-to-day insight about Stravinsky's and Sample's original plans for the premiere, and about negotiations for publishing "The Star-Spangled Banner." Stravinsky had already met Feist in New York on 31 December 1940 and had signed contracts the ensuing January to publish all of his "light non-symphonic compositions," one of which was "Tango" for piano solo.[43]

Waiting presumably until he had in hand the two certificates, dated 1 August in Washington, which confirmed copyrighting of his two arrangements (Appendix, nos. 5 and 6), Stravinsky (and/or Sample) contacted Dr. Karl Wecker (c.1895–c.1970) in Los Angeles, state supervisor of the WPA Music Project. Now the bureaucratic chain of command becomes a little torturous. On Stravinsky's behalf, Wecker approached Henry R. Amory, regional administrator for Southern California, WPA. In turn, Amory contacted his superior, Howard O. Hunter, commissioner in Washington for the WPA. Thus, on 2 [*recte*: 11] August 1941 Amory wrote Hunter. He included correspondence (unlocated) between Stravinsky and Wecker and the original (and copies) of a Stravinsky letter to FDR. Amory also directed his own letter to the attention of Florence Kerr, assistant commissioner. He wrote: "Igor Strawinsky, internationally famous composer" wanted his letter "to be presented to the President through proper channels at once. Mr Strawinsky is well known to the President and Mrs. Roosevelt." This may be a stretch. Unlike his invitation from the Kennedys and subsequent visit to the White House in 1961, nothing is known about either President or Mrs. Roosevelt's knowledge of his music, let alone his person. Although Vera Stravinsky's diary reports that Mrs. Roosevelt attended a concert he led in Constitution Hall on 8 January 1941, she says nothing of an introduction to the First Lady. He was, of course, "well known" to many important governmental and diplomatic figures in Washington. Amory's letter to Hunter also included the date, 9 September, for a presentation ceremony of Stravinsky's full score to a presidential representative, to take place on the stage of the (long since demolished) Philharmonic Auditorium in Los Angeles, and Amory suggested a "nationwide broadcast" that evening.[44]

Stravinsky wired publisher Feist in New York on 11 August. He had just finished a three-page piece (coyly unnamed) for chorus and

orchestra "of National importance" for which he (read Andersson) had already applied for copyright. Since it would be "produced" in Los Angeles in four weeks it must be published by then.[45] We shall see that Stravinsky uses "produced" for the envisioned premiere on 9 September in a true Hollywood sense. (His apparent ten-day delay in wiring with such urgency could be explained by the copyright certificates having taken longer to arrive in Hollywood than the six days that elapsed between mailing photostats, Appendix, nos. 5c and 6c, from California and their certification in Washington on 1 August.) Feist responded enthusiastically the following day, even adding: "Ready in four weeks."[46]

On 14 August, Stravinsky sent Feist a long letter enclosing a photostat (Appendix, no. 5c, presumably a duplicate) of the SATB piano–vocal arrangement. Much of this letter has already appeared elsewhere. Some parts are requoted here for the sake of clarity. Stravinsky tells Feist that because Congress had never specified any standard harmonization, he felt a need to provide one with a "hope and wish that one day Congress will pass an act standardizing my harmonization." He undertook this task because "the harmonization of the honorable Dr. Damrosch is no more or less than scholarly conceived academic music which renders it characterless and indifferent as to style, while I believe my chorale form presents it faithfully with a view to conserving its own true style." He had studied the theme and "found it very beautiful and lent itself naturally to the form of a sacred chorale. Therefore I followed this form in the strictest sense in harmonizing the work." He ends this paragraph with three pieces of information. First, his "version" will be premiered "here" (i.e., Los Angeles) on 9 September by a "100 piece WPA orchestra and 150 voices." Second, as of 14 August his autograph is being "beautifully bound and imbossed [*sic*] in gold." And third, at the September 9 concert, "which will be nationally broadcast," his bound manuscript "will be presented to President Roosevelt." (This sentence implies that Roosevelt was to journey to Los Angeles, but Amory's letter cited above shows that this was never the plan.) Stravinsky closes this letter with his terms: 20 percent of the retail price, not to exceed 50 cents; copies are to be ready by 9 September (none is to be sold by then); and he wants printed on the copies that he claims no "performance royalties" (meaning here, no fees).[47]

In Washington on 21 August, Assistant Commissioner Kerr, writing for Commissioner Hunter, responded to Amory, with carbon copies to Culbert L. Olson (the first Democratic governor of California since 1894) and to Wecker. She also included a copy of Hunter's letter of the day before sent to FDR and duly received at the White House two days later. She warned Amory, however, that "it is difficult to promise

that such a matter would be brought to the attention of Mr. Roosevelt during these busy days" (perhaps a reference to Roosevelt's recent and secret meeting at sea with Winston Churchill during formulation of the Atlantic Treaty).[48] Hunter's letter of the twentieth had conveyed to FDR the information contained in Amory's letter and asks that if the president thinks such a plan "advisable and if arrangements could be made, in the event of your approval, to appoint someone to receive the gift for the American people."[49] The gift, of course, was Stravinsky's autograph full score to President Roosevelt with a dedication to him and the American People (Appendix, no. 6). Stravinsky was to copy out this dedication—almost exactly his above August letter to Roosevelt —at least twice more. With Andersson's assistance in drafting it, a fair copy in the composer's hand, also dated August, precedes even the one that he sent to the president.[50] Hunter had enclosed Stravinsky's handwritten letter to the president and a typed "Tentative Program for Presentation Ceremony of Igor Strawinsky's Arrangement of 'The Star Spangled Banner' to the President of the United States," scheduled for 9 September 1941 at 8 p.m.

Stravinsky's dedication letter which he sent via Amory and Hunter to FDR was received at the White House on 23 August and is now in the Presidential Library at Hyde Park. Its spelling, spacing, and content may be compared with his subsequent and slightly different dedications (his third and fourth) in autograph and facsimile, respectively (see below, A and B, both of course omitting any reference to the president) (Figure 3).

Franklin Delano Roosevelt
Washington, D.C.

Mr. President:

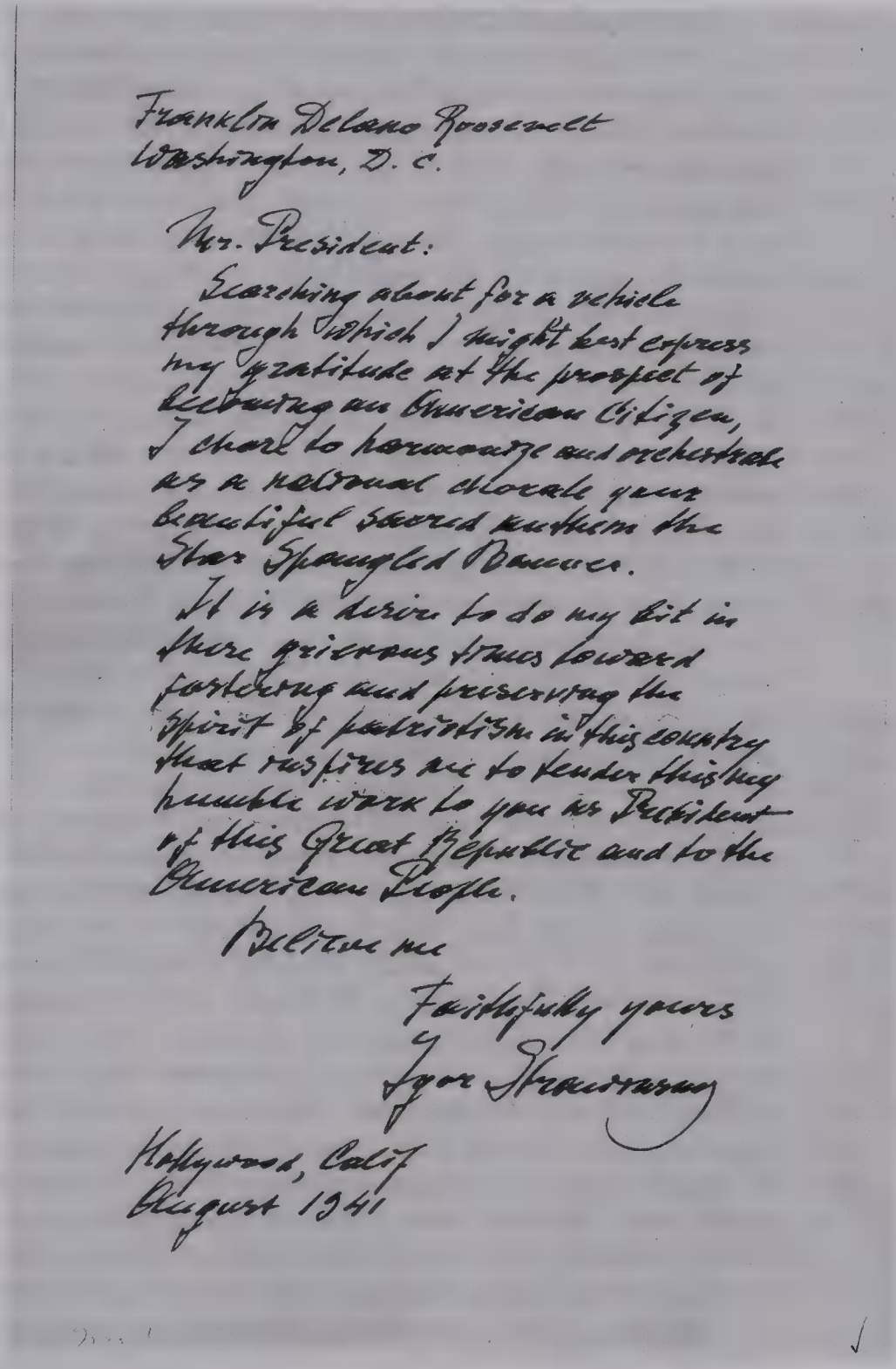
Searching about for a vehicle / through which I might best express / my gratitude at the prospect of / becoming an American Citizen, / I chose to harmonize and orchestrate / as a national chorale your / beautiful sacred anthem the / Star Spangled Banner. / It is a desire to do my bit in / these grievous times toward / fostering and preserving the / spirit of patriotism in this country / that inspires me to tender this my / humble work to you as President / of this Great Republic and to the / American People. /

Believe me

Faithfully yours

Igor Strawinsky

Hollywood, Calif
August 1941.



Franklin Delano Roosevelt
Washington, D. C.

Mr. President:

Searching about for a vehicle through which I might best express my gratitude at the prospect of becoming an American Citizen, I chose to harmonize and orchestrate as a national chorale your beautiful sacred anthem the Star Spangled Banner.

It is a desire to do my bit in these grievous times toward fostering and preserving the spirit of patriotism in this country that inspires me to tender this my humble work to you as President of this Great Republic and to the American People.

Believe me

Faithfully yours
Igor Stravinsky

Hollywood, Calif
August 1941

Figure 3. Letter from Stravinsky to Franklin D. Roosevelt, August 1941. Franklin D. Roosevelt Memorial Library, Hyde Park, NY.

The "Presentation Ceremony" on 9 September was to have begun with a "Posting of Colors" by the American Legion, followed by an "Address of Welcome" from Governor Olson. After Weber's *Jubel* Overture, played by the Southern California (WPA) Symphony led by James Sample, came "Introductory remarks" about Stravinsky's new arrangement by Wecker, state supervisor. Just its first and second verses were then to be sung by Nelson Eddy (1901–67), surely the most popular baritone of the day, joined by the Los Angeles Oratorio Society Chorus, the WPA Negro Chorus, with Sample leading the orchestra. The program continued with remarks about American composers and the WPA itself by actor Lionel Barrymore (1878–1954), to be followed by the actor's own orchestration of *Three Short [Piano] Pieces* by Edward MacDowell (1861–1908). After an address by administrator Amory, the orchestra was to perform a *Scherzo* by Earnest Andersson, identified as: "A pupil and friend of Strawinsky." Barrymore was then to narrate the Gettysburg Address during a musical setting (although no composer is named here) by Morris Hutchins Ruger (1902–74), following which "Mr. Igor Strawinsky" was to present his score "to the President of the United States." The final item of this "Ceremony" would be a performance of the third verse of the anthem in Stravinsky's arrangement by Nelson Eddy, choruses, audience, and orchestra.

From New York on 19 August Feist wrote that Stravinsky's manuscript (i.e., a photostat of the SATB piano–vocal reduction: Appendix, no. 5c, or its duplicate) had safely arrived, noting that Stravinsky's waiving of all performance fees indicates "a background of feeling towards this country and a sense of service" that Feist wholeheartedly reciprocates. A 20 percent royalty, however, means that Mercury Music Corporation would enjoy little profit. Hoping to have copies printed shortly after 1 September, he enclosed a contract.[51] Stravinsky responded on 23 August that he will not accept a contractual clause charging performance fees after 1 September 1944 because it would lay him "open to severe criticism" about commercializing the national anthem. A suggestion about "dedicating" his arrangement to the American people would "make me seem ridiculous,"[52] perhaps forgetting he had already "tendered" it to them and the president ten days or so earlier (see above letter) and was again to do so later (see below, A and B).

Agreeing on 28 August that no dedication to the American people was needed, and since Stravinsky had not yet signed Mercury's contract, Feist raised several questions about possible recordings or transcriptions for commercial radio use, and even possibilities for using the anthem's arrangement in moving pictures.[53] Stravinsky responded on the last day of the month, suggesting that "recordings, licenses etc." should be

negotiated at future, more appropriate times, "in view of the delicate situation regarding my part in the Star-Spangled Banner."[54] From the carbon copy sent to Wecker on 21 August of Assistant Commissioner Kerr's letter to Amory, Stravinsky may already have learned what was brewing in Washington. Be this as it may, his letter of 31 August to Feist contains the first hint of a possible delay in the premiere, although still set for 9 September.

By 27 August a copy of Hunter's letter to the president a week earlier was in the hands of Colonel Orlando Ward, Secretary of the General Staff, War Department. That same day, Colonel Ward wrote a note to the Adjutant General, observing rather ominously, "There may be some question about this." His note was sent to the War Department along with Stravinsky's autograph letter to the president, the tentative September ninth program, and a draft of a letter for Hunter, all items received there on 30 August. Finally, after the long Labor Day weekend, Colonel Edwin M. Watson, Secretary to the President, wrote on 4 September from the White House to Commissioner Hunter, scotching the proposal:

> While the interest and patriotic motives of Mr. Strawinsky and the other persons concerned are appreciated, it does not appear to be appropriate to receive a formal presentation of any particular version or arrangement of the anthem as a gift to the people of the country. Such action might carry the implication that the particular version or arrangement thus received is considered to be more suitable and desirable than others that are in current use. The objection cited would of course not apply to a rendition of the special version on the [9 September] program in question without the national presentation and acceptance features.[55]

In his response to Stravinsky on 5 September, Feist assumed that publicity for 9 September would be handled on the West Coast (thereby sparing expenses for Mercury). Requesting Stravinsky's full orchestral–choral score (and again on 30 September), he also expected a "great demand from schools as well as from radio orchestras," adding that Mercury's house arranger, Dr. Felix Guenther (1886–1951), had suggested the desirability of including saxophones and other instruments in arrangements for school orchestras.[56] Feist's postscript to his 5 September letter informed Stravinsky that he was sending him six copies of the piano–vocal edition (in its first issue). He confessed on 13 September, however, that Guenther had proofread and that this "small edition" was then printed without being read by the composer. Surviving copies of this first 25-cent edition duly block out an expiration

date of 1 September 1944 for free performances.[57] Stravinsky gave and inscribed his "Copy No. 1" to Andersson (Appendix, no. 5d) and even penciled in a few pitch alterations on another 25-cent exemplar, now in the LC (no. 5e).

By this time, the announced concert date for the September premiere had come and gone. Two Stravinsky letters of 14 and 25 September (the first one amplifies his above-quoted letter of 14 August) disclose the original scheme and what had happened to it:

> [T]he plan was to premiere it in a big way . . . to be produced here by the Federal [WPA] orchestra and choir . . . [and] broadcast on a national hook-up with the President making a speech accepting the beautifully bound original manuscript. The White House now have declined this procedure explaining that to do so would be practically making this the only governmentally approved version. The plan now is to premiere it in October in just the same way except without a Presidential address.[58]

Although it was Roosevelt's administration that had established the WPA, Stravinsky's report and the letter of 4 September from the president's secretary Watson to Commissioner Hunter substantiate the president's reluctance to commit himself. "So far as can be found out, [he] never attended a [Federal Music] Project concert and rarely spoke in either public or private about the Federal Music Project's activities."[59]

The above-cited letter (14 September) to Feist also contains important information about Stravinsky's future plans for the anthem and his opinion of Mercury's first (25-cent) issue of the piano–vocal score, which had arrived at North Wetherly on 13 September. He tells Feist that to date he has completed the following arrangements: a piano–vocal score ("the one you are printing," see Appendix, nos. 5d–e); an orchestra score with mixed chorus (no. 6); and one for piano male choir (no. 11). He is now making other arrangements: for male chorus a capella [*sic*] (no. 12 or 13); for female chorus a capella [*sic*] (unknown); for mixed chorus a capella [*sic*] (copyrighted but unlocated);[60] and he wants Guenther to make one for small school orchestra (unknown). He expects Mercury to publish them and to send one contract covering them all—to which Feist responded coolly on the nineteenth that he would print in the future only those "for which the market is ready." Having just received Mercury's first printed copies of the piano–vocal score (nos. 5d–e) the previous day, Stravinsky expresses his dislike of the cover: "Such a lot of red and therefore does not indicate properly the national colors." He demands that the entire

edition be scrapped and a new one printed, but only after he has read proofs (a letter of 7 October reveals that Stravinsky never saw proofs even for the new cover, one made after his own design).[61]

In Los Angeles, Vera Stravinsky noted in her diary for 18 September a "chorus rehearsal of Igor's version of the Star-Spangled Banner."[62] The "150 voices" of the Los Angeles Oratorio Society and the WPA Negro Chorus perhaps used mimeographed or ozalid copies for their rehearsal. Before our age of rapid photocopying there was no quick way in 1941 to mass-produce copies from the half-dozen that Stravinsky had "finally received" from Feist on the thirteenth.

Stravinsky's letter of 25 September not only announces a new date for the premiere, but also assures Feist about publicity and advertising on the West Coast. A national broadcast for the premiere, "postponed to October 14th," is still being sought. Recordings made of his arrangement for orchestra and chorus and for orchestra alone will, according to conductor Sample, be "sent to all radio stations" and "each record will be broadcast about 2,500 times. This alone should aid in developing an immediate demand for this music." He closes by noting that because "the President did not refuse to receive the beautifully bound copy" but only "officially for the American People," he will send it to him "privately."[63] No trace of any such recordings exist today, even though he had previously authorized Sample to make one "for nonprofit purposes for the U.S. Government" (in his letter to Feist of 14 September), and did so again when writing him on 30 September.[64] As late as 5 October, a draft of his telegram to Feist still proclaims: "Concert to be broadcast on national hookup."[65] Even a week after the premiere, he reaffirms his (and Sample's) hopes: "The plan is still on foot for a broadcast with the orchestra and choirs."[66] This was not to be—at least not with precisely those forces, or just then (Figure 4).

Figure 4. WPA Federal Orchestra, 1939, James Sample conducting. Private collection.

The composer's own diary for 8–9 October (the latter a non-lesson day for Andersson) notes that Andersson "sent Feist the Star-Spangled Banner Score."[67] Here Stravinsky is responding with a photostat (Appendix, no. 6c, or a duplicate) to Feist's repeated requests (letters of 5 and 30 September, cited above) for the full orchestral–choral score, as confirmed by Stravinsky's letter of 21 October in which he demands to "proof-read before going to press."[68]

Vera's diary for 13 October reads: "We go to a 9 a.m. rehearsal of the Star-Spangled Banner by the WPA Orchestra," one using hand-copied parts, because orchestral parts were not printed until December. Stravinsky's own diary states that Andersson took lesson 94 the day of this rehearsal.[69] Announcements in the *Los Angeles Times* on 10 October had heralded "a semicivic celebration of the world premiere . . . of the revitalized arrangement of the National Anthem" and on 13 October that "James Sample, who will direct the orchestra, said Stravinsky has preserved the original air while enriching it in a spirit of reverence and devotion."[70] A day earlier, in the *Salt Lake Tribune*, he had gone much further (with just an echo of Andersson's diary for 17 June): "Conductor James Sample predicted that Stravinsky's score eventually will be accepted as standard for choral and orchestral work. 'The music is lofty and full of reverential feeling,' he said, 'not of a strictly military air, but a feeling from the bottom of the heart, of love and reverence for his country.'"[71]

Stravinsky's repeated assertions to Feist (14 August, 14 and 25 September, 5 and 21 October) about an impending national broadcast of his "Star-Spangled Banner" strongly imply some person (or persons) other than just himself working to achieve this goal. Who, then, was it? With the initial "suggestion" coming from Sample for the harmonization and with Stravinsky's encouragement on 18 June—"we [Sample, Andersson, and Stravinsky] talked over a proposed concert to premier[e] his *Star-Spangled Banner*"[72]—the idea for a premiere by a WPA orchestra and choruses and even its broadcast and recording was most probably Sample's.[73] Possibly it was hatched even earlier, following his rehearsal of the WPA Orchestra in Andersson's music late the previous April, and if so, would explain Stravinsky's rough compositional draft made on 16 June. Probably neither choral director had sufficient clout to organize such a complex undertaking, even though by the close of January 1941 the sixty-person WPA Negro Chorus was regularly giving concerts with the WPA Orchestra,[74] the former led from mid-September onward by its newly appointed conductor, Gilbert Allen (1910–c.1990).[75] And by this period, the Los Angeles Oratorio Society

had regained its preeminence after its many glorious years under the excellent John Smallman (1886–1937).[76]

Certainly the local facilitator was Wecker, California state supervisor (1940–43) of the WPA Music Project, which, since 1 September 1939 had been transferred to the various states. During August of 1941 it was Wecker, not Sample (or at least not directly), who received carbon copies of correspondence between Amory in Los Angeles and Hunter in Washington,[77] and he necessarily had dealings with both Sample and the conductor of the Negro Chorus. He even spoke at the premiere (as he was to do again at a concert by the Negro Chorus in 1942).[78] Notwithstanding Stravinsky's forcibly expressed disdain for radio music just eight months earlier to Washington reporters,[79] the notion of a national broadcast of his arrangement occupied his thoughts, even after the ensuing 1944 debacle in Boston.[80] But why did Stravinsky not conduct the premiere himself? The WPA's Music Project was solely for native U.S. citizens and for persons fully naturalized.[81] Moreover, we have seen that he had personally offered the premiere to Sample.

World Premiere

The great day, Tuesday 14 October, finally arrived. That afternoon, Stravinsky picked up his blue suit at Saks (there for alterations?), perhaps the one he had ordered exactly two months earlier on 14 July in Mexico City for the then princely sum of $621.[82] The concert took place at 8:30 p.m. in the Embassy Auditorium, seating 1,500 (another source gives 2,300), located in downtown Los Angeles at Ninth and Grand. With Stravinsky's contributions and his name printed exceptionally in uppercase letters, the program, bearing the U.S. seal no less on its cover (see also Fig. 5 and Appendix, no. 6), was:

Jubel Overture — Carl Maria von Weber

Piano Concerto in A Minor (Luise Errol, soloist) — Robert Schumann

INTERMISSION

Nocturno and Scherzo — Earnest Andersson

(WPA orchestra has repeatedly played Nocturne; Scherzo is a recent composition)

Lincoln's Gettysburg Address (declaimed by Lionel Barrymore) — Morris H. Ruger

Three MacDowell [Piano] Pieces (orchestrated by:) — Lionel Barrymore

Remarks [by] Dr. Karl Wecker

THE STAR SPANGLED BANNER

Harmonized and Orchestrated by IGOR STRAVINSKY

WORLD PREMIERE

Los Angeles Oratorio Society, Los Angeles WPA Negro Chorus, Orchestra

REMARKS IGOR STRAVINSKY

Stravinsky retained a sheet of typed paper bearing the words "Remarks by Karl Wecker." He later Scotch-taped it into the "beautifully bound" presentation volume destined—unofficially, by then—for President Roosevelt, perhaps because Wecker's few words had revealed an appreciation for the new arrangement. Violinist, conductor, and author of "Music for Totally Deaf Children,"[83] Wecker had recently led the Los Angeles WPA orchestra in Stravinsky's *Firebird Suite* in January 1941.[84] As WPA state supervisor, he was responsible for all the performing groups on that evening's program featuring the anthem's premiere. His speech concluded:

> As never before, these inner meanings (of holy fervor, deathless patriotism and the envisioned spirituality that has characterized our nation's history) are released in the treatment accorded the music you are about to hear. Ennobled and enriched but without the change of a single melodic note, "The Star-Spangled Banner" has taken on that additional essence that shall forever designate its rightful place as our NATIONAL ANTHEM.

Presumably, the final two words were delivered with some emphasis. Wecker's ability at high-gloss verbiage led to a final appointment in 1969, late in life, as education director of the Forest Lawn Cemetery Foundation in Glendale.

The format of the printed program certainly makes it seem that Stravinsky also spoke. In truth, however, Wecker delivered the composer's "REMARKS." Even though Stravinsky's address is nowhere recorded as such, it is easily reconstructed. A newspaper review the next day by Isabel Morse Jones offers a hint. She wrote: "This first performance, a tribute to the country of his adoption in anticipation of citizenship."[85] A more generous clue is embedded in Richard Drake Saunders's magazine review (printed at the beginning of November), for he, too, was at the premiere. Saunders wrote in part: "'In gratitude at the prospect of becoming a citizen of the United States, to help to foster and preserve the spirit of patriotism, my humble work is tendered to the American people,' declared Stravinsky in a letter read by

Karl Wecker."[86] Jones's hint and Saunders's direct quotation show that the composer's "letter," as read by Wecker, depended on sentences in a previous statement. These are part of his initial dependent clause plus a final sentence, both in the two August letters to President Roosevelt, cited above. They recur on a page he inscribed to precede the autograph full score (the latter affixed to the next page) in the bound volume that he sent to the president a couple of weeks after the October premiere (Appendix, no. 6). They appear once again, though less carefully copied, on 21 November, in a facsimile prefacing the printed full score for orchestra and chorus issued by Mercury at the end of the first week of December 1941 (no. 6d). Slight differences between the LC autograph dedication and Mercury's facsimile (Stravinsky's third and fourth versions) may be discerned by comparing A and B, below.

(A) *Autograph inscription on first page of bound volume for President Roosevelt:*

> Searching about for a vehicle / through which I might best express / my gratitude at the prospect of / becoming an American Citizen, / I chose to harmonize and orchestrate / as a national chorale the beautiful / sacred anthem The Star Spangled Banner. / It is a desire to do my bit in / these grievous times toward fostering / and preserving the spirit of patriotism / in this country that inspires me to / tender this my humble work to / the American People /
>
> Igor Strawinsky
> 1941

(B) *Autograph preceding Mercury's full orchestral–choral score:*

> Searching about for a vehicle trough [*sic*] / which I might best express my gratitude / at the prospect of becoming an American / Citizen, I chose to harmonize and / orchestrate as a national choral [*sic*] the / beautiful sacred anthem the Star / Spangled Banner. /
> It is a desire to do my bit in these / grievous times toward fostering and / preserving the spirit of patriotism in / this country that inspires me to tender / this my humble work to the American / People. /
>
> Igor Strawinsky
> October 1941

Rather than abbreviating Stravinsky's statement, as implied by Saunders's quotation, Wecker probably delivered it in its entirety. One might even speculate that Stravinsky (as the printed program suggests) had indeed planned to speak directly after the premiere. Already in 1939 his longtime friend in Los Angeles, Dr. Alexis Feodorovitch Kall

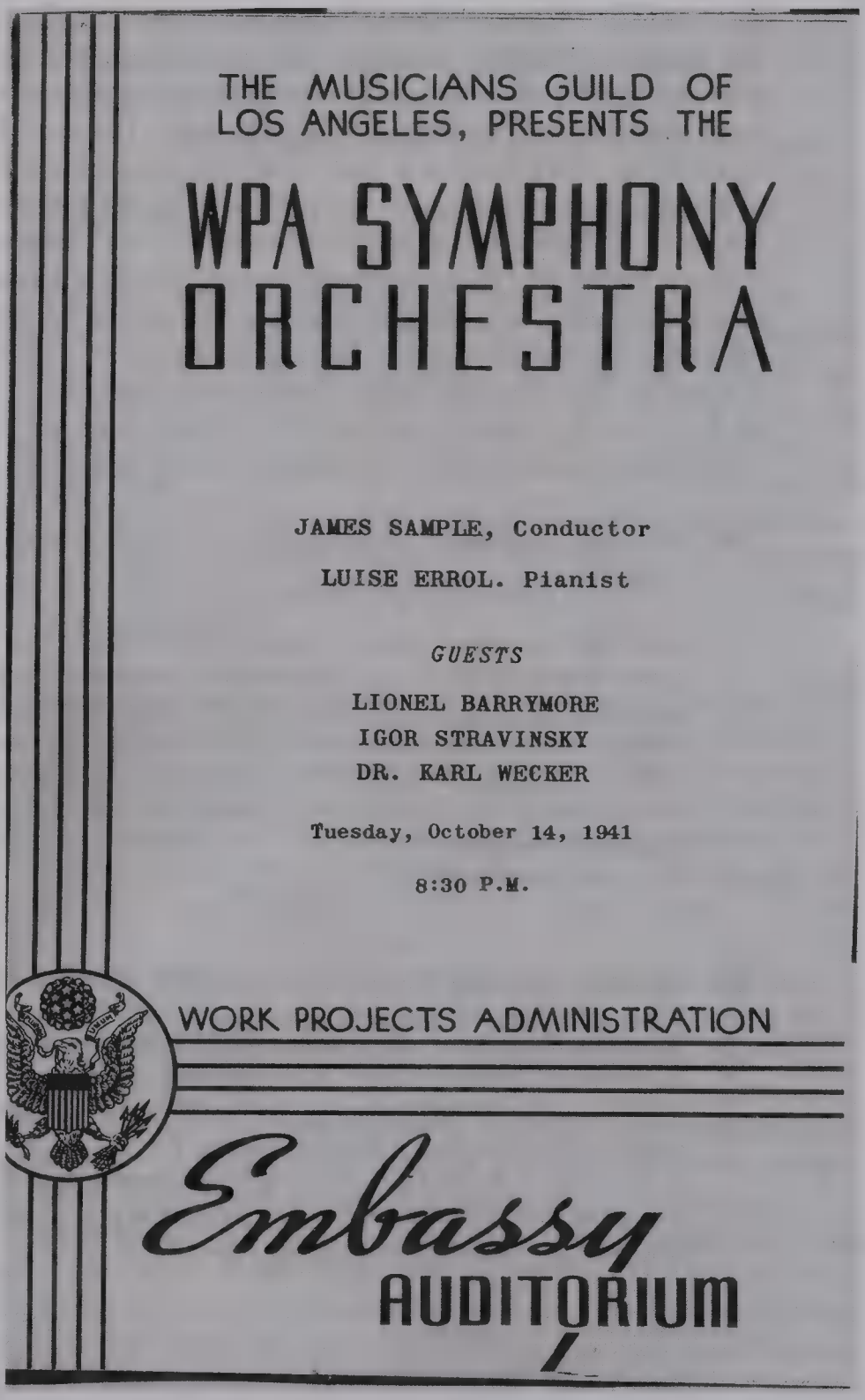


Figure 5. Program, premiere of Igor Stravinsky, *Star-Spangled Banner*, Los Angeles WPA Symphony Orchestra, Los Angeles Oratorio Society, Los Angeles WPA Negro Chorus, James Sample, conductor, Embassy Auditorium, Los Angeles, 14 October 1941. Sample-Andersson private collection, PA.

PROGRAM

I

JUBEL OVERTURE . . . . . WEBER

Karl Maria von Weber wrote the Jubel Overture in 1818, the year of the celebration in Saxony of the 50th anniversary of the king's accession to the throne. Its coda is built on the former Saxon national hymn. The tune is known as the English national anthem, "God save the King" and to Americans as, "My Country 'Tis of Thee."

II

CONCERTO in A Minor, for Piano and Orchestra SCHUMANN

1. Allegro 2. Adagio 3. Allegro non troppo

LUISE ERROL, Soloist

The first movement of this celebrated concerto was written in 1841 as a *Fantasy for Piano and Orchestra*. After several ineffectual attempts to have the work published, under various titles, Schumann added a second and third movement. The completed concerto was first played by Clara Schumann at Dresden in 1845.

LUISE ERROL began her music studies as a child at the Kansas City Conservatory. In California her instructors were Lyell Barbour of San Diego and Vernon Spencer of Los Angeles. In 1938, after an appearance with the Federal Music Project of Los Angeles, critics emphasized her mature musical interpretation. During the same year she made a most successful concert Tour throughout Mexico.

INTERMISSION

III

NOCTURNO AND SCHERZO . . . . . EARNEST ANDERSSON

The name of this Los Angeles composer is familiar to Embassy audiences. His orchestral works, *The Sun Worshiper*, *Children's Suite*, and the lovely *Nocturne*, had their initial performances here and have been played repeatedly by this orchestra. The *Scherzo* is a recent composition.

Figure 5. Continued.

(1878–1948), had advised him to deliver his coming Harvard lectures in English rather than in French: "You spoke English wonderfully when you were last here [in 1937]."[87] In December 1939 a San Francisco reporter quoted Stravinsky's reaction to the former's observation about

IV

LINCOLN'S GETTYSBURG ADDRESS

Recited by . . . . . LIONEL BARRYMORE

Musical setting by. . . .MORRIS HUTCHINS RUGER

(PROLOGUE Written by FRANK FENTON)

V

THREE MacDOWELL PIECES . . .MacDOWELL-BARRYMORE

(a) *Across the Fields*

(b) *The Haunted House*

(c) *Czardas*

The three choice little pieces, from various piano collections of MacDowell, were selected for orchestration by Lionel Barrymore for their imaginative and realistic character.

VI

REMARKS . . . . . DR. KARL WECKER

THE STAR SPANGLED BANNER

Harmonized and Orchestrated by IGOR STRAVINSKY

WORLD PREMIERE

Los Angeles Oratorio Society

Los Angeles WPA Negro Chorus

Orchestra

REMARKS . . . . . IGOR STRAVINSKY

Figure 5. Continued.

the composer's English: "'You think it shows progress? Splendid! I am delighted. I really feel complimented.'"[88] And by November 1940, Vera Stravinsky could remark in her diary: "Igor speaks English very freely."[89] The diary of Earnest Andersson, who spoke no language other than English, proves that during the summer of 1941 Stravinsky was communicating very well. Perhaps that October, after "the audience received it solemnly . . . did not sing, although it was repeated three times,"[90] he lost his nerve before such a taciturn throng that "jammed the Embassy Theater to hear the world premiere"[91] and instead handed his script to

Wecker. Curiously, audiences at the San Francisco and Boston premieres were to react in much the same way. Some reasons for their silences will be ventured shortly.

With different distribution of lines and some differing punctuation between versions A and B, A seems rather closer to the Roosevelt letters than does B. Native English speakers will be struck not only by Stravinsky's command of an idiom, "do my bit" (surely via Andersson), but also by his several spelling errors in version B, namely, "trough" and "choral." His fair-copy SATB piano–vocal autograph (Appendix, no. 5) twice misspells "through" in the anthem's verses, once as "trough" (second verse) and then as "though" (close of first verse). One can only sympathize with the nightmare of spelling-pronunciation in English. Misspellings of "trough" and "choral" appear neither in his Roosevelt letters nor in version A (not containing the perhaps too specific month of October). The inscribed presidential letter precedes his autograph score in the splendid "beautifully bound" volume (Appendix, no. 6) "imbossed [*sic*] in gold" and even signed in gold by the Los Angeles binder, Charles W. Malotte. Into it the composer affixed the typed sheet of Wecker's address and the program of the premiere. If Wecker read from any Stravinsky manuscript, it was probably not version A. Perhaps he read from version B ("October"). This slightly erroneous text was not in the publisher's hands until late November, five weeks after the premiere.[92]

What Roosevelt may have thought about Stravinsky's gift is not recorded beyond what presidential secretary Watson wrote to Commissioner Hunter on 4 September and what the composer wrote to Feist on 25 September 1941 about him declining to receive it "officially for the American People." FDR's reaction might be guessed, however, from previous and later incidents. In May and June 1938, during an (unsuccessful) attempt by a member of the House of Representatives to incorporate "into the law of the land" an arrangement of the national anthem by dance-band leader and songwriter Vincent Lopez (1895–1975), and on the heels of complaints to FDR by composers, singers, and orchestra leaders about "streamlining" the anthem, Lopez wired the president to assure him that "the old tune had been subjected to neither swing nor syncopation."[93] Again, on 31 August 1942, Roosevelt wrote a memorandum from the White House to a Captain McCrea: "Will you tell the Navy Band that I don't like the way they play The Star Spangled Banner—it should not have a lot of frills in it?"[94] Apparently what he meant by "frills" were trumpet flourishes and cymbal crashes that he had heard the Navy Band render when saluting Queen Wilhelmina of the Netherlands on 6 August 1942 at the White House.

Thereafter he issued orders to the effect that "no effort is [to be] made to jazz or modernize this anthem."[95] Stravinsky's arrangement contains neither of these "frills," of course, even though he was often enough branded a "modernist."

The evening of the premiere my late musician friend Dorothy Ellis McQuoid (1911–98), who had mistaken the concert's date, sent a night-letter from her home (then in Burbank): "Dearest Igor . . . Many bravos and many kisses. Our deepest love." She apologizes for her absence and for that of her photographer husband at Paramount, Edwin (1910–50), who just a year earlier had taken three superb portraits of the composer.[96] After the premiere and its post-concert reception, Vera (to whom, Dorothy McQuoid recalled to me, she had given some highly necessary remedial driving lessons the previous summer)[97] drove home to record in her diary: "unending telephone calls about it afterwards," though whether favorable or otherwise, she does not specify.[98]

Andersson took his ninety-fifth lesson the next day. Stravinsky described these lessons to various colleagues. One time, following Andersson's 35th lesson on 29 May 1941, he wrote Vittorio Rieti (1898–1994): "I am composing, [and] I am working with an elderly gentleman on his compositions."[99] Near the close of that same year he gave more details to violinist Samuel Dushkin (1881–1976), on the day of Andersson's 130th lesson, 29 December: "I have been working here since last April [*sic*; lesson 1 was 28 February] with a single composer (who is far from young, but who tries to acquire good manners in composition by watching how I rewrite his symphony from top to bottom)."[100] Then, just three years after Andersson's death: "A composer brought me a symphony of 200 pages and wanted me to give him lessons. I know nothing about teaching, so I spent two years re-writing his Symphony, and I learned a great deal while doing it."[101] Queried by Craft in 1958–59 about the origin of his "Star-Spangled Banner," Stravinsky condensed this declaration to: "a composer who visited me twice a week to have his work recomposed" but, as always, never naming his student.[102] Andersson's diary shows that the Nocturno [*sic*] and Scherzo by Stravinsky's "pupil and friend," also given at the premiere, were revisions and reorchestrations upon which the two men had been engaged from April until mid-August when Stravinsky selected them for the proposed 9 September concert.[103] As that post-poned premiere reveals, Scherzo was certainly ready by 20 August. Sample had already rehearsed a Scherzo by his father-in-law on 22 April and premiered a Nocturno at WPA concerts on 6 and 9 April 1941.[104] These were central movements from Andersson's above "[*Futurama*]

symphony [in four movements] of 200 pages," the Scherzo noted on the program for 14 October as a "recent composition."[105] Surely lesson 95 on 15 October included some discussion of the previous evening's performance of Andersson's two works, not to speak of the "Star-Spangled Banner." Unfortunately, Andersson's only known diary ceases about the end of the first week of September 1941.

Reception

1941–42: Sample Conducts World Premiere, Broadcasts, and Records in Los Angeles

Strangely enough, the earliest known critical reaction, by Lawrence Morton, preceding even that of the composer himself to his arrangement for mixed chorus and large orchestra, appeared in print only forty-five years later. On 21 October 1941, however, Stravinsky was to inform Feist: "As to the premiere of the STAR SPANGLED BANNER I can tell you that it was brilliantly conducted by James Sample and beautifully performed by the orchestra and the white and colored choirs. The auditorium was packed and the audience received it in the reverentis [*sic*] manner I presented [i.e., composed] it."[106] At the evening reception after the premiere, Morton had introduced himself to the composer. In 1986 Morton recalled that he had "thanked him for giving our national anthem a very good bass line and also for the appoggiatura at the final cadence. These remarks set him off discussing Berlioz, whose bass lines were, in his opinion quite awry."[107] However acute Morton's memory of their 1941 conversation may have been after so many years, a contemporaneous (and perceptive) review by him duly appeared eleven days after the premiere: "The difference [from Damrosch] is in the harmonization. Stravinsky has been respectful . . . and has added some new harmonies that are as 'right' as the traditional ones but infinitely more interesting." Concluding with gentle irony, Morton warned: "Audiences that go in for part-singing won't be able to do much with it without considerable practice."[108] This was prophetic indeed. Although surely very few audience members ever sang the anthem in parts, Morton had also noticed just two months earlier "attempts of the more musically minded men [when singing the anthem] to improvise barbershop tenor parts."[109]

Though not as perceptive as Morton, several other critics scooped him. The day after the premiere Isabel Morse Jones wrote of "small . . . but . . . important changes . . . a cadence here and there, a rhythm [*sic*] balance improved, made the words and melody easier for most voices to sing—but duller to listen to. It is more of a long-march song, low

voiced, streamlined and yet with added harmonic richness."[110] Slightly at odds with Morse Jones in respect to the number of verses sung, Florence Lawrence wrote the same day in Los Angeles: "Stravinsky has given a reverent orchestration, which in no way disturbs the familiar melody. Four verses were sung. . . . The harmonization has been done with a modern effect, and while some of the harmonies may be disturbing to the layman's ear, the music shows a rich tapestry of sound and a definite hymnal quality."[111] Morse Jones's second review, datelined 18 October (and printed a week later), probed a little more deeply, although, as Sample complained, she miscounted the number of verses: "Stravinsky added voices to enrich the harmony, moved up and down contrapuntally, made it more of a Russian hymn than a Yankee outburst of patriotism, and the audience received it solemnly. They did not sing, although it was repeated three times. . . . Two cadences were changed and the rhythm [*sic*] balance on the words improved, but the result was a rich dullness without sparkle."[112]

Stravinsky always had a friend in the Los Angeles critic Richard D. Saunders (even though, as we shall see, he went off the rails a little in March of 1944). His first printed review was not in connection with its premiere (which he had attended) but with Sample's performance two weeks later opening a concert on 28 October by the former New York violinist Mischa Violin (1899–1984) with the WPA Orchestra. The review noted: "Stravinsky's new harmonization of 'The Star-Spangled Banner,' which may seem strange to conventional ears, yet cuts new facets of beauty in the gem of a noble melody."[113] On 1 November Saunders again spoke well of the new arrangement (even if his first sentence, quoted earlier, echoes one of Wecker's own remarks at the premiere):

> Stravinsky's treatment did not alter the melodic line in any respect, nor were there any elaborations. It was done simply and reverently, weaving a rich tapestry of instrumental and vocal lines to support the melody and achieving a solemn and profound dignity. The harmonies were progressive and far from conventional, attaining an aspect of intrinsic beauty and consistent nobility.[114]

Still, these were but a few favorable voices among many others in Los Angeles who attacked his arrangement. Late in the spring of 1942, without naming any of them, Morton castigated their ignorance and defended the composer. (Curiously, he made the common error of assuming that Stravinsky was already an American citizen.) He also criticized certain current performers of the anthem, in much the same way

that we might do of modern-day singers at sports events, rock concerts, political conventions, etc.:

> The case of Igor Stravinsky's version of "The Star Spangled Banner" is still an agitating one hereabouts. Some of the objections which have been raised are in truth too ridiculous to consider seriously even though they are widespread. Mr. Stravinsky has been credited with "cheek," with "lack of respect," even with "subversive intentions!". He must indeed be taken aback by some of the abuse which has been heaped upon him because he chose to celebrate the occasion of his becoming an American citizen. . . . It is quite unthinkable, I believe, that he has done greater violence to "The Star Spangled Banner" than they [Kate Smith, Bing Crosby, assorted prima donnas, leading tenors, and one military band conductor] have. He, at least, has preserved its musical dignity.[115]

Among hostile critics, Morton would surely have included the Pasadena Music Teachers' Association, which organization, according to Sample, soon wrote in protest. To its everlasting credit, the administration of the WPA continued to support Sample's efforts to have the public accept the new harmonization.[116] These critics included Carl Bronson on 15 October; Bruno David Ussher, who published two separate reviews, 16 and 29 October; a Marie Hummel, whose letter to the editor appeared on 5 November; a pathetic attempt at country humor from Palm Springs on 28 November; and a review by an anonymous writer the ensuing January. Of these, Bronson was probably the least obnoxious. He merely observed, though condescendingly enough: "From Sousa to Stravinsky is a long way for the 'Star-Spangled Banner' to be dragged, but it still sparkles with the glory of Key's words."[117]

Ussher's first review of the premiere begins by misunderstanding the composer's "Remarks": "Stravinsky . . . recently became a citizen of this country. The modernist memorialized that event with an arrangement. . . . Well intentioned, the score, however, is not an improvement nor even an enrichment of the musical literature of this century."[118]

His second review was of its next performance, 28 October, the one led by Sample at the Embassy Auditorium. It not only validates Morton's charge of "ridiculous" but also closes in incoherence and irrelevance: "Igor Stravinsky's spotty harmonization. . . . Some persons may have thought that wrong notes were being played. I think it would be difficult to enhance the total meaning of this anthem, except by performance. Could one improve the 'Marseillaise'?"[119]

Marie Hummel's letter to the editor is probably by the local Los Angeles violinist rather than from an identically named Gypsy card

reader of the 1930s. Having dutifully attended the same WPA concert on 28 October that featured Mischa Violin, Hummel had a radically different opinion from Saunders. She complained (rather ungrammatically):

> The distorted harmonies and discords which met the ear of this, our national anthem, was almost unbelievable. . . . Why do we need anyone to change our national anthem? A melody we all have cherished since childhood and sung in school, and in these perilous times, when every vestige of patriotism is necessary, and played at almost every public performance, to be distorted away from pure harmonic structure, such as it was last night.[120]

From the desert oasis of Palm Springs came a review, "Musical Carryin'-On," signed by one Th' Buzzard. A few—blessedly few—quotations will suffice to convey its author's hillbilly humor:

> Ole Jesse James Sample . . . has wanted tew git hole us what they call a new harmonizaschun. . . . Ole Walt Damroch tried his han' at it, an' turned out one `at ole Is Morse Jones kinda thought wuz dull. Sew now ole Sample gits his dander up an' straps on a cupple uv 45s an' holes up th' ole Roosian hillbilly by th' name uv IGOR STRAWINSKY an' orders him tew do th' job. Waal, ole IG puts th' spurs in an' turns out th' gosh durndest, knock down an' drag out 'Corrall' yew ever did see er here. . . . Jim Sample roun's up his hillbilly fiddlers an' plays this hear new peace uv Straw's at th' Federal Musick Prodject chivarri held at th' wild west Embassy dance haul. . . . Waal sir, th' natives jist razed th' roof.[121]

Buzzard's badinage then quotes in normal English Wecker's entire speech delivered at the premiere. What role, if any, Isabel Morse Jones played in this affair remains obscure. Yet, even more strangely and alone among all other critics, Buzzard somehow knew about Sample's role in bringing about Stravinsky's harmonization.

Off the ranch and back on the coast, B. Vernon Steele, was surveying WPA concerts, several of which had programmed Stravinsky's arrangement the previous fall. He complained about its "bare and acrid harmonic content and the unrelated counterpoint," rendering its melody "still less singable than the original." Though perhaps merely rephrasing Morton, he continued: "Singing anything else than the melody—supplying a contralto, tenor, or bass line—is well nigh impossible," suggesting thereby with Morton that some audience members *were* accustomed to singing more than just the anthem's melody. He concluded: "It is

unfortunate that the musical setting [used] at the WPA concerts discourages that tendency [toward increased audience participation]."[122]

Stravinsky's thorough approval of Sample's conducting at the premiere, expressed to Feist in October, was reinforced in the last months of 1941 and 1942. First, he inscribed a copy of Mercury's newly printed full orchestral score: "To James Sample / my best wishes for a very / happy / new year / IStrawinsky / Dec. 30th / 1941" (Appendix, no. 6d). Sadly, no recording, supposedly made the previous September by Sample and the WPA Orchestra to be sent to radio stations and "broadcast about 2,500 times," survives. However, as noted above, he frequently included Stravinsky's arrangement in programs he conducted with that orchestra. Thus, among a series that he gave in 1941–42 that were recorded for later broadcast—programs that sometimes comprised works by non-native though resident California composers such as Homer Simmons (1900–71), Charles Wakefield Cadman (1881–1946), Miklos Rozsa (1907–95), and Morris Ruger—was one that concluded with the arrangement of our national anthem (minus its mixed chorus) by the Golden State's latest transplant. This particular recording begins with the overture to Mozart's *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* and includes George Thomas Morgan's Scherzo from that otherwise unknown Minnesotan songwriter's Suite for Orchestra of uncertain date. (The Los Angeles WPA Orchestra had already played all three movements of Morgan's Suite at a concert on 2 April 1941, and presumably the 1941 performance of its central movement, Scherzo, is or resembles the one on the recording.) The disc itself with Stravinsky's anthem is said to be from 1942.[123] This date and his esteem for Sample's conducting is confirmed by the composer's inscribed re-photograph (in reverse) of himself (taken in Paris by George Hoyningen-Huené on 16 November 1934). It reads: "To James Sample my best greetings / and sincere thanks for the / record of my STAR- / -SPANGLED- / BANNER / under his baton / It sounds splendidly / IStrawinsky / Oct /1942."[124]

This recording shows that Sample led the anthem at a tempo of M.M. ♩ = c.60, which resulted in a performance of one minute and twenty-seven seconds. His tempo suggests he was unaware of Stravinsky's later metronome mark inscribed in the presidential autograph, although surely the composer coached him before the world premiere. Indeed, Stravinsky's initial three-fold playing of it to Sample qualifies as coaching by itself. Uncharacteristic of Stravinsky's conducting of the anthem as recorded in 1964, however, or for that matter of Craft's in 1991–92 (see below), was Sample's adoption in 1942 of slightly different tempos for the anthem's two strains. After speeding up the beginning of the second strain, he returns to a tempo at the pickup

to m. 17 close to the one that had opened the first strain and toward the end retards slightly less than does Stravinsky in 1964. Sample's performance thus lacks the structural unity that Stravinsky achieves in his 1964 recording. Despite this and its limited sonic qualities, it has compelling historic interest because it very probably reflects Stravinsky's own performances in the 1940s. Forty-five years later Sample recalled that Stravinsky had played it on the piano for him (18 June 1941) in "a stately, and not in the least hurried, tempo."[125] And one orchestral performance led by Stravinsky himself in 1942 bears Sample out. It was described by Ashley Pettis in San Francisco as "too slow" and having "exaggerated retardings" (see below). Obviously, neither Sample's performances nor the one that was broadcast and recorded explains Stravinsky's decision not to attend a concert on 18 February 1942 after discovering that Sample had programmed his *Berceuses du chat*. His disinclination should not be misconstrued. Unlike his notorious dislike of many conductors, he much admired Sample's gifts and the two men remained life long friends.[126]

1941: Stravinsky Forced to Cancel His Own Premiere, Planned for St. Louis

In the first week of December 1941, Mercury was busy printing the full score and orchestra parts. Having departed Los Angeles on the evening of 12 December the composer and his wife were crossing by rail "unending plains and seeing vast horizons." They arrived in St. Louis on the fifteenth where Stravinsky had a first rehearsal with the St. Louis Symphony that Monday afternoon.[127] On departure day he had written Feist: "I am conducting there my Sym. program [19, 20 December] which includes my Star-Spangled Banner. Please send me at the Coronado [Hotel], St. Louis . . . five [copies] of the piano and orch. score[s]."[128] Unfortunately, their letters crossed. Feist had just written him on 10 December: "I sent you a copy [to Los Angeles] of the Star-Spangled Banner yesterday via airmail. Today I am sending you a set of parts (8–7–5–5–4) so that you will have the material available for your conducting engagements. . . . [See Appendix, nos. 9 and 14.] The score seems to have been released at the most psychological moment"— i.e., the attack on Pearl Harbor.[129] Stravinsky thus arrived in St. Louis in the midst of a national crisis with, as it turned out, only handwritten and perhaps faulty orchestral parts he had brought with him from Los Angeles. He certainly rehearsed the orchestra on Monday afternoon the fifteenth, Tuesday morning, Wednesday morning, and Thursday afternoon the eighteenth (but presumably not Friday morning

because the first concert was that afternoon). Although precisely how many times he rehearsed "The Star-Spangled Banner" is unknown, there were soon repercussions.

At his afternoon rehearsal on Thursday he announced to the orchestra: "We will not rehearse *more* my arrangement of The Star Spangled Banner because I was asked to play the Standard version and I certainly will do it with pleasure."[130] Another note entirely in his hand—"This is what the administration of the St. Louis Orch. gave to the press"—follows a typed note with several autograph annotations. This typed note reads: "Because of the outbreak of war, Stravinsky will not play his new harmonization of 'The Star-Spangled Banner,' as planned earlier, out of respect for the national anthem. Instead, he will open his program with a standard arrangement of the composition."[131]

Reasons for this cancellation are not known in any great detail. Craft stated that in a rehearsal "some orchestra members and others" considered it "unpatriotic," and he believed that its first rehearsal was on the fifteenth or sixteenth.[132] A hint that Stravinsky was perhaps already feeling uncomfortable and seeking to calm the situation even by Wednesday the seventeenth (and thus, in fact, had rehearsed his arrangement by then) appears in an interview that afternoon during which he mentioned that the "world upheaval," rather than contributing to his work, "hinders it." Then the reporter describes him as "an avowed anticommunist, although he admires the Russian people. . . . 'I love America . . . and Americans, and I like very much the American spirit. The people over here have shown great courage [meaning the outbreak of war] and dignity.'"[133] On the very day of its anticipated first performance in St. Louis, he offered explanations to three local newspapers. In one he said that he "discovered, while rehearsing it, that the parts had not been copied correctly." Nor (and truthfully) did he yet have its published parts available, "which were printed only last week." He added: "Parts given the orchestra were those written by hand for the WPA Orchestra of Los Angeles." Perhaps reading from some copy of his preface (A or B), he concluded this interview by quoting his own second sentence.[134] A second newspaper, the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, ran essentially the same story. Although this time Stravinsky mentioned no handwritten parts, he stated: "The complete score (published only last week) was not available here," meaning, of course, by "complete" the printed full orchestral score and parts extracted from it. Nor did he quote either sentence from his prefatory statement, but "he wrote it, he said, 'as a patriotic gesture.'"[135] A review of the concert in a third newspaper notes that "from the manuscript partiture which he brought with him some parts were missing."[136]

Several objections can be raised to these explanations. Because he was certainly rehearsing with hand-copied parts from the WPA Orchestra, it would be strange indeed if by then, what with his several authorizations the previous September for Sample's intended recording, the "brilliantly performed" mid-October premiere, and Sample's subsequent performances, that errors had not been eradicated. What is striking here is that in no interview does he mention what the orchestra's administration gave the press, and especially that demeaning phrase "out of respect for the national anthem" with its disgraceful implication that Stravinsky's harmonization was somehow unpatriotic—even contemptuous of the national anthem. On the contrary, he is careful to tell the press that he wrote it "as a patriotic gesture."

Dissembling at the time, he suffered a "réaction" to this affront. And yet, he rose to the occasion. One reviewer enthused about his performance of the "standard version" (the scorned one by Damrosch?), praising: "[An] entirely unusual projection of its meaning . . . [it] became an invocation. He was as a priest on the podium. Facing the audience, not the orchestra, he conducted. But the orchestra responded with the meaning of that anthem to him—and it took on a new meaning to the audience."[137]

Questions remain about who "asked" him to withdraw his own arrangement. A partial answer lies in a very long letter in French of 24 December to Stravinsky from the orchestra's regular conductor, Vladimir Golschmann (1893–1972). At a supper after Stravinsky's last performance on the twentieth, Golschmann had declared that the following week he would conduct the new arrangement at the orchestra's next pair of subscription concerts (in an all-Russian program, long planned).[138] He did indeed rehearse it once that week, writing how both he and his female chair "*du Musical Committee*," who deeply admires Stravinsky's music, well understand Stravinsky's "*réaction*" to the vexing incident. Although she suggests that Golschmann program it without telling the public, the orchestra would know and no one wanted to offer the press such a juicy story. Praise for Stravinsky's graciousness in what Golschmann called "pacification," echoes the composer's own calm and dignified statement on 18 December to the orchestra, quoted above. Golschmann stated that the orchestra would purchase the parts and play the arrangement later when the whole "distressing and slightly ridiculous incident, which never should have occurred, had been forgotten."[139] That no performance ever took place in St. Louis, however, probably testifies to the strength of continuing opposition, not just from some members of the orchestra and its administration, but perhaps even spearheaded by local DAR members who would have every reason to be

unhappy with Stravinsky's deviations from the Damrosch harmonization that their National Society had approved only four years before.[140]

1942: Stravinsky Finally Leads His Own Premiere in San Francisco

A greater diversity of response awaited him in San Francisco early in January. By this time printed parts of his arrangement had arrived, he perhaps having carried them himself on the overnight train northward. The San Francisco Orchestra already knew Stravinsky, for he had first led them in 1937, warmly welcomed then and several times afterward by his longtime advocate and their great conductor, Pierre Monteux. In San Francisco, where he was to lead his arrangement himself for the first time, he faced a more educated and broad-minded audience, one also prepared by informative—if not entirely accurate—interviews published the day before the first rehearsal. The day after the first performance (9 January) there was also a brief, sensitive appreciation from the city's most distinguished and knowledgeable critic, Alfred Frankenstein, one that revealed the orchestra's wholehearted cooperation.

Concerning the new arrangement, Stravinsky had declared on 6 January to an anonymous interviewer for the *San Francisco Chronicle*: "'I like the melody, just right for a hymn, a national anthem. But it is so poorly organized. . . . '[i.e., "composed"? or "harmonized"?] He wanted to make it more suitable for schools, for large choruses, so he wrote his own orchestration."[141] So far, so good. The remainder of this account probably reflects the reporter's confusion rather than Stravinsky's mendacity: "Since October, 1940 [*sic*] he has taken and conducted his version 13 times in Boston, Los Angeles, San Diego, Mexico City, St. Louis."[142] His sole conducting tour, however, between the Los Angeles premiere on 14 October (led not by him) and his San Francisco engagement early in January, was to St. Louis in mid-December, where he only rehearsed his arrangement. Unless Stravinsky was truly prevaricating, the reporter could have heard that since 1940 he had at one time or another conducted the anthem (harmonized by others) in all those cities.

Another reporter, Marie Hicks Davidson of the *San Francisco Call-Bulletin*, also wrote on 6 January (before the first rehearsal): "Members of the orchestra, who have heard the new version of the American National Anthem are not especially impressed. They say the melody has not been tampered with, that the changes are mostly in the harmony, in which even the counterpoint is not as *outré* as one might expect from the composer of *Petroushka*." After she heard it herself, she wrote:

> The difference between the John Stafford Smith version . . . and the anthem . . . by Strawinsky is not essentially striking. A few dissonances here and there, a bit of change in phrasing, especially at the ends of the lines, a little more substance—and that was all. The cadence and the melody remain the same. . . . A hundred or more men in uniform in the audience stood at salute as it was played.[143]

Noting that for his interview on 6 January the composer would talk only in an English "pretty pure and extensively articulate," Alexander Fried filed a story with some of the same elements as in the *Chronicle*. The anonymous interviewer in the *Chronicle* quoted Stravinsky: "'I like the melody of The Star-Spangled Banner very much. . . . To me it is the best melody of all the national hymns. . . . But I think its traditional coloristic harmonization is not right. So I have made a new harmonization in a severe classic style'" (reminding us of his inscription to Andersson in July 1941, quoted above). Fried then stated:

> People who have heard the Stravinskian Star-Spangled Banner in Los Angeles say there is no question as to its reverence. In fact, he created his harmonization largely because of his joy at the prospect of becoming an American citizen. But his setting contains Stravinskian chords that will make the average American eyebrow leap to a new high.[144]

Evidently, Stravinsky was again quoting "at the prospect of becoming an American citizen" from his preface to the orchestral score, as he had done a month earlier during one interview in St. Louis. Fried's review of the actual performance, also in the conservative *San Francisco Examiner* (with its motto of "America First"), doubted that audiences would ever find it more attractive: "Its modern dissonances are inappropriate and harsh, not to say absurd. The Anthem had best be left as tradition gave it to us." This concept of "tradition" refers specifically here to Damrosch's harmonization—Fried's employer, the *Examiner*, had just reprinted it, complete with its ringing endorsement by the DAR, exactly two weeks after Pearl Harbor.[145]

Barely a week after the Friday performance, a second dissenting opinion, that of Ashley Pettis (1892–c.1970), appeared in San Francisco's *The Argonaut*. Having obtained the previous November a copy of the piano–vocal score (second issue) and at that time merely quoting Saunders's review from the *Musical Courier* of 1 November, Pettis then wrote in mid-January that he found the harmonization "singularly turbid." Curious to discover the effect of Stravinsky's orchestration on the harmony, he was disappointed that the former had "failed to mitigate the previous impression." Pettis, a composer himself and

founder-organizer of New York's Composers' Forum (1935–40), was no reactionary; just the opposite, in fact. Though demonstrably wrong in this instance, his opinions deserve consideration, especially in view of his having studied the piano–vocal score of the anthem's arrangement well before its performance. With perhaps more relevance, Pettis also wrote that Stravinsky's conducting violated his own well-known stricture against "interpretation" (referring here to the composer's 1936 *Autobiography*), namely, "a too-slow tempo, with exaggerated retardings."[146] This description sufficiently resembles Sample's historic recorded performance in October 1942, one warmly endorsed by Stravinsky, as to suggest that Stravinsky—who surely had coached Sample for the world premiere—probably conducted his arrangement in this manner early on until he came to modify his performance when recording the anthem in Toronto in 1964.

Noting the unusual sight of ticket-buyers lining up at a box office in order to hear a national anthem, Marjory M. Fisher attributed the success of Stravinsky's version to the wide variety of anthem performances in San Francisco during the previous three months. Although he conducted the orchestra facing the audience and obviously expected it to sing, not a voice was to be heard. She admired his transformation of the anthem from its "usual rambling musical structure" into a "four-square architectural form," but wondered "whether it will arouse the same patriotic thrill the old-fashioned one [Damrosch's?] does in [this] time of war."[147] Her views reached a much wider readership when a similar article appeared two weeks later in the nation's then most influential music magazine, *Musical America*. Writing that the audience "listened attentively and rewarded the arrangement with a considerable applause," she thus contradicted Pettis's report only four days earlier of "a few apathetic handclaps."[148]

Frankenstein's review for the *Chronicle* simply cited "Stravinsky's sonorous and dignified arrangement." It concluded by noting that "the orchestra responded to him throughout with everything it had" and eschewed the by-now familiar error that soon cropped up in a local glossy journal.[149] The error concerned his immigration status, as stated in the caption of a photograph: "Citizen Strawinski, photographed with his wife in the lounge of the Hotel Whitcomb. The exiled Russian composer, now an American Citizen, conducted the San Francisco Symphony."[150]

Across the bay in Oakland, Mills College hosted a reception for Stravinsky by the Darius Milhauds after the San Francisco premiere on 9 January.[151] Milhaud's friend and admirer, the young composer Charles Cushing (1905–82), then assistant professor and conductor of the

University of California Band, was probably invited. If so, this party was the occasion when Cushing was introduced to Stravinsky. In any event, on 14 January Professor Cushing wrote to publisher Feist: "During Mr. Strawinsky's recent visit to San Francisco, I spoke to him to ask his permission to make a band version of his harmonization of the Star-Spangled Banner. Mr. Strawinsky was most sympathetically inclined to the idea. I was further encouraged in the project by Mr. Pierre Monteux."[152] Stravinsky had certainly told Cushing to write Mercury. Even though Stravinsky was aware that its staff arranger would be working on this project, he wanted to see Cushing's transcription when completed. Feist replied a week later to Cushing, sending him a copy of the full orchestral score, but also advising him that Mercury's staff arranger (surely Guenther) was already at work.[153] On 6 March Cushing wrote the composer, sending him his transcription for band.[154] In thanking him for it five days later, Stravinsky observed: "Your band transcription of my version is most successful as well as the general sonority of the instrumental ensemble and also the way you followed so faithfully my voice leading" (recalling his observation to Andersson in July 1941; Appendix, no. 6b). [155] In spite of such high praise and its many successful performances at Berkeley from 12 April onward, Cushing's band arrangement was never published, nor was any other. Much annoyed, Stravinsky wrote Feist on 5 March 1944 about its fate: "Two years ago he [Cushing] sent me a copy of this orchestration which I find very good and absolutely faithful to the text of my version. You undoubtedly have it in your possession. Do you consider this state of things normal?"[156]

Morton, Cushing, and Sample were not the only young musicians to admire the new harmonization. On the East Coast, Colin McPhee (1900–64), then an only slightly better-known composer, was regularly reviewing scores and recordings for the journal *Modern Music*. Upon Mercury's publication of the anthem, McPhee welcomed it: "Stravinsky has made what ought to become the permanent arrangement of *The Star Spangled Banner* for orchestra and chorus (Mercury Music Corporation). The harmonization is beautiful and simple, following the conventional one, but strengthening the cadences and the progression of the bass."[157]

1942: Kindler Leads Two Premieres: Washington and Baltimore, The First a Competition in Constitution Hall

Hans Kindler wrote in the *Washington Post* that he would lead Stravinsky's arrangement on 18 January to open the second half of his program with the National Symphony Orchestra. Its concerts were in

Constitution Hall, home of the National Society of the DAR. He also quoted there the entire dedication from the facsimile, version B, in the printed full score.[158] This performance was for a competition Kindler had set up with his own arrangement of the anthem, which, during his tenure (beginning in 1931), the orchestra had always played. Washington's audience was then to be polled via an insert in the program as to which version it preferred. One somewhat biased newspaper even added that "the reception given this [Stravinsky's] arrangement is said to have been 'mixed' in other cities."[159] The result of the poll—"I would like to hear Stravinski arrangement at future concerts"—was predictable enough: "279 listeners checked 'No'; 198 said 'Yes.'" The *Washington Post* further noted that "the harmony is simple, slightly astringent and [inaccurately] veers toward the minor mode," with *Musical America* adding that "the reaction to Stravinsky's 'choral' orchestration was felt to be generally adverse."[160] Such a competition would not have altered Vera Stravinsky's negative opinion of Kindler, formed the previous year in Washington. She had written in her diary for 6 January 1941: "I talk to Kindler, who makes a poor impression."[161] Nor Stravinsky's opinion, either, for that same January he probably had had to open a program there entirely of his own music by conducting Kindler's arrangement of the anthem.[162]

1942: Koussevitzky Reconsiders Performing It in New York, Boston, Washington, D.C.

On 1 February, Feist wrote that Serge Koussevitzky (1874–1951), conductor of the Boston Symphony Orchestra, had requested a copy of the anthem's score and a set of parts and two days later Feist suggested that Stravinsky write the conductor.[163] With its success in San Francisco at the evening rehearsal on 8 January and at both ensuing performances still ringing in his ears,[164] Stravinsky wrote Koussevitzky in Boston from Hollywood on 10 February. More circumspectly than his conversation had been reported in the San Francisco press, he told Koussevitzky that he had performed it "myself with great success on my recent tour," meaning this time (and truthfully) just in San Francisco. Pretending that it was Feist who wanted Koussevitzky to give it, Stravinsky hoped that Koussevitzky would be able to program it for his coming concerts in New York (second half of February). The conductor wired Stravinsky that although it was too late to program it for New York, he was writing Feist about "possibly" giving it in Boston and New York in the first week of April.[165] Stravinsky wrote Feist on 1 March that he considered it very important for Koussevitzky to perform his arrangement, not only in New York, but also in Washington in order to "establish the proper

attitude towards it." Without actually mentioning Kindler's name, Stravinsky's reason for the latter city was because the competition had generated in the local press "adverse and controversial criticisms" (i.e., the above-cited poll).[166] Near the end of May, Feist wrote Stravinsky that although Koussevitzky had not performed it in New York (Feist had no information about Boston), he really *had* given it "in Washington in April [*recte*: 31 March]"[167] at a gala concert in Constitution Hall for the benefit of Russian War Relief. This seems very improbable. The same *Washington Post* reviewer who had heard Kindler conduct it a mere two months earlier at the competition and who then wrote on 1 April that Koussevitzky had "directed the 'Internationale' in Aaron Copland's new arrangement and 'The Star-Spangled Banner,'" said nothing about who might have arranged the latter. Nor did other reviewers of the concert.[168] Perhaps Koussevitzky had learned of the National Symphony's poll or he had second thoughts about programming it to open an all-Russian program attended by Mrs. Roosevelt, and by so many diplomats and government officials. Nor do we know whether the Daughters intervened to prevent what would have been a second performance of Stravinsky's arrangement in their Constitution Hall.

1942: Major H. W. Kent Lauds It in Milwaukee; H. J. Kent in Wautoma Proposes His Own Arrangement

Meeting in Milwaukee on 2 April, the Music Educators National Conference (based in Washington) was addressed by a Major Harold W. Kent, Education Liaison, Radio Branch, Bureau of Public Relations, War Department, Washington. After deploring mute audiences he had experienced during recent performances of the anthem in Chicago and New York, Major Kent continued: "Then I read of a man named Stravinsky, who had written a better version of The Star-Spangled Banner. A high school teacher inquires if she might not better use that—'It has more symphonic qualities.'" Obviously, Major Kent had not attended Kindler's "Star-Spangled Banner" competition. Unless his "high school [music] teacher" was from the West Coast, she might have heard it with Kindler in Constitution Hall the previous January, or with Kindler in Baltimore that February, or simply have studied it sufficiently well to value its "symphonic qualities." Kent's five thousand auditors at the National Conference were left uninformed (as is the modern reader) where he had read a favorable statement about Stravinsky's harmonization as well as to the identity and locale of this perceptive woman. Still, Major Kent went on to endorse the so-called Service Version, in A-flat, by George S. Howard and Major Howard C. Bronson, duly broadcast

from Milwaukee on 2 April "in a key in which it can be sung." Their version was also printed in that same issue of the *Music Educators Journal* bristling with advertisements by U.S. music publishers, though not a single one by Mercury, which thus lost a splendid chance for publicizing "a better version" by "a man named Stravinsky."[169] Addressing a special session held at the convention on 2 April to consider the proper singing of the national anthem, Rudolf Ganz (1877–1972) urged "that no bizarre arrangement be applied to the Anthem." Well-known as an orchestral conductor and educator, it is not inconceivable that Ganz, who first met Stravinsky in 1922, had his very recent arrangement in mind.[170]

On 25 July, an H. J. Kent wrote from Wautoma, Wisconsin, to Mrs. William H. Pouch, then President General of the National Society, DAR. Kent's letter (and another one of 17 March 1943) recommended to her his own arrangement of the anthem (then in G major and not yet published). Kent also mentioned Vincent Lopez's earlier arrangement (cited above) that Lopez had sent to one of her predecessors, a Mrs. Becker (President General, 1935–37), who had even supported it. In December 1939, Stravinsky and Monteux had dined with Lopez during his band's engagement at San Francisco's Palace Hotel, a period embracing Stravinsky's rehearsals and concerts with the city's symphony orchestra, 10–16 December.[171] Undoubtedly, Stravinsky led some arrangement of "The Star-Spangled Banner" at his concerts on the 15 and 16 December (probably Damrosch's, as suggested above). One wonders if at this 1939 dinner Lopez might have mentioned the previous year's controversy surrounding his arrangement of the national anthem, a controversy that subsequently dogged Stravinsky's version.

Despite President General Becker's support in 1938 for Lopez's arrangement, President General Pouch replied firmly on 30 July 1942 to civilian Kent: "Our Society accepts the Star Spangled Banner as it is in its present accustomed form, both as to music and words" (i.e., Damrosch's harmonization). If she ever knew that Stravinsky's arrangement had resonated five months earlier with the National Symphony in DAR's hallowed Constitution Hall, Mrs. Pouch gave no hint. As far as can be determined, the National Society (as distinguished from its local chapters) took no official action in respect to harmonizations by others, including Stravinsky's, beyond what Mrs. Pouch wrote Kent.[172] The latter, however, soon reenters our narrative.

1944: Stravinsky Succeeds in Cambridge, Scandalizes Boston; H. J. Kent Writes the Governor

Why Koussevitzky never conducted it in 1942 we do not really know.[173] He certainly had good reason not to do so anywhere in the

Commonwealth of Massachusetts after Stravinsky led it himself with the BSO in Cambridge's Sanders Theater on Thursday evening, 13 January—without recorded incident—and then again on Friday afternoon in Symphony Hall. A Boston newspaper had run a picture of him studying the full score with what proved to be a provocative caption: "STRAVINSKY REVISES NATIONAL ANTHEM."[174]

Of critical reactions to the afternoon performance in Boston itself, several reviewers strangely recall Isabel Morse Jones and Marjory M. Fisher, if only about the earlier lack of audience participation at the Los Angeles and San Francisco premieres:

> The noted modern composer . . . conducted . . . his own arrangement of "The Star-Spangled Banner" today [14 January], startling a huge Symphony Hall audience into what amounted to stunned silence. . . . The Russian-born musician . . . generally created as much excitement among sedate Bostonians as once greeted his controversial "Sacre du Printemps." Mr. Stravinsky's version of the national anthem overshadowed everything else. . . . At the start, the audience began to sing with the orchestra in customary manner, but soon the odd, somewhat dissonant harmonies . . . became evident. Eyebrows lifted, voices faltered, and before the close practically everyone gave up even trying to accompany the score. Earlier, Mr. Stravinsky . . . said he retained the melody but introduced different harmonies, suggesting Puritan times with chords in the old contrapuntal style. The composer described the orchestral sound as full, rich, more like a church hymn than a soldier's marching song or a club song, as the anthem was originally. "I tried to express the religious feelings of the people of America." But Bostonians found little religious feeling. Their reaction indicated clearly that the Stravinsky arrangement never would take the place of the more familiar version [presumably the 1918 Converse-Carpenter one for the BSO].[175]

Years later, Stravinsky corroborated such reports: "I stood with my back to the orchestra and conducted the audience, who were supposed to sing, but didn't."[176] And, just like some initial West Coast critics, some East Coasters were chagrined by what they and the audience heard as dissonance. One Boston reviewer of the Friday afternoon concert stated that it "sounds rather like a performance of the customary version by an orchestra which either cannot read or cannot play music. The harmonies have been acidulated, the note values altered, and even the melodic line reshaped."[177] Another critic who reviewed this same performance, however, not only failed to mention the new arrangement but also remarked: "All told, the Friday subscribers were in a good mood, and applause brought back to the stage the composer-conductor a number of times."[178] He thus contradicts

what critics writing later were to report about Friday's concert, conditioned to large extent (I believe) by what had happened at Saturday night's concert. "Truth to tell, its effect was startling enough: strange-sounding, discordant, puzzling—these were among the kindest comments heard from public and press,"[179] and "the orchestration is brilliant but the changes from the familiar harmony sound a little like a poor joke."[180]

Saturday evening's BSO concert on 15 January, to be broadcast live, was quite another matter.[181] "All New England was crowded around the radio last night to hear the repeat performance to be played over Station WHDH and the Blue Network at 8.30."[182] Up and down the Eastern seaboard the public had been primed by a good deal of regional publicity. Apparently the above-cited New York newspapers had been quoting at least partly from the same source that perhaps had first graced the front page of an as yet unidentified Boston newspaper. Tom Chase, an Associated Press staff writer, had interviewed the composer "between rehearsals" with the BSO (probably on Monday, 10 January). Chase's article, "Stravinsky Plans 'Puritan' National Anthem for Hub," had quoted the composer: "'I kept the same melody but the harmony is different. It has a very full choral sound and is in 17th-century style.' He explained that he had gone back to music of Puritan times in his treatment of the harmony."[183] Not only were New York reporters unimpressed, but upon reflection (and also referring to the Friday afternoon performance), the editor of *Musical America* wrote: "Mr. Stravinsky has explained that his arrangement . . . retains the melody but uses different harmonies 'suggesting Puritan times'. . . . But the 'Puritan times' . . . seemed a little queer to the New Englanders of today and eyebrows began to go up as voices faltered and grew silent. They just couldn't take it."[184]

On that Saturday evening, both actual and radio audiences were deprived of any "'Puritan' National Anthem" or any "real church hymn." They were also spared the composer's expression of the nation's "religious feelings"—truly bizarre remarks in view of his well-known opinions about "expression," not to mention religion.[185] At the beginning of the 8:30 p.m. broadcast the program announcer said: "Mr. Stravinsky will play the Star Spangled Banner in its customary version. . . . Unaware the state of Massachusetts had a law forbidding the playing of the national anthem in any but the original version . . . and now . . . informed [by the Police Commissioner,] he will readily conform to the Massachusetts laws."[186] Two major New York newspapers had to report:

> Stravinsky tonight was informed that he had run afoul of Massachusetts law when he conducted the Boston Symphony Orchestra [on the Friday

> afternoon] in his own arrangement of the "Star-Spangled Banner."... Tonight police informed him that he was liable to a $100 fine under Massachusetts law which forbids rearrangement of the national anthem in whole or in part.[187]

Some years later, Stravinsky again supplied a few more details: "Just before the second [Boston evening] concert, a police commissioner appeared in my dressing room.... He said that policemen had already been instructed to remove my arrangement from the music stands."[188]

Back in Wisconsin and sensing from newspaper reports of Stravinsky's "Puritan harmonies" an opportunity to promote his own version of the anthem in Boston, H. J. Kent wrote Governor Leverett Saltonstall of Massachusetts from Wautoma on 26 January. Somewhat dubiously identifying himself with "probable" (mutual?) ancestors from the Ipswich Settlement (founded 1633–34), Kent also initially professed himself "deeply grieved to read" that Stravinsky had not led his arrangement of the anthem, "so widely heralded by the Boston bureau of the Associated Press." He suggested (ironically?) that Massachusetts's citizens might remit the threatened $100 fine so that "the real merit in this unique management of the Early American harmonic thirds and fifths by the master of musical composition" could be evaluated. The governor responded on 2 February and three days later Kent wrote once more. This time he enclosed his own (recently transposed) version in A-flat—self-published at Wautoma in the fall of 1943—observing that "the Boston Symphony Orchestra may be presently seeking some gracious manner of counteracting Mr. Strawinsky's recent travesty which was carried out with assistance of the Associated Press."[189] Kent's rapid change of opinion from "master of musical composition" to "travesty" may have resulted from the governor's reply (no copy of which has been located in his papers), for there is no evidence that Kent had heard the harmonization in Boston or elsewhere. Aside from a few melodic-rhythmic changes, Kent's version is identical to the Service Version (the Howard-Bronson harmonization), and thus reveals no trace of Stravinsky.

Three weeks after the Boston fracas, an editor for *Musical America* tried to soothe the national temper with an essay, "Ban 'Arrangements' of the National Anthem?" Even though the author's adjectival adverb in his phrase "Stravinsky's apparently very personal arrangement" betrays no direct experience with that arrangement, clearly he was sympathetic to it. "At a time like this [during wartime] it is patently foolish to argue the case on a basis of musical merits." Yet, he also observed that many performers of the day *did* add "subtly changed and even enriched harmonies, not to speak of a seasoning passing note." For him "the question

[of banning] has aspects which even on the grounds of patriotism" could not be ignored. Still, a strict adherence to a rule, as many wished, that not a single note could ever be changed, he found logically unsustainable.[190]

Rumors of the Boston contretemps, and even of Stravinsky's supposed arrest, eventually reached Hollywood, Stravinsky's new domicile—and that of Vergil's nasty goddess. The normally careful Saunders reported there in mid-March: "Some time ago Igor Stravinsky was arrested in Boston." One of the few critics even to mention counterpoint, he accurately observed that the composer "did not change or alter the words or the tune in any respect. His arrangement consists only of writing supporting harmonies and contrapuntal lines."[191] Then, but a week later in the same newspaper under the headline, "Only Warning to Stravinsky Anent Anthem," poor Saunders had to eat crow: "It seems that I owe a personal apology to composer Igor Stravinsky." In trying to soothe obviously ruffled feathers of the composer (who would have feared, with considerable justification, that even false rumors of his arrest could be detrimental in pursuing full U.S. citizenship), Saunders made a point of remarking about how Stravinsky, a permanent legal resident, has identified himself with the United States, and would soon become a citizen. A composer himself, Saunders brought forth one of the more astute evaluations of the arrangement, and one worthy of a former pupil of Dr. Alexis Kall:

> Stravinsky's orchestration, whether or not it happens to please old-fashioned ears, is the work of a master of his craft. . . . Orchestration of the national anthem and its gift to the country was a fine and public-spirited gesture. I remember when the same orchestration was played here by the WPA Orchestra under James Sample, some of the conservative musicians were startled by its "modernity." It may be pointed out that Stravinsky's early works also startled audiences, yet they have now come to be recognized as musical milestones. . . . This country is the richer . . . for his orchestration.[192]

In Boston society, controversy continued well into mid-June. By her own reckoning, Winifred Johnstone, a pupil of Nadia Boulanger and a society lady herself, had heard the arrangement twice (in Sanders Theater and Symphony Hall).[193] With no mention of any arrest, she decried the discourtesy to a guest conductor and great musician, and echoed the disappointment that so many listeners had felt during the Saturday-night broadcast. After giving the full text of the Massachusetts law, she found no infringement of it whatever by Stravinsky in the execution of his "dignified and harmonically enriched arrangement."[194]

Assuredly no goddess, Error is as pertinacious as Rumor, however. Stravinsky's supposed detention by the Boston police is asserted to this day, even by distinguished specialists. One such reports him: "Arrested in Boston, April 1940," and another: "A 'mug-shot' was taken of the criminal."[195] In fact, as plainly stated on the sign hanging around the composer's neck, police in Boston did take this "mug-shot" on 15 April 1940, but obviously in connection with visa matters that very day, a year or more before he had any thoughts of reharmonizing the U.S. national anthem.[196]

1945–65: Reporting a Hiatus, Stravinsky Twice Leads a "Standard Version" in Los Angeles

In 1958–59, unaware of continuing efforts by the faithful Sample, Stravinsky declared he did not know if his arrangement had been performed since 1944.[197] Indeed, for two concerts at the Hollywood Bowl on 26 July 1962 and on 2 September 1965, he even led the national anthem, not in his "once scandalous arrangement" but in its "standard version" (presumably Damrosch's harmonization). For the 1965 performance he played "the standard version, at a majestically singable tempo that might well be adopted by those conductors who like to prove their patriotism by taking it as a quick-step."[198]

1964: Stravinsky Records His Arrangement for Columbia in Toronto

By then, his second Hollywood Bowl concert, Stravinsky had already recorded his own arrangement for Columbia with chorus and orchestra, on 8 May 1964, although it was not released until more than a year after his death.[199] Beginning at M.M. ♩ = 86 (not that far from M.M. ♩ = 80, the tempo he prescribed but once, in his autograph presentation score for President Roosevelt (Appendix, no. 6), and even slowing down considerably toward the close of the second strain, his recorded performance still lasts only one minute and nineteen seconds. Thus it seems closer to Albert Goldberg's ridiculed "quick-step" than to the "majestically singable tempo" he was to take a year later in Los Angeles for the "standard" version, that rendition perhaps resembling some features of his 1942 performances in San Francisco and in Sample's recording the same year.

1966: Stravinsky Leads Anthem's 25th Anniversary Performance in the Hollywood Bowl

As noted below, the composer was present at the New York Philharmonic's Stravinsky Festival on 30 June 1966 and heard his 1941 arrangement led by Leonard Bernstein (1918–90). Less than a week

later, on 5 July, Stravinsky led it himself in Los Angeles. Perhaps he was stimulated by the New York festival; perhaps he had accepted Goldberg's and Bernstein's implied challenges (for the latter, see below). Whatever the case, he was celebrating the twenty-fifth anniversary of his arrangement and the *Los Angeles Times* even published a photograph of him conducting it. Alas, as at the Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Boston premieres, the Bowl's audience failed to sing. Moreover, "Not everyone appreciated Stravinsky's treatment of the anthem, in which he changed the values of certain notes for a more melodious effect. 'Disgraceful' snorted one woman. . . . 'I'm leaving this moment.'"[200]

Amazing what people think they hear. The Los Angeles reviewer deluded himself, of course. No notes of the anthem's melody had "changed . . . values." Still, this anniversary concert was thought to be of sufficient importance for a second review to appear a day later in the same newspaper. This time the author was its chief music critic. In a more accommodating—though not more accurate—mode than usual, Martin Bernheimer wrote that the arrangement dated from "1944," and that it incorporated "rhythmic peculiarities" (of course, one could also dispute the so-called harmonic peculiarities, pleasant or not, he claimed to hear in it). "The festivities began most auspiciously with, of all things, the 'Star-Spangled Banner.' Not the customary schmaltz-and-bluster version, but Stravinsky's own arrangement of 1944. It has some pleasant rhythmic and harmonic peculiarities in it, and a good deal of individual impetus and impact as well."[201]

1967: Stravinsky's Final Performance in Miami

Stravinsky last led his arrangement on 24 February with the Gala Symphony Orchestra in Miami. (There it was several times bizarrely advertised as his "modulation of the Star-Spangled Banner.") In her review of the concert, the veteran critic Doris Reno finally settled a quarter-century of objections: "Stravinsky's own working-over . . . is pungent but not in the least distorting, and it is difficult to understand why the first listeners to this little novelty arrangement objected so strongly to it. It sounded remarkably interesting last night."[202]

1962 et seq.: Other Conductors and Recordings: Chicago, New York, London, Los Angeles, Minneapolis

Throughout his conducting career, Sample alone championed the anthem, from its world premiere well into the 1980s. Columbia's eight-year delay in releasing Stravinsky's own performance until 1972 deprived many younger conductors of his final interpretative wishes. (My own performance in 1962 at the University of Chicago was certainly too

slow.)[203] Notable among major conductors was Leonard Bernstein, who in 1966 opened the above-mentioned Stravinsky Festival in New York with the anthem. According to a program note, the arrangement "was not meant as a major contribution to the American musical scene,"[204] though how author Edward Downes knew this is not vouchsafed. Stravinsky, who was present—and may have thought differently about his non-major contribution—is said to have observed apropos Bernstein's reading: "My . . . version needed a more cranked-up performance."[205] A *New York Times* reviewer allowed that the concert began "happily" with the anthem, which "has its idiosyncrasies, . . . somehow appropriate, for the harmonization and orchestration have Stravinskyan flavor without taking dignity from the work."[206]

Opening a summer program called "Europeans Abroad," Leonard Slatkin (b. 1944) led the Minnesota Orchestra in Stravinsky's arrangement in Minneapolis's Orchestra Hall on 7 August 1986. Curiously, it was billed as by "Smith/Stravinsky." In June 1941 Stravinsky had the Smith harmonization at hand (from *Twice 55 Community Songs*), but his harmonization bears as little resemblance to Smith's as it does to Damrosch's, and even less to antiquated spellings of the words that accompany the former. Presumably also without knowledge of the composer's authoritative tempo mark, Bernstein's protégé, Michael Tilson Thomas (b. 1944), recorded it in London in 1996 at one minute and forty-three seconds. Even subtracting a five-second prefatory drum roll (unauthorized, though frequently added) that continues throughout most of the anthem, his much slower tempo of M.M. ♩ = 64 ensured a substantial difference from the composer's recorded performance. In an accompanying booklet to Thomas's recording, Michael Steinberg deemed "most refreshing the (ever so slightly) unexpected chords on [twi-] light's, glare, air, ban[-ner], land, and free."[207] Regrettably, he did not further describe those "unexpected" (mostly minor seventh) chords he had singled out.

Because Stravinsky's associate, Robert Craft, accompanied him to Toronto in May 1964 (perhaps even preparing orchestra and chorus), Craft almost certainly heard him record there his "Star-Spangled Banner."[208] Disregarding his choice of tempo in that May recording, however, and presumably unaware of his lone tempo mark in the LC autograph, Craft recorded in 1991–92 the third of three different harmonizations in D major for unaccompanied men's chorus (Appendix, no. 13) at M.M. ♩ = 69. His performance of one minute and thirty-five seconds was thus only slightly shorter than Tilson Thomas's of the B-flat harmonization. In an accompanying booklet, Craft helpfully described in this D-major arrangement the composer's "use of minor seconds and of

seventh chords, the choral 'orchestration' for its exploitation of differing combinations of vocal color and contrasts of range."[209]

When Esa-Pekka Salonen (b. 1958) led the B-flat harmonization with the Los Angeles Philharmonic to open a Stravinsky Festival there early in 2001, a critic for the *New York Times* evidently felt that the long-cold embers of old controversies in Los Angeles, St. Louis, San Francisco, Washington, and Boston needed some rekindling. Bylined "A Composer in California, At Ease If Not at Home," his review tried sparking those embers back into life, resorting to the feeble twin flints of condescension and chauvinism: "The evening began with Stravinsky's eerie harmonization . . . a basic American artifact heard through distinctly distant ears. Stravinsky's oblique little act of wartime patriotism offers proof like no other that this great man, although among us, was not one of us."[210]

So much for critical opinion, including that of Walsh from 2006, quoted below. Apart from Stravinsky's harmonizations, the vicissitudes of "The Star-Spangled Banner" in general are easily enough studied, for example, in notices appearing in the *New York Times*. Disputes continue to the present day, such as the recent agitation when some members of the Latino population in April and May of 2006 proposed changing its title to "Nuestra Hymno."[211]

Rather than seeking any priority among Stravinsky's arrangements, I shall argue that his (posthumously reported) claim of preference for just one of them should be applied to them all. Each in its own way "makes the linear and harmonic best of the material," even if in the end, he did or did not choose among them. But first we need to know how many he made and their current locations.

Manuscript and Printed Sources

Those wishing to study manuscript and other sources for his several harmonizations of the anthem and their various arrangements will find confusing printed and visual records about them. A separation of his manuscripts, editions, and files between Washington: LC, and Basel: PSS, plus some subsequent scrambling of his order of their contents by both institutions are the main reasons for such difficulties. One need only compare Craft's catalog of the manuscripts compiled at the composer's behest in 1949 (updated in 1954)[212] with John Shepard's inventory published in 1984, a year after their sale to Paul Sacher.[213] Shepard's inventory was itself based on Sigmund Rothschild's catalog of the manuscripts made in 1971.[214] In short, only an approximate notion of Stravinsky's original holdings concerning his harmonizations and

arrangements will result from integrating these inventories. Roughly speaking, his B-flat major harmonizations are in LC and the slightly later D-major ones are in PSS, though this is not the case for all their preliminary materials.

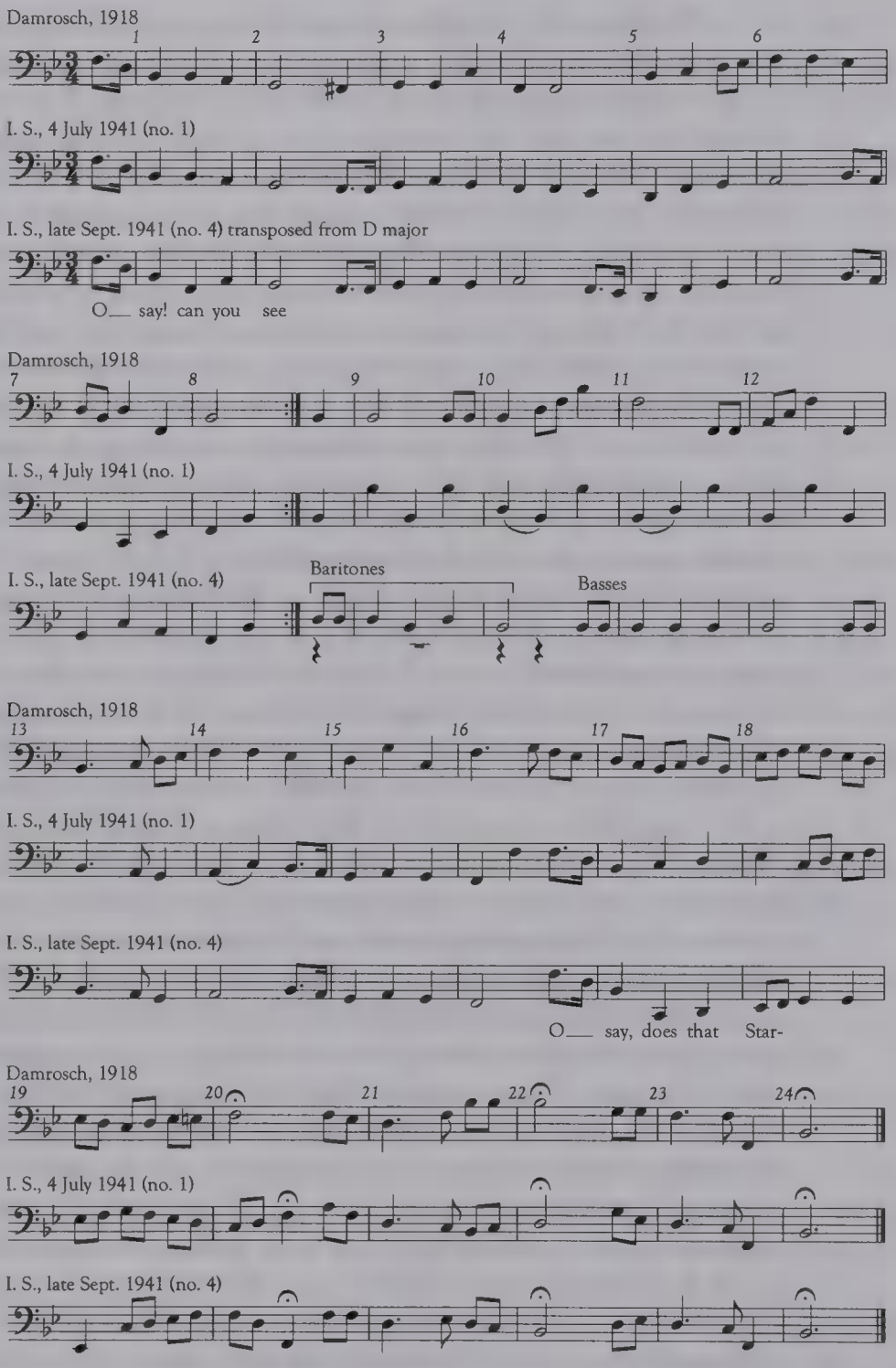
Craft acknowledged in 1983 that his 1949–54 catalog was by then "inaccurate, incomplete, and hopelessly out of date."[215] A novice investigator will still puzzle over an undated autograph sketch in B-flat for mm. 17–20 of the anthem (one of six; see Appendix, no. 3)—incompletely and inaccurately transcribed—published by Craft in 1978.[216] The student may also turn away a little perplexed from Charles Joseph's remarks in 1982 citing just two of the several autographs but none of the important photostats in LC.[217] A researcher might then ponder four facsimiles published by Craft in 1983. His first two plates, the second cropped, depict the then-unknown and, I believe, final D-major harmonization for unaccompanied and textless male chorus of September 1941. A third (and doctored) plate seemingly illustrates the autograph cover for this 1941 harmonization. Decorated a full year earlier (in August 1940), however, by the composer in red and blue crayon around its border, this cover contained, and still does at PSS, his 1940 copy of the first violin part of the standard B-flat version, as illustrated in Craft's cropped fourth plate.[218] Shepard's record of manuscripts that went in 1983 to PSS, a record roundly excoriated by Craft two years later, still proves its usefulness, especially when used in conjunction with the very abbreviated descriptions of relevant items that have since appeared in Switzerland, in 1984, 1989, and 1998.[219] But even if these various published accounts about the manuscripts of his several harmonizations and their related arrangements could be reconciled, we would still have a less than complete picture of the available resources, owing to recent donations and discoveries.

Any such investigation also raises questions, of course, about just how many harmonizations and arrangements of our national anthem he envisaged composing, how many he completed, how many he assigned to others, and how many survive. His correspondence with Feist and Cushing, interviews in San Francisco early in 1942, and Sample's recollections show that by mid-September 1941 he had planned at least seven different versions (as he communicated to the slightly alarmed Feist). Here he included arrangements stemming from the four harmonizations already made by then. Nor was he above parceling out to others, such as Guenther and Cushing, even additional ones—for school orchestras and for bands.

The Appendix lists all of Stravinsky's autographs—even the inscribed pencil with which he wrote out his compositional draft. It also includes printed sources (a few of which he annotated) for his several harmonizations and their arrangements. Autographs and editions range from late August 1940 through late December 1941. The chronological order proposed here for them may yet be proven tentative. For example, no. 8 may really date from 1941, rather than merely recopied in 1943. The list shows how many of these projects he actually completed as well as how few Mercury eventually published. He finished arrangements for: piano solo (B-flat major); mixed chorus and piano (B-flat major); mixed chorus and large orchestra (B-flat major); male chorus and piano (D major); and two differing versions for unaccompanied male chorus (also in D major); and he even set the opening strain of the anthem (B-flat major) to French words. Strictly speaking, only nos. 5 and 6 (B-flat major)—for mixed chorus and piano and for mixed chorus and large orchestra, respectively—achieved publication; the former is his own reduction of the latter. No.7, for unaccompanied mixed chorus, its copyright registered for a still unlocated edition, is puzzling. It may long enjoy spectral life as a bibliographic "ghost."[220] No. 13, though self-inscribed on his manuscript as copyrighted, was not registered as such and seems never to have been published except in facsimile.

In respect to terminology, Stravinsky employs "harmonization," "version," and "arrangement" inconsistently (as in Appendix, nos. 4, 5b, 6, 6b, 8, 9, 13), as his various statements over the years reveal. Since he occasionally distinguishes on the one hand between "harmonizations" (B-flat and D major) and on the other hand "arrangements" or "versions" (for various performing forces) that use these harmonizations, and even though he does call no. 8 a "version (piano-/-arrangement)," we shall seize upon "harmonization" and "arrangement" for the ensuing discussion. All these sources stem from just four harmonizations. The first (complete) B-flat "in June 1941" (Appendix, no. 4) quickly appears in autograph arrangements (nos. 5–6, and 8), but only the first pair achieved print. A second group of three harmonizations, in D major, finished the ensuing September (nos. 11–13), appears in autographs (save for no. 12a), the last one of these (no. 13) in a beautiful ink fair copy. Although related to each other, these latter three bear sufficient individual touches as to warrant separate discussion. Yet, in the aggregate and while diverging to various degrees from each other (as their basses suggest in Ex. 1), they do not differ all that radically from his first B-flat harmonization.

Reactions to Stravinsky's first harmonization as arranged for chorus and orchestra span some sixty-five years—from Lawrence Morton in


Damrosch, 1918
1 2 3 4 5 6
I. S., 4 July 1941 (no. 1)
I. S., late Sept. 1941 (no. 4) transposed from D major
O___ say! can you see
Damrosch, 1918
7 8 9 10 11 12
I. S., 4 July 1941 (no. 1)
I. S., late Sept. 1941 (no. 4)
Baritones
Basses
Damrosch, 1918
13 14 15 16 17 18
I. S., 4 July 1941 (no. 1)
I. S., late Sept. 1941 (no. 4)
O___ say, does that Star-
Damrosch, 1918
19 20 21 22 23 24
I. S., 4 July 1941 (no. 1)
I. S., late Sept. 1941 (no. 4)

Example 1. Comparison of Walter Damrosch's 1918 version of *The Star-Spangled Banner* with Igor Stravinsky's harmonizations from 4 July 1941 (no. 1) and late September 1941 (no. 4). Stravinsky's version: Copyright © 1941 (Renewed) by G. Schirmer, Inc. (ASCAP). International Copyright Secured. All Rights Reserved. Reprinted by Permission. Damrosch version: Used by Permisssion of G. Schirmer, Inc.

1941 to Stephen Walsh in 2006. As for Walsh's verdict that it is "less a complete reharmonization than a freewheeling gloss on the familiar text—a sort of Pulcinellification, with some scrunchy added notes here and there and a few quirks in the bass line,"[221] I believe that Stravinsky's skills as a harmonizer, contrapuntalist, arranger, and orchestrator are more substantial and thus deserve a more nuanced analysis.

May (?)–June (?) 1941: Six Sketches for a B-flat Harmonization

Presumably Stravinsky made sketches for the first dozen measures of the twenty-four-measure anthem—an *aab* (8, 8, + 16 mm.)—but if so, they remain unknown. His six unnumbered B-flat major pencil sketches, on rastrum-drawn staves in piano format (Appendix, no. 3), concern only four passages near the end of the anthem's second strain (mm. 13–24). They are not sketches in the sense, for example, of the many he made for the "Grand Chorale" in *Histoire du soldat*. Discussed by Taruskin and more recently by Don Traut, the latter cites "Stravinsky's penchant for composing beginnings and endings and then connecting them and for composing in blocks of material."[222] The anthem's six sketches—in a continuous order for its last dozen measures—show little variation from the June compositional draft and the September–October and December publications.

One sketch for mm. 13–16 (and hence called here no. 1) stands alone on its page (except for pencil autograph numbers and abbreviations concerning *Danses concertantes*). The other five sketches (numbered 2–6, henceforth) concern mm. 17–24 and are written on a facing page, otherwise blank. Each sketch (nos. 2–6) follows its predecessor down the page. Two of these sketches (nos. 4 and 6) revise two others (nos. 3 and 5, respectively). Revisions are aligned directly below their predecessors. All six sketches afford a view, even if a limited one, of his thinking about the final dozen measures. Minute changes in pitch content and in the ordering of pitches in certain chords show indisputably that these six excerpts were notated before the piano draft (Appendix, no. 4), completed on 16 June 1941. Three examples may suffice. The first chord (the pickup to m. 21) in sketch 3 and in its revision in sketch 4, is a last inversion of a dominant seventh, just as it is in his immediate model, Damrosch's harmonization (Appendix, no. 2). Stravinsky's compositional draft for piano (no. 4), however, alters this inversion to a root-position dominant seventh (and it appears thus in Mercury's editions, Appendix, no. 5d). Yet ultimately, he chose the remainder of his first version (for all of mm. 21–22 in sketch 3) over its

revision (sketch 4). He indicates his choice by circling sketch 3 in red pencil and likewise joining it in red pencil to its continuation, sketch 6, rather than to the latter's predecessor, sketch 5. His reasons for choosing sketch 3 over 4 seem to be two-fold. The bass of sketch 3 and the direction of the lowest notes allotted to its right hand are easily recognizable in the compositional piano draft (Appendix, no. 4) and they are identical to basses and tenors, respectively, in the published editions. In the case of sketches 5 and 6 (for mm. 22–24), however, he chose the latter. Its chords exactly mirror those in his ensuing compositional piano draft and those in the printed editions, save for one item common to sketches 5 and 6, namely, their final cadence. The 16 June compositional draft and the editions show him rethinking the penultimate chord in both sketches. He altered it from a conventional suspension-resolution as it was in sketches 5 and 6 to a mixed suspension-anticipation wherein both A and B-flat sound simultaneously.

Finally, Craft's statement about the first sketch on this page, for mm. 17–20 (the second sketch in the order of the work and hence called no. 2 here), only part of which he gave in 1978 (lacking its initial two beats and its closing two measures), is puzzling. Not in any conceivable respect is it "more radically improving" of what Stravinsky was soon to publish with Mercury because the sketch, examined in its entirety, proves to be virtually identical to the publications (mm. 17–20).

June: Harmonization I (B-flat Major)

Stravinsky's piano draft in B-flat major (Appendix, no. 4) "made" on 16 June, an autograph subsequently inscribed to Andersson, shows that by then he had already thoroughly reworked Damrosch's bass along the lines of his sketches. He had also reharmonized the result and composed the various inner melodic lines soon to be allotted to the altos, tenors, and basses of his chorus. Quickly jotted down for solo piano with Andersson's pencil (Appendix, no. 4a) and textless, this draft manages to incorporate the four choral parts plus some features of the forthcoming orchestral accompaniment of 1–4 July. Thus in several places (mm. 9/2, 10/1–2, 12, and 22/1–2) it is virtually unplayable, perhaps even by a Stravinsky with his hands "large and capable. Rather spatulate."[223]

July 4: Harmonization I Twice Arranged for Independence Day

Of course, the above piano draft (Appendix, no. 4, never submitted for copyright) and the arrangement for mixed chorus and piano (no. 5,

submitted for copyright), both simultaneously photostatted on 8 July, as well as the "1941" textless version for solo piano (no. 8, neither photostatted nor copyrighted) sent two years later to Sergeant Mann, cannot reveal all of Stravinsky's contrapuntal skills. These he brought to bear when orchestrating the anthem on 1–4 July (Appendix, no. 6, photostatted on 8 July and then copyrighted).

His praises for the 1942 band version of no. 6 by Berkeley professor Charles Cushing—"the way you followed so faithfully my voice leading" and two years later "very good and absolutely faithful"— show his concern for musical line, already expressed in his dedication to Andersson of no. 6b. In 1958 (or 1959) he self-assessed no. 6: "It makes the linear and harmonic best of the material, and is certainly superior to any other version I have heard."[224] A useful parallel exists with his harmonization (18 June 1946) of a different given melody, this time Balanchine's "birthday choral[e] tune." For that task, Craft later helpfully pointed to its "voice leading[:] contrary motion, octave doubling, preference for first inversion tonal harmony, fondness for major and minor seconds."[225] Most of Craft's comments also pertain to the four harmonizations of the national anthem.

When Lawrence Morton personally thanked Stravinsky after the premiere for supplying the tune with a "very good bass line," he meant the lowest-sounding pitches, assigned in no. 6 to cellos and basses, bassoons and contrabassoon, bass trombone and tuba (*not* the notes sung by the choral bass singers). Early in 1942, Colin McPhee also recognized that Stravinsky had "strengthened the progression of the bass." Both younger men had been well trained in tonal counterpoint and understood its *sine non qua*—an ability to write a bass line against a given melody in a judicious admixture of parallel, oblique, and, above all, contrary motion. Comparison of the basses in Damrosch's and Stravinsky's B-flat harmonizations reveals that the latter's initial eight measures (setting the anthem's first strain) are the more stepwise and melodious (see Ex. 1, middle stave). Although Stravinsky's B-flat pedal throughout the opening of the second strain could account for Pettis's judgment of a "turgid" harmonization, he thereby avoids Damrosch's bugle-like arpeggiations (mm. 10–12, and at m. 21). He marks the beginning of the second strain *piano* and supports and enhances the tune's slow melodic descent between two positions of a B-flat triad from fifth to third (mm. 10–13) by an oscillating tonic triadic pedal, elegantly contrasting the more rapid harmonic changes that precede and follow. Conjunct bass motion (mm. 16/3–18/1) also eliminates some of Damrosch's overbusy passing notes (Stravinsky's D-major harmonizations make further reductions).

Having complained to Feist and to Andersson (Appendix, no. 6b) about Damrosch's "scholarly" harmonization, he demonstrates exactly the above kind of contrapuntal mastery in his new orchestral lowest line (even if not quite generating "chords in the old contrapuntal style," as he stated in 1944). Just a week after the premiere, Morton praised its harmonies as equally "right" but much more interesting than those in other harmonizations. (In at least one place, see below, they were not quite as "right" as Morton claimed.) For almost two-thirds of the anthem, Stravinsky's contrapuntal skill enabled him to compose melodic lines for the choral bass singers independent of the orchestral bass.[226] The singers repeat, of course, their opening autonomous eight-bar strain to different words. (Neither Damrosch nor Stravinsky reharmonizes this repetition.) During the first part of the second strain, however, Stravinsky's bass singers only occasionally deviate from the low instruments, and finally (at the pickup to m.17) unite with them for the concluding eight measures. He avoids Damrosch's banal harmonizing of the opening two subphrases of the anthem's second strain with parallel tonic and dominant chords (mm. 9–12). Instead, as mentioned above, he anchors both phrases on reiterated B-flats in his choral basses, accompanying them in the bass of the orchestra with an arpeggiating tonic harmony, the gentle rocking between tonic and sub-mediant perhaps even punning on "rockets.'" He thus more closely links into one longer unit "glare" and "air," the end rhymes of these two sub-phrases. This four-measure oscillation by cellos, basses, and bassoons may even bring to mind some earlier (though more elaborate and longer-lasting) arpeggiated pedals, such as those in the middle of the second tableau in *Les noces* (rehearsal no. 59ff.) and similar motions in upper strings at the close of *Le baiser de la fée* (no. 223ff). For composer McPhee this arpeggiated passage bore the "real Stravinsky touch . . . recalling strangely the last chorus of the *Symphonie des psaumes*."[227]

Stravinsky employs fewer chromatically altered chords than Damrosch. Although introducing a secondary dominant of his own (m. 13/3) and incorporating Damrosch's pair (mm. 3/3 and 18/3), both, however, in different inversions, he avoids one other set (mm. 2/3, 22/3) and entirely eliminates Damrosch's passing diminished seventh (m. 19/3). A second chromatic chord that Stravinsky introduces—a secondary dominant seventh moving between its first and root positions (mm. 21–22/2)— is totally unexpected and would never qualify as "scholarly conceived academic music." Only after a lapse of some twenty-eight years following the Boston premiere did Nicolas Slonimsky first come to describe this passage as "an unorthodox modulation into the subdominant in the cadence, thereby running afoul of a Massachusetts

statute."[228] But there is no "modulation," just a prolongation of a dominant seventh of IV. Slonimsky's so-called subdominant chord is not even at the final cadence, but precedes it by two full measures. In reality, Stravinsky's dominant seventh startles simply by replacing an expected first inversion of the tonic triad common to many other harmonizations. Moreover, as noted below, the composer believed it was not this chord but his *major* seventh at the beginning of the second strain that could have distressed "patriotic ladies."

This new secondary dominant seventh (mm. 21–22/2) has two purposes. Leaving us suspended in time by moving it back and forth between first inversion, root position, and first inversion—the last of these sonorities savoring the anthem's traditional second fermata to the full—Stravinsky induces in his auditors something harmonically akin to Coleridge's "willing suspension of disbelief." His strategy, of course, is to highlight the entire melodic phrase, the anthem's climax. A second purpose was surely to link those initial and final words, "land" and "free," so freighted with meaning for a refugee from pre-revolutionary Russia, and, by 1941, from Nazi-occupied France. Inquiring at some point after Pearl Harbor (probably May 1943) whether revolution might be possible even in the United States and receiving an ambiguous answer, he exclaimed indignantly: "But where will I go?"[229]

In 1958–59 he cited (but only vaguely located) as a perceived irritant in his harmonization a "major seventh chord in the second strain . . . the part patriotic ladies like best."[230] I think he meant the one in root position that sets the word "glare" (m. 10/1–2). Here, at the beginning of the second strain in Damrosch's harmonization, "patriotic" sopranos and altos love warbling together in parallel thirds. Stravinsky's altos, however, soon proceed in contrary motion to the sopranos, and then continue in parallel sixths. Closing on a tritone at "air" (m. 12/1–2), they form part of a sustained dissonance, a VII triad over the tonic (one unmentioned by the composer!). As for "patriotic ladies," he probably meant the DAR, whose acceptance of Damrosch's harmonization is printed at the bottom of his own annotated copy (given to him by Sample; Appendix, no. 2). Indeed, after 1937 it would have been incumbent upon DAR chapter members to protest any other harmonization. Stravinsky also neglected to cite his other and more fleeting dissonant major seventh chords (not always in root position though on weak beats) both before and after "glare": at "can" (m. 1/2), "ear[-ly] (m. 3/2), "was" (m. 15/2), and at "and" (m. 22/3).

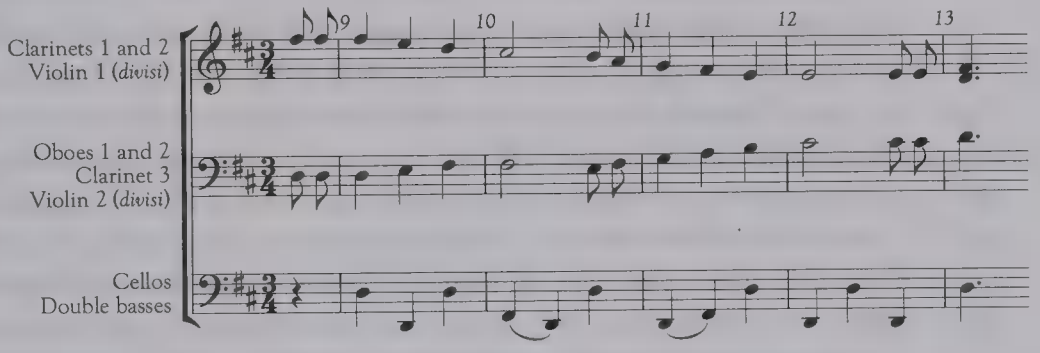
Presumably it was these chords that prompted charges of "wrong notes," "acrid harmonic content," and "dissonant harmonies," rather than his final (and quite fleeting) dissonance. Admiringly, but not quite

accurately, Morton had recalled this latter as "the appoggiatura at the final cadence" (m. 23/3). The orchestra, not the chorus, is responsible for this (momentary) dissonance. The penultimate chord results not from an appoggiatura but from a rethinking of another cadential cliché, the anticipation, wherein the third of a dominant seventh chord would normally rise a half step (or its fifth fall a whole step) to anticipate the final tonic note on a weak beat. That tonic note would then be repeated on the ensuing strong beat. Here the four voices of his mixed chorus cannot be faulted. They demonstrate exactly the elements of this cliché. However, many instruments alter the cliché's internal mechanism by sounding the anticipated note (B-flat) *during* the entire (and complete) penultimate dominant seventh before it resolves into the final chord.

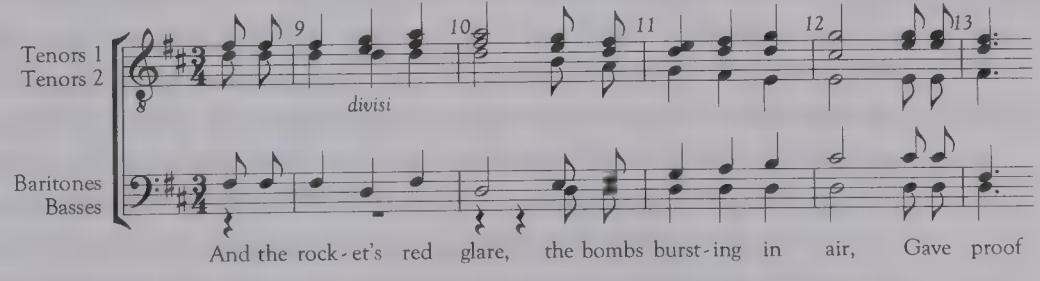
Contrary motion between voices is an essential element of good counterpoint. Comparing Damrosch and Stravinsky, one discovers that the latter is more adept at this practice between soprano and sounding bass than the former (mm. 3, 14–15, and 20ff.). Damrosch trumps him only at mm. 13 and 19 by writing contrary motion between outer voices. Stravinsky's masterstroke appears, however, at the second "O say" (see Ex. 1, mm. 16/3–17/1) even though it is not quite contrapuntally "right." Cognizant that Francis Scott Key's poem repeats its initial two words here, he reassigns the anthem's initial triadic phrase to descending choral and orchestral basses, forcefully doubled by three successive timpani notes during which all other treble instruments and voices proceed in an opposite direction. By so doing, however, he transgresses a contrapuntal rule forbidding consecutive octaves, even those (as here) by contrary motion, whereas Damrosch avoids the problem by descending through a half step (to a first inversion). It could be argued, I suppose, that Stravinsky is excused because between F and B-flat his bass briefly touches upon D, but the effect is as outlined above. The same "error" appears even more glaringly in all three D-major male chorus harmonizations (nos. II–IV, discussed below). He might have found consolation not only in John Stafford Smith's harmonization in *Twice 55* (also given to him by Sample), but in the famous passage of consecutive fifths in the fifth *Brandenburg Concerto* (1722), wherein Bach's "faulty" voice leading was discovered by the ten-year-old Felix Mendelssohn in 1826.[231]

Stravinsky's own published 25-cent (and 30-cent) piano reduction of his orchestral and choral forces (Appendix, no. 5d) does not—indeed it hardly could—disclose the range of his inventiveness and ingenuity. One must examine his printed full orchestral score (no. 6d) in order to grasp its contrapuntal subtleties and its differences from the rather stolid orchestration made for Schirmer's publishing house in 1918 by their

employee Tom Clark (who surely had Damrosch's approval). Though calling for tubular bells and harp, Clark required minimally smaller numbers of instruments. Stravinsky exceeded him by scoring for a third flute, English horn, a third clarinet, contrabassoon, and a third trumpet. (Even his three timpani are not tuned in Clark's conventional tonic, supertonic and dominant pitches, but instead tellingly outline the tonic triad, B-flat, D, and F). For Clark's simple-minded full orchestral doubling during the anthem's second strain, Stravinsky twice substitutes imaginative contrapuntal accompaniments. The first such passage features a stepwise contrary motion (mm. 8/3–13/1). Having embraced late twentieth-century postmodern theory, some members of the musicological community might gleefully proclaim here a simultaneous tumescence-detumescence. Alas for them, this contrary motion merely illustrates the text—"rockets' red glare, the bombs bursting in air." Two oboes and clarinet 3 ascend through a full octave while two clarinets simultaneously descend through it, with some doublings of each group by divided violins 1 and 2 (see Ex. 2a, transposed to D major for comparison). An equally deft contrapuntal touch appears at "night that our flag" (mm. 14–15).



Example 2a. Stravinsky's harmonization no. 1 "July 4, 1941" in B-flat, for orchestra and mixed chorus. Copyright © 1941 (Renewed) by G. Schirmer, Inc. (ASCAP). International Copyright Secured. All Rights Reserved. Reprinted by Permission.



Example 2b. Stravinsky's harmonization no. 4 [late Sept. 1941] in D major, for male chorus. Paul Sacher Stiftung, Basel. Reprinted by Permission.

Here trombone 1 imitates at the lower fourth the motive just sounded by trumpet 1 at "proof through the night" (mm. 13–14), thus neatly linking the two verbal phrases. Nor does Clark's pedestrian orchestration call for any such stunning trumpet note on high B-flat as the one that caps Stravinsky's minor seventh chord (m. 7/2). Because he can hardly have been motivated by either second syllable in "twi-lights" or in "ga-lant-ly," this pungent high note must be for the sake of sheer orchestral brilliance in order to contrast the beginning of the anthem's second strain, which he then scored so much more thinly and marked *piano*.

The recently recovered autograph of his arrangement for solo piano (Appendix, no. 8) merits a few more words. In 1958–59 he stated that after the premiere of his choral–orchestral arrangement, "I sent the manuscript [not further described, but certainly meaning no. 6] to Mrs. F. D. Roosevelt for a war-fund auction," but that his "score" was returned. "I then gave it to Klaus Mann [1906–49] . . . for a similar purpose." A close, but not identical account published by Craft in 2002 alters "score" to "manuscript."[232] Therefore, precisely what he sent to Mrs. Roosevelt (full score or reduction), just when he sent it, and when it was returned are unknown. No record of it exists in her papers and Sample denied it was ever sent to her. We do know what he gave to Klaus Mann. By 27 August 1943, Sergeant Mann (then stationed in Camp Crowder, Missouri) already knew (probably from his mother and father in Los Angeles) that he could count on Stravinsky for an item—again, not further described—to be auctioned.[233] It was only on 4 September that Mann wrote formally to the composer for "an autographed copy of your autobiography [presumably its 1936 English translation], or (which might be even better) a fragment of a musical manuscript, or an autographed photography [*sic*]."[234] Obligingly, Stravinsky wrote Mann on 13 September: "Sending you the manuscript of my version of the National Anthem and my photograph." Twice dating the former "1941" (Appendix, no. 8), he signed and dated an accompanying 1940 photograph by Edwin McQuoid: "Hollywood, 1943."[235] On staves carefully drawn with his rastrum and certainly no example of his self-vaunted calligraphic skills,[236] his handwriting on this two-page manuscript and on its cover betrays some haste. A solo piano arrangement does not figure among arrangements that he mentioned to Feist on 14 September 1941 as either completed or in progress. Whether this negates "1941" as the actual year of its copying, or whether he hastily recopied it for Mann in 1943, I cannot say. (Sending it without its text to Mrs. Roosevelt for a war bond auction would, on the face of it, seem a little odd.) Unlike his 1941 "June" compositional draft (no. 4), this "piano-arrangement" (no. 8) is easily playable by normal hands. With just

three exceptions (surely just slips of the pen), it is identical to the piano part in the July 1941 piano–vocal arrangement (see no. 5), published in two issues early the ensuing autumn. The exceptions in no. 8 concern three chords for the right hand (mm. 3/2, 3/3, and 18/2). In the first and last cases he inscribed their inner pitches of F and E-flat a little too low, so that these notes might mistakenly be read as E-flat and D, respectively. In the second case (m. 3/3) he seems initially to have considered adding D above B-flat, thus forming a complete minor seventh chord in first inversion, a chord that appears in no other harmonization at this point. Lauding him as his favorite contemporary composer, Sergeant Mann thanked him on 11 October for his contribution: "Your manuscript was indeed one of the most attractive and most valuable pieces."[237] Stravinsky's reaction may only be guessed had he known that the same day Mann wrote Schoenberg a similar letter of thanks: the Austrian émigré's manuscript had fetched the highest single bids.[238]

Proofreading; An Autograph Revised; Photostats Positive and Negative Revised

Because only the B-flat arrangements were published, only they can confirm Stravinsky's deservedly bad reputation as a reader of proofs for his own music. Instances abound for his other compositions, the most notorious concerning the premiere (October 1943) of his *Ode*. For that disaster he blamed Koussevitzky for what were his own mistakes in the score and parts, a criticism for which he later had to apologize.[239] Since he was so careless, it is not always easy to know how to distinguish among his own initial errors, mistakes by the typesetter, and his insufficient attention to reading proofs.

Although Mercury's three printed editions—the two similar (25- and 30-cent) issues for mixed chorus and piano, and the third one a full score for mixed chorus and large orchestra—are no exceptions, the former pair have few problems. His fair-copy autographs (Appendix, nos. 5 and 6) and the Mann autograph (no. 8) plus common musical sense show that in the printed piano--vocal editions its third beat for the piano at "that [Star-Spangled]" (m. 17/3) should be slurred. Tenors lack an A-flat (m. 21) in the autograph (no. 5), added in the editions and the scribal copy (no. 5f), the latter not free of error (see m. 7/3, bass). It is probably Dr. Guenther, who read proofs early in September 1941 for the piano–vocal score, to whom we owe the general correctness of both its issues.

Differences among the autograph for mixed chorus and large orchestra (Appendix, no. 6), a gaggle of divergent photostats (nos. 6a–b),

and Mercury's lone printed edition do pose problems.[240] As Andersson's diary and a subsequent dedication to him suggest, one uninscribed (unstamped) negative photostat (no. 6a) and the inscribed (unstamped) positive photostat made from it (no. 6b) must precede another positive photostat stamped as 8 July 1941 by Economy Blue Print (no. 6c). Precedence is confirmed by an initial and obvious trace of revision between the former pair and the latter positive. On page 1 both of the former lack necessary two-flat key signatures for trombones and tuba and concomitant B-flats for timpani, whereas the 8 July positive photostat has them. Even though their second page also continues to lack key-signature flats for trombones and tuba, flats are again present for them in the 8 July photostat. Stravinsky's proofreading deficiencies continue in abundance. Page 2 of all three photostats not only lacks flats for bassoons and contrabassoon but also for the entire string section. Page 3 has all required flats in all three photostats. I am at a loss to explain these additions to Economy's 8 July positive photostat (no. 6c) except that the negative photostat from which it was made must have been discarded.

By October 29, there was plenty of blame to go around. Feist had received a photostat and "had already begun making plates" for Mercury's edition issued in mid-December. Beyond adding necessary chorus slurs on page 3 missing at "wave" (m. 20/1–2), Mercury's editor rectified Stravinsky's omissions on page 2 of flats for the strings, but not his omissions for bassoons and contrabassoon, and the edition's page 3 also lacks flats for all these low winds, even though they are in the autograph (and in all its photostats). Furthermore, the edition lacks slurs present in French horns and trumpets (opening pickup and m. 2/3, respectively; second horn at m. 10) in the autograph (and in all three photostats). Not only is the autograph's/photostat's correct F for Oboe 2 (m. 3/1) misprinted as G, but its (final) correct C for the tenors (m. 21/3) is misprinted as D.

The autograph itself (Appendix, no. 6) shows additions, and revisions, some of which are still discernible with traces visible even in the photostats. It alone bears a tempo mark, inscribed by Stravinsky at some point after any known photostat was made, perhaps even after it was returned to him following its dispatch to FDR. (Only his 1964 recording approximates this tempo marking. Sample's reading in 1942 and a few contemporaneous reviews and recollections of performances by Stravinsky and by others from 1941–42 and 1944, extolling its "solemnity" and "dignity," suggest a slower tempo.) Despite erasing, five extra autograph notes (doubling the cellos) still show faintly below the choral basses at "that our flag was still" (mm. 14/3–15/3). He made several

changes in his autograph, removing a slur from first violins (m. 21/1–2), and correcting second violins and violas (m. 21/2–3), scraping away these latter so thoroughly that his original readings are no longer visible, even under infrared light. These corrections appear faithfully in the printed edition, which otherwise differs from the autograph's reading in one tiny, but what I regard as a significant, detail near the close. Significant, because raising the second flute's penultimate G clearly inscribed in the autograph (during its descent from B-flat to F, m. 21) to a B-flat in the edition destroys Stravinsky's fine original linearity of flute 2 descending in parallel seconds with oboe 1 below it. Whether this tiny printed adjustment to flute 2 was Stravinsky's revision or an editor's and then received Stravinsky's blessing, or whether he simply missed this "correction" in reading proofs, I cannot say. Even though his original G appears in no other instrument at this point, nor in any sketches or harmonizations, I still regret this change in the edition. After all, Stravinsky himself commented on Andersson's photostat (Appendix, no. 6b) in July 1941 about his "severe classic voice leading."

The large negative photostat (no. 6a) poses a minor conundrum. Although it, too, lacks the autograph's added metronome mark, it contains a few faint autograph markings of dynamic signs that appear neither in the July Fourth manuscript itself nor in the smaller photostats (nos. 6b–c, themselves differing from each other). This large negative photostat is surely the one Andersson cites on 9 July: "Corrected negative of orchestra score with the white ink I took him." Because the composer retained no. 6a, identifying it on its wrapper, a record of his few markings in it seems imperative. They are: "cresc" (m. 15) for all instruments and voices (which appears otherwise solely for timpani in autograph and edition); and an "*f* "(for *forte*) in strings and chorus at the pickup (m. 16/3), mostly marked "*ff*" for winds in the edition.

Finally, the autograph of his third D-major arrangement, harmonization no. IV (Appendix, no. 13), the one for men's chorus available in facsimile, reveals some notational carelessness in its basses (mm. 1 and 2) and tenors 2 (m. 6). The only accidental lacking is in second tenors (m. 22) where surely he did not intend a prolonged major seventh chord. The requisite C-natural appears in both harmonizations II and III (Appendix, nos. 11–12) and Craft's recording makes the necessary adjustment.

Having studied the chief differences—harmonic, contrapuntal, and orchestral—between Stravinsky and Damrosch, we now turn to three other harmonizations of the anthem, in D major (nos. II, III, and IV; Appendix, nos. 11–13). Although there are no sketches for them, placed in what I consider their correct chronological sequence, they

reveal a continuation of his thinking about the anthem. After completing his first (B-flat) harmonization and its arrangements early in July, he must have realized that what might have originally seemed an all-purpose production—for mixed chorus and piano, mixed chorus and orchestra, and "orchestrated so that it can be played without choir" as he once wrote Koussevitzky[241]—failed to encompass still other and just possibly lucrative options. In September he began to rectify this missed commercial opportunity by arranging the anthem for men's chorus with piano accompaniment. Shortly thereafter he completed two other arrangements for unaccompanied men's chorus. An artistic motivation for all these cannot have been a chorus rehearsal of his B-flat harmonization, for it took place on 18 September, four days after he had written Feist about finishing one for "piano male choir," presumably the one in D major (no. 11). Perhaps he attended earlier chorus rehearsals and was inspired by what were undoubtedly splendid male voices in the "WPA Negro Chorus." Although he promised his publisher still other arrangements, there is no evidence for them.

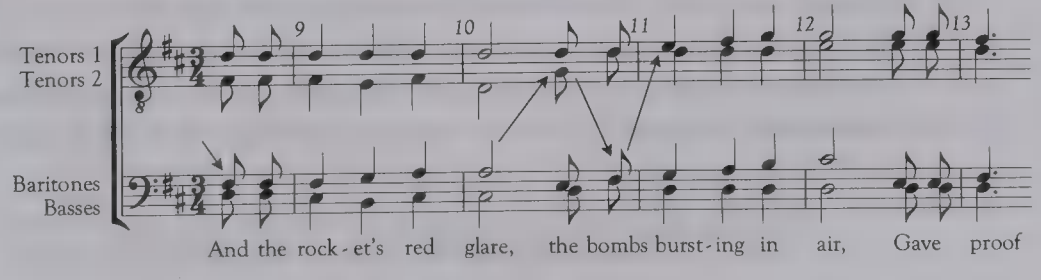
With the help of some analysis, the clue offered in Stravinsky's letter to Feist of 14 September allows a hypothesis that he composed the three D-major harmonizations in the following order: by 14 September the one (in pencil) he mentions for male chorus and piano (Appendix, no. 11), hereafter harmonization II; that same month another one soon followed again in pencil and inscribed "Sept. 41" for male chorus a cappella (no. 12), harmonization III; and lastly, his careful fair copy in ink (no. 13) also for a cappella male chorus, simply inscribed "(1941)" but this time additionally with "Copyright 1941," harmonization IV. (The non-autograph manuscript, no. 12a, is just a direct copy of harmonization III.) We begin with the one Stravinsky cites in his letter to Feist, harmonization II. It is a fascinating combination of an arrangement finished three months earlier plus new choral perspectives.

14 September: Harmonization II (D Major)

Just two staves serve for Stravinsky's untexted "male choir"—first and second tenors, baritones, and basses—placing them in the key of D major, so as best to accommodate and exploit their ranges. (He had already taken pains to note for himself serviceable limits for the range of each male voice; Appendix, no. 10a.) A piano accompaniment appears on two additional staves directly below the pair for the voices. He scored the entire manuscript in pencil rather roughly, provoking Jans to consider it a draft ("Entwurf"). It may well be, since many aspects of it

recur in harmonizations III and IV. But if so, why did he single it out to Feist for publication?

Except for a pair of right-hand octave displacements by the piano (mm. 10/1–2 and 12/1–2), the accompaniment virtually duplicates the piano reduction of the orchestra already crafted by 8 July (at the latest) for Mercury's piano–vocal edition, transposed here, of course, to D major. Accompanied throughout by the piano as in the B-flat arrangement, the four vocal lines in this harmonization by no means just copy those of his mixed chorus in harmonization I. For example, the opening "O say! can you see?" is newly evoked for all voices in clarion octaves (though almost immediately harmonized by the piano). Nor may first tenors always claim the anthem's tune. Beginning at the second strain, the melody dips down an octave into the baritones (mm. 8/3–10/3), though quickly returning thereafter to first tenors (almost exactly as it does in harmonization III, for which see Ex. 3). If this placement of voices was merely to spare first tenors their initial high A in *piano*, it is not particularly successful musically and certainly not textually, because it strangely truncates the baritones' "bombs" from the first tenors' "bursting in air." This procedure may really have been for the sake of expressing the text as first tenors regain the melody (mm. 11ff.). Basses sometimes duplicate the piano's left hand (unlike bass singers at the beginning of the choral–orchestral harmonization I). Instead of slavishly following the piano during the closing portion of the anthem (as do bass singers in harmonization I), these basses offer a striking Bachian touch by descending a seventh instead of proceeding upward just by whole step (m. 17). Their continuing divergence from the left hand of the piano near the anthem's close (mm. 18/2–22) initially generates a beautiful contrary motion against the anthem's melody and especially (between the two pauses) against left-hand notes of the piano. Basses conclude their independent role by redefining the secondary dominant seventh at the second pause from its first inversion in the piano (as in



Example 3. Stravinsky's harmonization no. 3 "Sept. 1941" in D major, for male chorus. Paul Sacher Stiftung, Basel. Reprinted by Permission.

harmonization I) to one in root position for the singers (m. 22)—an even stronger expression of "free." Comparing the chorus parts in this D-major harmonization (II) to those in B-flat (I) discloses only a slightly greater choral reliance here on sharp dissonances of seconds and sevenths (mm. 3/2, 15/2, 22/3), usage more fully exploited in harmonizations III and IV, discussed next.

September: Harmonization III (D Major)

Lacking any piano accompaniment, harmonization III (Appendix, no. 12) also untexted, is copied in pencil, but on four staves. Stravinsky dates it specifically: "Sept 41." It differs from its immediate predecessor in several ways. Following the pickup, the latter's stark opening octaves quickly disappear in favor of harmonization. Number III also introduces a few other novelties. Some of these are certainly by way of adjusting to an absence of piano accompaniment. The first strain of the anthem now calls in two places for *divisi* by second tenors and baritones (mm. 3 and 7/2); this harmonization adds a few sevenths (mm. 1/3, 2, 9, 10); it voices one passage differently (m. 7/2–3); and it slightly reharmonizes two other passages (mm. 8/3–10/3 and 12/3). Both harmonizations, II and III, situate the anthem's melody not uniformly in tenors 1 throughout, but at the beginning of the second strain an octave lower in the baritones (see Ex. 3). Except for its opening, and even though III lacks a piano, its voices are identical to those in harmonization II for virtually the entire second part of the anthem (from mm. 11ff.). Shortly after the beginning of the second strain, however, its dissonance level, though of brief duration (mm. 9–10/2), is the highest in any of the four harmonizations (Ex. 3). Alternating major and minor seventh chords in last and first inversions, scored in close position, come to rest on an incomplete, harsh major seventh (lacking even its third) in last inversion (m. 10), just before first tenors regain the tune (m. 11) and thus signal a more dulcet harmonization thereafter. Number III also follows its predecessor by harmonizing the second pause with a secondary dominant seventh in root position (m. 22), this time, of course, without any interference (as in II) from a piano sounding a first inversion.

September: Harmonization IV (D Major)

Luckily for performers and scholars, harmonization IV (Appendix, no. 13) is available in facsimile and is even recorded, though this music, too, remains unpublished. Stravinsky still scores it without words on four

staves for first and second tenors, baritones and basses, but in a fine fair copy in ink. At the bottom of his opening page he added "Copyright . . . 1941," although no copyright is known to have been sought or registered.

In 1983 Craft annotated its facsimile as follows: "[Harmonization IV is] much richer harmonically than his published version [harmonization I]."[242] When recording it a decade later, Craft made no overt comparisons, but he did observe in an accompanying booklet that "the [male chorus] harmonization [IV] is remarkable for its use of major and minor seconds and of seventh chords."[243] Craft's latest edition (published in 2002) of his discussion with Stravinsky in 1958–59 about the composer's arrangements of the anthem additionally reports him as saying that IV had a "far superior harmonization."[244] In 1958–59, however, Stravinsky spoke solely about his B-flat arrangement (harmonization I). Of course, the two men could have discussed this third D-major harmonization after their book was published. And yet, if Stravinsky held it in such high esteem, as his fair copy and "Copyright" imply, one might still wonder why he never obtained publication for it.[245] Perhaps he tried and failed with an overly cautious Feist, concerned about its sales potential in a "market" not then "ready."

Craft's astute remarks in his 1993 CD booklet about harmonization IV are valuable.[246] They require some expansion, however, so as to consider its predecessors, II and III. His remarks also need some qualification. Harmonization IV not only takes over new *divisi* features from its immediate predecessor, but also expands them and significantly alters the voicing (mm. 8/3–12/3), softening some of its dissonance (see Ex. 2b). Number IV does not spare first tenors. Unlike harmonizations II and III, they sing the anthem's melody throughout (as, of course, do sopranos in B-flat in number I). At the beginning of the second strain (mm. 8/3–9/3), Stravinsky removed the previous and unexpected octave dip from tenors to baritones featured in II and III, and he initially silenced his basses during which the baritones most subtly recall (transposed) B-flat oscillations by orchestral cellos and double basses in harmonization I. Although an initial piquant major seventh that harmonized III (m. 10/1–2) is avoided in IV, this dissonance not only reappears (m. 12/1–2), but is even strengthened, by reinforcing the baritones' C-sharp with half of the first tenors. From there to the close, harmonizations III and IV are identical, both altering the earlier first-inversion dominant seventh (m. 22) to its root position (already ventured in II, though less effectively, owing to its piano accompaniment).

In respect to Craft's observations about major seconds in harmonizations I and IV, the frequency of major seconds in each is about equal. (Replacing a dissonant minor cadential second in harmonization I by a

less pungent major second in II, III, and IV has already been noted.) As to minor seconds (enumerated below), Craft is partly correct. Some of these seconds are, however, more prominent than others because Stravinsky inverted certain major seventh chords that were already present in his July harmonization. Even a spectacular instance of seconds near the anthem's close—a minor second between baritones and basses, flung higher, as it were, to first and second tenors and converted by them to a major second (II–IV, m. 22/3), preexists in harmonization I. There they are similarly tossed upward, but this time by flutes 2 and 3. The difference between his initial and final harmonizations, as in many other instances, is that the unaccompanied male chorus arrangements (III and IV), scored mostly for four voice parts, promote a chamber music clarity rarely attainable, even by a Stravinsky, when scoring for large orchestral and choral forces.

As to seventh chords themselves, although he retained some of them from harmonization I, he deleted many more in IV (mm. 1/2, 10/1–2, 16/3, 18/2, 20/3, and 23/3) than he added—just a single new one (m. 19/2), but it was already present in harmonization II. More important, for the many seventh chords that he retained, he employed different inversions (IV, mm. 7/3, 18/3, 19/2, 20/1, 21, the chord at 22/3 being incomplete). The sharp dissonance of a minor second, for example, at the inversion of an incomplete major seventh chord (II–IV, m. 15/2), results from the close proximity of basses to baritones. Given the excellent voice leading in the three lower voices of III and IV, however, the ear happily accepts the resulting passing chord as inevitable and "right"—just as Morton said. Juxtaposing seventh chords in close position (mm. 3, 7, 19/2–20/1, and 21–22/2) may recall to some American ears barbershop traditions of male quartet singing, even though Stravinsky scrupulously avoids that tradition's shopworn malaise of parallel diminished seventh chords. Although he had already banished Damrosch's lone diminished seventh from harmonization I, these close sonorities in III and IV might still raise a question as to whether he had heard barbershop groups on popular radio programs of the day. His several declarations early in January 1941 to two Washington newspapers that he never listened to music on the radio, for example, ring a little false;[247] perhaps even more so in view of his endorsement of a Stromberg-Carlson radio-phonograph that May (and apparently again in November 1953).[248]

Adhering in general to the bottom-most pitches of his orchestral–choral arrangement established for harmonization I, his unaccompanied basses in number IV stay united throughout. In IV Stravinsky frequently calls upon the two inner male voices during the first repeated strain to divide, a technique introduced in harmonization III (restricted there to

the first strain). At the beginning of the anthem's second strain in IV, however, he requires only first tenors to divide when, initially, the basses are silent. At several points in the first strain, these *divisi* passages result in six-part writing in both III and IV (mm. 3–4, and 7). Much doubling, however, causes the resulting chords never to exceed five distinct pitches, and even in IV, just twice (mm. 10/3 and 11/2–3). Choral composers and directors use the term "chorestration" for these kinds of subtle shifts and interchanges among the upper voices (especially in harmonizations II and III, mm. 8/3–10/3); for the occasional tacit basses; for the latter's descents (though rare) to nether regions (mm. 5/1 and especially 17/2 in II–IV); and for contrasts afforded by chords in open and close position. In these matters, Craft rightly lauded Stravinsky for skillfully "exploiting [in IV] different combinations of vocal color and contrasts of ranges."

Given their utterly different sonic impacts on listeners—the one harmonization in orchestral–choral garb (harmonization I) addressed to a large concert-going public, the others (especially harmonization IV) seemingly more private meditations—it is astonishing to discover that harmonically, and even contrapuntally, Stravinsky's orchestral–choral arrangement and harmonization IV, with its predecessor for unaccompanied male voices, differ so slightly, chiefly in a greater exploitation by the former of contrapuntal opportunities afforded by the orchestra. Transposition to D major cannot mask their strikingly similar bass lines (see Ex. 1), and even, in some places, their identical inner voices to harmonization I. Of course, the influence of his orchestral–choral arrangement is most obvious in harmonization II where the accompanying piano part is itself simply a transposed reduction of orchestral forces employed in harmonization I. But in other respects, several features from the latter's orchestration continue to dominate. For example, in harmonization IV Stravinsky retains a contrapuntal procedure utilized two months earlier. An inner-voiced and stepwise contrary motion between second tenors and baritones near the beginning of the second strain (mm. 10–13/1) quite successfully replicates the above-described contrary motion through an octave assigned in harmonization I to winds and strings (compare Exx. 2a and b).

Although probably Stravinsky (and Charles Cushing) never knew it, his first and especially his subsequent compositional reactions to Damrosch's harmonization would have mitigated to some considerable extent discomfort that a Marine Band conductor had experienced in 1931 about an overactive and distracting bass line (mm. 16/3–20): "We could not agree to a lot of runningbass figures he [Damrosch] had towards the end."[249] Stravinsky's additional curtailment of "runningbass

figures" in his final two D-major harmonizations (III and IV, mm. 18/2–19/1) would have pleased the Marine Band conductor even more and perhaps even quelled FDR's objections in 1942 to "a lot of frills." Not only that, but altering the direction of the few remaining active eighth notes allowed him to introduce contrary motion by baritones against basses (m. 19) in all three male-chorus harmonizations. Even his tinkering in III and IV with inversions of the unexpected secondary dominant seventh (m. 21) preceding the second pause demonstrates greater concern for voice leading in this last pair of unaccompanied harmonizations. Although first and second tenors in IV (m. 21) traverse corresponding soprano and alto territory (as transposed, of course) in harmonization I, his slight revision of the two lower male voices thus achieved more elegant lines for his unaccompanied baritones and, above all, for their bass colleagues. Solemnizing the pause at "free" with a secondary dominant seventh in root position in harmonizations III and IV only increased the word's potency (see Ex. 1, m. 22).

Contrapuntal as is his orchestral–choral arrangement, the several arrangements for male chorus, particularly III and IV, show an equally linear approach, as he expressed it to Andersson, "in the traditions of the most severe classic voice leading" (Appendix, no. 6b). All this comports nicely with Stravinsky's often-expressed gratitude for his own early rigorous contrapuntal training (1902–4),[250] and especially his lifelong veneration for the achievements of J. S. Bach.[251]

December: B-flat Setting for Christmas, 1941

Stravinsky's only other use of the anthem's tune known to me is not a harmonization at all. It appears on a commercially printed Christmas card that he and Vera sent from Los Angeles to an unidentified friend late in December 1941 (Appendix, no. 15). Nor is it a setting of Key's poem, but rather of a poetic couplet (self-authored, or by wife Vera?) commenting in French on events after the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor on Sunday, 7 December 1941, thus forcing the United States to enter World War II.

Directly above two bells printed on the inner side of this card, he wrote in French: "Deeply touched by your charming remembrance, we are making bells sound in your honor." Using his rastrum, he drew two slightly curving five-lined staves, one exiting from each bell. On the left-hand stave he wrote a treble clef and inscribed on it in whole notes the first six pitches of the melody of "The Star-Spangled Banner," adding the requisite B-flats. Above the stave (dipping twice below it) he wrote a *sizain*: "Que la vic-toi-re soit" (May victory be). Then, after writing a

treble clef on the right-hand stave, he inscribed the six ensuing pitches of the anthem in whole notes, adding the flats. Above these notes (and twice below them) he wrote another *sizain*: "donn-ée aux U.S.A." (given to the U.S.A.). Ending in "soit," the first six-syllable line thus rhymes (in a French pronunciation) with the last letter, A, of the second six-syllable line. After both he and Vera signed this card, he added: "nöel 1941." Composer Richard Hammond (1896–1980) in New York, a longtime acquaintance from prewar France and their visitor in November 1941, has been proposed as the recipient of this patriotic and imaginative thank-you note and Christmas card. Whomever its recipient, the card reveals the continuing impact of Stravinsky's newly adopted country as well as a still lingering fascination with its national anthem.

This study concludes with several matters touched upon during its course but not yet sufficiently explored. Begging the reader's tolerance for alliteration, they deal briefly with: "Puritanism," "politics," "patriotism," "money," "profit (and loss)," and, finally, "public protests." Under this last rubric, some hypotheses are proposed for the difficulties Stravinsky's setting encountered in many U.S. cities.

Puritan Harmonies for 1944 Boston

Stravinsky's assertions to reporters in 1944 that he had harmonized the anthem's tune in seventeenth-century style, in the character of a real church hymn, and had returned to music of Puritan times, are problematic even if and especially because at the same time he also acknowledged to them that he knew the tune's origin in late eighteenth-century England (well after the Puritan era).[252] As Walsh has observed, for the previous twenty-five years Stravinsky had been "modeling himself on music of the early eighteenth century."[253] How much seventeenth-century music either from Puritan England or New England he knew or even had available in 1941 Los Angeles when he first set the anthem that June is not at all clear. For example, reminiscing in 1958–59 about a trip to visit Lord Berners (1883–1950) in October 1937, he states that Berners knew then "of my interest in old English music and once promised to present me with the complete works of Purcell."[254] Not until the mid-1940s, however, did he attend any early music programs in Los Angeles, some of which offered seventeenth- and eighteenth-century English keyboard music,[255] and late in that decade he was still looking for works by Purcell.[256]

For his Boston interviews, he was probably mulling over several previous concepts and statements. These might have included his own

description early in 1925 of his then new Piano Concerto, which, opening and closing its first movement with rather solemn chordal invocations for winds and double basses, he deemed "quite in the style of the Seventeenth Century; that is, the style of the Seventeenth Century viewed from the angle of today."[257] He might also have had in mind his notion of a "noble national chorale" as he had twice inscribed it for Andersson in July 1941 (Appendix, nos. 4 and 6b); his words to Feist that August about the theme lending itself naturally to the form of a "sacred chorale" and his preservation of this form (an *aab*) in the "strictest sense"; his August declaration to President Roosevelt and then voiced by Wecker at the premiere about "chorale" and "sacred anthem"; words to Andersson about "traditions of the most severe classic voice leading" (Appendix, no. 6b); and interviews he gave to San Francisco reporters in 1942 about a hymn harmonized in a "severe classic style." How much (or little) of this Stravinsky believed himself is difficult to assess. In a program note of February 1942, for example, Sol Babitz (1911–82) mused (demonstrably with the composer's permission) about him "in the tradition of Bach harmonizing the themes of others."[258] This remark is sufficiently irrelevant to the work at hand —the *Danses concertantes* variations are on Stravinsky's *own* theme—to provoke a suspicion that Babitz was referring here not to the *Danses* but to the setting of the tune of "The Star-Spangled Banner" and its several very recent performances in Los Angeles.

Walsh rightly warns about taking at face value any information Stravinsky ever gave interviewers, above all if he sensed that they were naïve.[259] Nor were even his apparently sincere enthusiasms always well informed. For example, after a visit to the Savoy Ballroom in Harlem between Christmas and New Year's in 1940, he proclaimed that boogie-woogie and "swings" were American folk music.[260] In the case of Boston and New York reporters in 1944, he may very well have been trying to pull the wool over their eyes for the sake of increasing the number of East Coast listeners in Symphony Hall and especially on the radio. That a broadcast of the work "with a national hook-up" was very important to him and remained so is evident from his remarks to Feist in half a dozen communications before and after the Los Angles premiere and in one more to him on 5 March 1944, following the Boston debacle. In the end, the third performance scheduled there for broadcast but forbidden by the police provided not only a teasing whiff of scandal and notoriety but also generated a degree of nationwide publicity that surely exceeded anything he (or Feist) could have planned. It might be thought that this would have led to an increase in sales in 1944, but as we shall soon learn, such was not the case. Of course, "strict" and "severe" in

Stravinsky's still limited English vocabulary of the early 1940s could simply have been his concept of a Puritan ethic. Yet, the whole notion of a "Puritan" music that he advanced *only in Boston* smacks more of expedience and post-compositional sales promotion.[261] All such assertions there in respect to his arrangement of the national anthem are difficult to take seriously.

Politics and Changes of Heart

During an interview on 25 April 1936 in Buenos Aires, the (relatively) recent French citizen had grandly opined: "Politics leaves me remote from its oscillations. I am neither realist nor republican. But yes, I am an anti-parliamentarian. I can't stand it." Accordingly, the same day a left-leaning newspaper in that city headlined Stravinsky as "An Enemy of Democracy."[262] Thus when interviewed the following year in San Francisco, he exercised more caution, temporizing a little: "I am opposed to the right, abhor the left, and am altogether out of sympathy with the center."[263]

In point of fact, until his (unforeseen, permanent) emigration in October 1939 to the United States, his politics were not only emphatically to the right but actually embraced Fascism and even tolerated the National Socialists in Germany. By the 1930s, Stravinsky's horror of Bolshevism and fear of its spread in Europe had led him, perversely, to an intense admiration for Mussolini. This included well-publicized audiences with Il Duce; a copy of the *Duo concertant* for the Nero-like violinist-dictator in February 1934; and a gift two years later of volume 2 of his autobiography, *Chroniques de ma vie*.[264] He was by no means alone in admiring Mussolini. Quite a few British, French, and U.S. statesmen and other important public figures—an ambassador to Rome, a Democratic mayor of New York, a Columbia University president, a cardinal, an archbishop—sang Mussolini's praises at the time.[265] Early in the first decade of Stravinsky's French citizenship (granted in 1934), he supported the candidacy of Pierre Laval in 1936–37 for president of France and as late as 1939 was slurring members of the Popular Front's socialist government.[266] Blatantly opportunistic dalliances with Nazi Germany for recording and concert dates persisted from 1933 to the brink of World War II, accompanied by a noxious anti-Semitism.[267]

Safely in the United States on 30 September 1939, but aghast at the wartime plight of various family members in France, Switzerland, and Russia, and perhaps even chastened by his own previous toleration (tacit and otherwise) of Fascists and Nazis, Stravinsky apparently began to modify his political views in the face of calamitous world events.

Personal disasters before he left France had included deaths of his elder daughter (November 1938); of his wife and mother (March and June 1939, respectively); his own re-hospitalization with tuberculosis at the Sancellemoz sanatorium (much of March through August 1939) and that of his younger daughter there (then and later); and the mobilization of his younger son into the French army (mid-October 1939). After arriving in the States, he learned of a brief internment of his elder son at Recebedow, near Toulouse in Unoccupied France (June 1941) with that son's subsequent exile to Switzerland and, eventually, the orphaning of his granddaughter by the Gestapo's murder of her Jewish father (July 1943).

Beginning in December 1939, several of his statements reveal how, at first, owing to his "deep self-centeredness,"[268] he went about merely personalizing global events: the outbreak of World War II; Germany's subsequent invasion of France (August 1940); and the Nazi blitzkrieg of his native Russia (late June 1941). The ensuing utterances, especially the second one, speak for themselves: "War can never be good for the arts. Musicians are mobilized. Life is deranged" (12 December 1939);[269] "With this terrible war disrupting all art in Europe, it seems as though the Good Lord sent me specially to Harvard" (c.1 May 1940);[270] "Life has become a constant anxiety because of the tragic news from Europe. . . . The terrible events in Europe have made me ill and unable to work" (May 1940);[271] plus a slight variant of the same lament, "Terrible events in France and the anguish in which I have been living recently have slowed my work" (mid-July 1940).[272] Learning of Virginia Woolf's suicide by drowning, he wrote a literary friend: "Why not Hitler?" (April 1941).[273] One need not scour those newspapers he so avidly read nor attempt to reconstruct radio news programs to which he listened in order to discover what horrific events on or before 21 March 1941 caused Vera to record in her diary her husband's depression about political news. Indeed, two months later he was to write his composer friend Rieti in New York: "I read the newspapers and am terrified by their reports; I'm afraid of losing all hope."[274] And yet, his coarse pun, "Je suis Dégueliste," linking General de Gaulle and "dégueuler" (slang: "to puke") in a letter to Nadia Boulanger,[275] just three weeks after finishing his first arrangements of "The Star-Spangled Banner" might seem to argue disgust with all politicians, be they Marshal Pétain (Vichy) or General de Gaulle (Free France in Exile).

There was one exception—Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Walsh asserts that "practically overnight he became a new-deal democrat."[276] The evidence for this is mostly negative. During Stravinsky's early years of U.S. residence there is no record of his association or sympathy with

extreme right-wing organizations such as America First (even if he retained a clipping of an unfavorable review in the *San Francisco Examiner*, a Hearst newspaper bearing that motto), or with persons like Burton Wheeler, Charles Lindbergh, Robert Taft, and Joseph Kennedy. True, he and Alexis Kall's former star pupil, Adèle Marcus (1906–95), played his Concerto for Two Solo Pianos on 6 March 1940 in Boston for the Women's Republican Club of Massachusetts, Inc. (from which organization Stravinsky, as usual, purloined sheets of its notepaper),[277] and Sample was a Republican, but such encounters hardly qualify as political affiliation. His sympathies probably did lie with the Democratic Party, in which Kall, his longtime friend in Los Angeles and secretary-translator at Harvard, was a registered member.[278] Presumably in November 1940 Stravinsky and Vera rejoiced as much in Roosevelt's election to a third term as they would for his fourth term in 1944.[279]

Another influence was surely his friend and former violinist colleague in France (and briefly thereafter in the latter capacity in the United States), Samuel Dushkin, probably also a Democrat. In April 1941 Dushkin sent him newspaper clippings that Stravinsky then marked up. One was "Col. Lindbergh vs. Hitler," by Walter Lippmann (1889–1974), a mild socialist, strong liberal, and firm anti-isolationist. A similarly marked clipping, "Europe / Dark Valley of Decision for Leaders Everywhere," was by Anne Elizabeth O'Hare McCormick (1882–1954). Close to Roosevelt, she discusses the president's strategic options just six weeks after the bitter congressional debate between his followers and the (mostly Republican) isolationists, culminating in passage of the Lend-Lease Act.[280]

Throughout that summer of 1941 in California, at least, Stravinsky's closest associates continued to be émigré White Russians. There were also, however, a few native-born Americans such as the Edwin McQuoids and Stravinsky's student Andersson, the latter's daughter by his first marriage, Ernestine (1909–80), and her husband, James Sample. The McQuoid family first affords a view of his interaction with young Americans (including their children) over a three-year period (end of 1939 through 1942) and of their generally softening impact upon him (beyond, of course, Harvard students in 1939–40).[281] The outlines of his interaction with the McQuoid family, which included posing for a photograph in December 1939 with their five-year-old second son and inscribing a copy of Mercury's 30-cent piano–vocal edition of "The Star-Spangled Banner": "To Dorothy McQuoid / with all my best / wishes / IStrawinsky / 1941," have already been set forth.[282]

They need not be repeated here, except for the case of three photographs of Stravinsky that Edwin McQuoid took, one of which relates to his B-flat harmonization. In October 1940 McQuoid very clearly based his three portraits on a famous 1934 photograph by George Hoyningen-Huené (1900–68), a photostat of which Stravinsky had just inscribed to Dorothy Ellis McQuoid, probably late that summer or early autumn of 1940. (He sent the same photocopy to his Chicago friend, composer John Alden Carpenter in 1936 and was to inscribe another exemplar for James Sample in 1942). One McQuoid photograph is otherwise known solely from its reproduction, mid-February 1941, in the program booklet (facing p. 143) for Los Angeles Philharmonic concerts that Stravinsky led with Adèle Marcus as piano soloist in his *Capriccio*. (As a fellow Kall student and a less than friendly longtime rival of Marcus, and having also just been coached herself by Stravinsky in *Capriccio*, the late Mrs. McQuoid once confessed to me that in a fit of envious pique in 1941 she tore out the program's title page in her copy of the Philharmonic's booklet!) A second photograph, this one bearing McQuoid's stamp and retained by his widow until 1997, is now in Vancouver. A third McQuoid photograph survives in two exemplars. One was owned by the late Harvard professor Elliot Forbes (1917–2006). It came from his father, a longtime director (1909–44) of the Fogg Art Museum, Edward Waldo Forbes (1873–1969), and was gratefully inscribed by the composer to him and his wife (hosts to the Stravinskys) in Cambridge, mid-January 1941. The other exemplar Stravinsky retained, eventually autographing it for Sergeant Klaus Mann in September 1943 in aid of a Third War Bond Drive to which he also donated his solo piano manuscript arrangement of the anthem (Appendix, no. 8).

Obviously, McQuoid's three photographs pleased Stravinsky (not the only time that a less than famous name photographer did so).[283] Even by the autumn of 1940, they disclose a perceptible (if still slight) softening of Hoyningen-Huené's image of the severe and imperious Parisian master of the 1930s. One discerns this not only from Stravinsky's informal dress in the three Los Angeles portraits—open shirt, sweater, and sports coat—but also in his altered countenance and body language. (The McQuoids and Stravinskys seem to have last encountered each other at Kall's funeral on 7 September 1948.) I never knew Edwin McQuoid, but Dorothy Ellis McQuoid Hopper, to the end of her long life in 1998, was a liberal in every sense of the word and to some degree she surely influenced the composer in the early 1940s. She had played the finale of his Symphony in C with him four-hands late in the summer of 1940 and he coached her the following year in *Capriccio*.

Just before Mercury published *Tango*, she alerted him to what he then wrote Feist on 20 April 1941 as "two absolutely inadmissible mistakes in the main melody."[284] And who in his European days would have dared address him as "Dearest Igor," as she did in her night letter on the eve of the world premiere of his "Star-Spangled Banner"?

As for the Andersson–Samples, Stravinsky had a genuine affection for Ernestine, Sample's wife, and to this he joined high professional respect for composer Andersson and conductor Sample. Expressions of personal affection frequently appear in Andersson's diary in the several months during which he kept it, April–September 1941. A few examples will suffice. On 22 April: "Pleasant things to say of Ernestine" and the same day: "Stravinsky's remarks about Jimmy and Ernestine are most flattering"; and on 18 June: "Said glad I had come for my [eye] glasses so he could see me on his birthday."[285] The most personal expression, however, is Stravinsky's inscription to Sample's wife for her thirty-second birthday on a photograph of himself at the piano, taken 1 July in his studio at 1260 North Wetherly while working on Andersson's *Futurama* Symphony. Said to be Stravinsky's favorite photograph among the forty taken by his student that day, he wrote: "To Ernestine / Sample my / best greetings, for you, on your / birthday with / this picture your / father took of me. / IStrawinsky / August 15–1941."[286]

Of course, Andersson and both McQuoids (and even their second son, briefly as a child actor) had ties to Hollywood's movie industry, but Stravinsky mixed with much more prestigious members of the colony—actors, directors, writers, and composers, most of whom were politically liberal. One thinks here especially of the left-leaning, cultured star of stage and screen, Edward G. Robinson (1893–1973), whom Stravinsky had known since 1935, his first visit to California.[287] By war's end, having refashioned his earlier views and excised much of their prewar and right-wing virulence, Stravinsky resumed a comfortable pragmatism in respect to politics. Walsh puts it nicely a few years later: "[In 1949] he was certainly not going to jeopardize his hard-won status as a loyal American."[288]

Patriotism

"Devoted love, support, and defense of one's country; national loyalty," thus the *Random House College Dictionary* defines the word. Strictly speaking, Stravinsky deserves no mention under this rubric. He was not a U.S. citizen in 1941, nor was he to be one until six months after the close of World War II; and although a national draft had been enacted that would apply to him as a landed immigrant, he was too old to serve

in his newly adopted country's armed forces which were, in any event, not yet at war. (They were, of course, in 1942, when in writing Julian Brodetsky he referred to the effects of the "draft" on young Los Angeles musicians.) Still, Leonard Feist's approving remarks in mid-August 1941 about Stravinsky's "background of feeling towards this country and a sense of service" allow broaching the subject. This "feeling" must partly have stemmed from gratitude to his latest country of refuge and been increased by the fall of France in 1940 and by Hitler's very recent invasion in June 1941 of Russia, albeit Soviet Russia. Linked by treaty since 1936 with Nazi Germany, Stravinsky's estranged native land suddenly became one of the Allies: first with Great Britain (13 July) and then (though still unofficially) with the United States through its support of Lend Lease (1 October). Neither Vera's nor Stravinsky's diaries so much as mention the German invasion on 22 June—even though their Russian physician arrived that day and the next day they hired a Russian gardener.[289] There is no evidence that they felt, as did some White Russian exiles, that Hitler's attack was not all such a bad thing.

It could be argued that sending an admiring letter in August to President Roosevelt, then dispatching around November a "beautifully bound and imbossed [*sic*] in gold" manuscript full score of "The Star-Spangled Banner" to him, and (just perhaps) later donating its piano reduction to Mrs. Roosevelt for a War Bond auction were actions more self-serving than patriotically motivated. This might seem especially true in the case of a world-famous immigrant now desiring full citizenship and one accustomed in France, and even recently in the United States, to favors from high-placed persons.[290] But as we read his letter to the president and the facsimile to the full score, it is hard to discount this gift "to the American People" with its hope of "fostering and preserving the spirit of patriotism." Recall that almost immediately after Pearl Harbor some St. Louis Symphony Orchestra players and members of their orchestra's administration rebelled against his arrangement of "The Star-Spangled Banner" because it was thought to be "unpatriotic." Yet his remarks to the St. Louis press, as reported above, surely demonstrate admiration for the United States: "I love America . . . and Americans, and I like very much the American spirit." There he also stated that he had written it "as a patriotic gesture" and, when faced with its rejection, agreed willingly enough that he would conduct a standard arrangement "out of respect for the national anthem." He did so "as a priest on the podium" and "it took on a new meaning to the audience." Interviewed in San Francisco a month after Pearl Harbor, he said that he admired "the country and sentiment for which the Anthem stands" and, when taking out his first citizenship papers a

year earlier, he had looked forward "to being a real American citizen in four years."[291] Moreover, his Christmas card with the anthem's opening notes set to his own text, "May the U.S.A. be victorious," is a confirmation of private conviction as opposed to a charge of mere expedience in respect to his public representations. These sentiments seem entirely genuine. Especially so when one considers the fervor with which he decorated in red and blue crayon the letters on white title pages of his manuscripts and editions of the anthem, adding colored frames around them, and even on containers and envelopes in which he stored these manuscripts and their editions (see Appendix, nos. 1a, 4, 5d, 9, 11, 12, 12a). Tellingly, these were private, not public affirmations. Nor should his complaint to Feist in September 1941 be ignored that there were not sufficient "national colors" in Mercury's first 25-cent edition of his arrangement of the anthem.

He also put his money where his mouth was. His tally of income for 1941 reveals a $10,000 purchase during that year (or, possibly, 1940) of 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ percent U.S. war bonds.[292] Given his uncertain financial condition during the early 1940s, this represents a substantial commitment, for in September 1941 Andersson noted Stravinsky's assets: "About [$]20,000 in all."[293] Stravinsky may well have surpassed another equally renowned but far wealthier recent émigré to Los Angeles, Thomas Mann (1889–1955). Before he agreed in September 1943 to join a third war bond drive,[294] Mann had confessed the previous March to his son, Klaus: "I don't buy many War Bonds (we have bought some)."[295]

Living in Hollywood, Stravinsky registered in 1942 for defense work (25 April); probably attended a dinner for Russian War Relief to which he was invited (21 May); and certainly later conducted at the Bowl for that cause (16 May 1945).[296] Despite his strictures in January 1941 in Washington D.C. about music on the radio, in 1942 he even listened to a very long work by a *Soviet* composer, Shostakovitch's "Leningrad" Symphony (19 July), and, despite disdainful remarks to Mlle Boulanger the previous year, attended a De Gaullist Free France Society meeting (5 September).[297] For the U.S. War Department he wrote and broadcast talks about Debussy (17 March 1943) and Rimsky-Korsakov (15 March 1944).[298] For Sergeant Mann's auction in aid of war bond sales in October 1943 at Kansas City, he (re-?)donated his solo piano score (the one supposedly returned by Mrs. Roosevelt for the same cause) plus a 1940 McQuoid photo-portrait, newly inscribed. Stravinsky was unaware, of course, of FBI investigations of Klaus Mann as a suspected communist and homosexual,[299] though given his generally tolerant ways, he would probably have concerned himself more about the former than the latter charge.[300] With the liberation of Paris,

he inscribed the final page of his new *Scènes de Ballet*: "Paris n'est plus aux Allemands" (23 August 1944).[301] Hoisting the flag on VE Day (8 May 1945), three months later he and Vera celebrated for two entire days (15–16 August) the victory over Japan.[302] Still six months away from citizenship, the world-famous composer-refugee in his early sixties was loyally serving his newly adopted country. Did he ever ponder the anomaly that his sole recording of his 1941 "humble work to the American People" required some twenty-three more years and even then was with a Canadian orchestra and Canadian chorus?

"I Like a Lot of Money"

Before fully appreciating the magnitude of Stravinsky's renunciation of all performance fees for "The Star-Spangled Banner," we need to know something of his attitude toward money. Near the beginning of his first visit to the United States, he was honored at a huge banquet on 11 January 1925 in New York's old Steinway Hall, organized by the piano company of that name. His own annotated photograph depicts his small figure seated with some of the greatest musicians of the day: Josef Hofmann, Sergei Rachmaninoff, Fritz Kreisler, Wilhelm Furtwängler, Nikolai Medtner, Alexander Ziloti, Albert Coates, Rubin Goldmark, Frederick Lamond, Frank Damrosch, Howard Barlow, Harold Bauer, Sam Franko, etc., as well as host Frederic T. Steinway.[303] By one of history's quirks, the person on his right was none other than Walter Damrosch, whose recently published harmonization of the future national anthem Stravinsky had probably not yet heard, but one he would increasingly encounter during his U.S. tours. The day before embarking for France, he sent a letter of appreciation to the Steinway Company, which had provided him with eighteen different pianos for various concerts across the country as far west as Chicago.[304] He did not add that, even without going anywhere near Hollywood, he was returning with the then-astonishing sum of some twenty-five thousand dollars.[305] This feat allowed him to indulge an already well-developed sense of luxury. He not only purchased an automobile but also soon employed a chauffeur.[306]

A few weeks before Stravinsky's initial trip to Los Angeles in 1935, Alexis Kall had written him (30 January) urging a visit to its movie studios—"strictly for business."[307] In San Francisco for a first time to give a joint recital with Dushkin at the Opera House in mid-February, he attended to another kind of "business" that was contributing to his income. On 12 February the *Chronicle* ran his photograph on its front page with an advertisement from Sherman,

Clay & Co., the city's best-known music firm. Stravinsky would autograph his Columbia record albums if bought that day.[308] This kind of hucksterism was no novelty. A month earlier, shortly after his arrival in New York, he had done the same at Schirmer's (agents for his publisher, Schott), where for an entire morning he signed scores and record jackets.[309] He wrote his wife on 8 February that he hoped to return from this 1935 U.S. tour with an even larger sum than in 1925.[310] Late that month he did indeed tour MGM with Kall, making contacts, but not yet contracts.

A second Hollywood visit in 1937, this time to Paramount, did yield a contract for $25,000, one drawn up but never executed.[311] Queried in San Francisco concerning negotiations reported there in 1937 about this second Los Angeles visit, he stated in December 1939: "Hollywood offered me lots of money. But it would not guarantee that I could do what I liked. I like a lot of money. But I must also do what I like."[312] At the end of October 1940, just before *Fantasia* with Leopold Stokowski's mutilated *Rite of Spring* was released, he had signed options with Disney for exploiting three other early works, a deal that netted him $1,500.[313] As he knew, the real money lay in writing movie scores. By January 1941 in Washington D.C. he was even temporizing a little. "[He] smiled and shrugged. 'Perhaps for money. But not with much appetite,'" he declared to a reporter.[314]

By 1941 he might well have altered his earlier press statement to "I *need* a lot of money." Walsh has observed that "Igor's own normal income was threatening to dry up altogether."[315] His French royalties were blocked in the United States by Galaxy, his German royalties (Schott, through AMP) were modest, and, with the U.S. declaration of war late in the year on Germany, in serious jeopardy. For 1942 he had virtually no conducting engagements scheduled (which in 1941 brought him $4,700), beyond those for the San Francisco premiere of his "Star-Spangled Banner." Whatever he may have planned for such engagements and anticipated from them in 1942, this type of income was going to be minimal.

Having signed a contract with Feist in January 1941 for all "his light non-symphonic works," he negotiated hard over "The Star-Spangled Banner." On 14 August he shocked Feist by writing that he would be "content with 20% of the retail price," though surely an even greater shock was forgoing all performance fees. When it came closer to signing Mercury's contract on 25 September, however, Stravinsky had additionally negotiated 50 percent of all net sums from recordings, electrical transcriptions, and of sums paid for rights from foreign sources. In all this he was undoubtedly buoyed by Feist's

enthusiasm: "With the proper handling and promotion the Star-Spangled Banner will ultimately be bought by everyone." Feist's queries about recordings and transcriptions had thoroughly awakened Stravinsky's cupidity, and one remark in particular about "its use in moving pictures" could not but have reminded him of recent film negotiations. Near the end of September Feist duly received the signed contract.[316]

For the year of his "Star-Spangled Banner" Stravinsky's diary lists an income just under $13,300. It came from Andersson's payments for composition lessons, commissions for new works, royalties from old ones, an essay, a radio-phonograph endorsement, and interest from U.S. war bonds.[317] Cumulative inflation amounting to 1,308 percent over the ensuing sixty-five years means that in 2006 dollars Stravinsky enjoyed a very handsome income in 1941. But what mattered that year and, of course, in any other year was *disposable* income. Recently remarried, he already had three children, their spouses, and a granddaughter to support in Europe and old friends there to assist, had just made a down payment on a house in Hollywood and taken out a mortgage, had bought a car, and had travel, food, and substantial legal, medical, and dental bills.[318] Much as he and his publisher may have hoped, "The Star-Spangled Banner" was not "bought by everyone." It made neither of them rich in 1941—nor in any other year.

Profit and Loss, 1941–1958

The above sum of $13,300 includes no royalties in 1941 for his arrangements of the national anthem. At 20 percent, for the two remaining months after the premiere they were a somewhat encouraging $15.22. Not surprisingly, perhaps, the first full year after Pearl Harbor was by far the best: $44.79. The year 1943, however, yielded only $5.32; 1944: $7.31; and the last war year, a pitiful $1.98. Except for 1947, $3.90, and 1951, $3.74, 1945 was typical of the next dozen years through 1958, during which his annual royalties were always under $2.[319] Even the little *Tango* for solo piano, which Mercury bought for $500 and published in May 1941 (soon arranged for other instruments) initially had little monetary success, netting him but $7.39 that year. In 1944 Stravinsky noted Mercury's "regular statements which continue to be a joke."[320] Thus, notoriety and mild scandal surrounding "The Star-Spangled Banner" did little or nothing to increase sales, except as would be normal in a first full year—1942—following publication. Not even the big Boston fuss in January 1944 boosted annual sales very much, neither that year nor the next. If his arrangement did not bring

shame, neither did it bring fame, and certainly not gain. Inevitably, he held Feist responsible. As early as 5 September 1941 Feist had assumed that West Coast publicity would be handled locally (and thus without cost to Mercury). Even if all efforts came to naught, Stravinsky —more likely someone in WPA's Music Project—apparently did his best to guarantee nationwide publicity by means of a national radio "hook-up" for the premiere and from multiple playings of Sample's authorized and planned recordings up to "2,500 times."

As for distribution, the first hints of a problem come from Stravinsky only a week after the premiere: "Please make all haste in getting copies on the market for there has been considerable demand," and at that month's end: "Who represents you here [in Los Angeles] where piano and orchestra scores can be purchased?"[321] On 7 November he found it "disappointing that you have not supplied music dealers here," even accusing Feist of "not attending properly to business toward promoting sales of my composition."[322] Excusing himself on account of his mother's sudden illness, Feist wired Stravinsky about 10 November that copies of the (new 30-cent) piano–vocal score "should be at Schirmer's [in Los Angeles]"[323] and subsequently alerted him to *Time* magazine's brief notice three days before Christmas: "A new version of The Star-Spangled Banner [the 1-dollar full score] published last week here . . . should be welcomed by conductors."[324] Surely not many last-minute Christmas Eve shoppers bought copies, let alone on the strength of such flimsy publicity as this and at a time when most people's thoughts were remote from the national anthem. Again, beyond a possible review copy, *Time*'s notice cost Mercury nothing. Distribution apparently worsened in 1942. Stravinsky had his secretary, Beata Bolm (wife of the celebrated dancer), inform Feist early in March 1942 that a local orchestra conductor in Hamilton, Ohio, was forced to write the composer himself about how he might obtain score and parts.[325]

Feist's refusal to acquire the *Circus Polka* when offered to him in February 1942,[326] the one work in the early 1940s that made a respectable amount of money for its composer and publisher (AMP, 1942),[327] did not improve the atmosphere. It also underscores his curious lack of business acumen in respect to Stravinsky's music. Except for the composer's inquiries that May about Koussevitzky's supposed performance of his arrangement in Washington, there is no further correspondence for the next two years. On 5 March 1944, Stravinsky regrets having entrusted *Tango* "to a firm indifferent to its fate and only for the sake of you using my name in your catalogue. Equally the fate of the Star-Spangled Banner." And after mentioning "the general uproar in the press about its cancelled broadcast [from Boston]," he bemoans the

difficulties many musicians have experienced even in discovering the publisher's name. "This fact shows the utter absence of publicity and distribution."[328] With just two works issued, thus dismally ended a contract signed with Feist early in January 1941 said to be "for the publication of all of Stravinsky's light non-symphony compositions for a period of years."[329]

Craft's faulty arithmetic tallying Stravinsky's 1941 income does not seriously invalidate his assertion that Stravinsky's expenses that year almost equaled his income. These realities put more clearly in perspective the dimensions, even the magnanimity of his contract with Mercury—exacting, as usual, a high percentage of sales and also for various rights—but, uniquely in his career, forgoing all performance fees. Having made this latter commitment, he can surely be forgiven for somewhat overwhelming poor Feist with the prospect of publishing so many different and probably equally non-moneymaking arrangements. Once again, as with his investment in U.S. war bonds, he practiced what he preached: "To tender this, my humble work, to the American People."

Public Protests, 1941–2006

No word for or against Stravinsky's three D-major harmonizations was ever uttered because no one heard any of them until 1993. Several hypotheses can be advanced for difficulties people so often had with the 1941 B-flat harmonization. For better or worse, they did not hear it that often. The relatively few performances nationwide (save those of Sample) came nowhere near fulfilling Feist's expectations conveyed to Stravinsky in mid-September 1941 that "only by a process of gradual replacement can we destroy the listening pattern of these people [the radio public]," to say nothing about the new edition being "ultimately bought by everyone."[330]

With the sheer volume of static generated by critics, the vox populi is difficult to tune in. Strictly speaking, we hear only three private voices. All are female: a violinist's remarks in 1941 about "distorted harmonies" and "distorted . . . melody"; an unidentified high school music teacher in 1942 who preferred its "symphonic qualities"; and many years later an attendee's departure in a huff from the Hollywood Bowl following a twenty-fifth anniversary performance. With such scant input, verdicts passed on secondhand, such as those overheard in 1944 by critics in a Boston lobby, or even verdicts by those who never themselves experienced a performance become valuable. The latter cannot be dismissed simply as hearsay. Usually the information is passed on from

someone who *was* at a performance. Such was one Massachusetts resident in East Sommerville, honest enough to admit he had not attended: "I have been told that the version is so remote from the real anthem as to be scarcely recognizable."[331] An editorial response the same day to this Mr. Libbey advised that "No Official Version Exists of 'The Star Spangled Banner,'" but insisted that "the composer-conductor's version . . . is harmonically dissonant." Apparently, then, someone on the *Globe*'s staff had heard one performance or the other. That same Boston newspaper recommended the Howard-Bronson "Service Version" of 1942 that "aimed at avoiding notes too high for the average voice, dropped a tone lower to the key of A-flat."[332] And indeed, the audience in a recent Garrison Keeler radio broadcast (September 2006) of *The Prairie Home Companion*, even sang it in G major. Yet, as far as difficulties encountered in singing the tune itself, Stravinsky can hardly be blamed. Like his own, most versions were also pitched in B-flat.

The central question remains: Why was Stravinsky's new harmonization not found acceptable? Andersson's prediction on 17 June that "[it] will become famous even if not recognized officially by Congress" more realistically evaluated Stravinsky's "hope and wish" on 14 August for congressional adoption. The above-cited contemporary critics mentioned: audience participation; the anthem's melody and its rhythm; orchestration; bass line; counterpoint; harmonization; dissonance; expectations; and wartime patriotism; to which may be added Stravinsky's concepts of "academic music" and "rules."

Mute Audiences

Even if audiences initially tried to join in, their silences in Los Angeles (1941), San Francisco (1942), and Boston (1944) stemmed from at least three factors. The first was a widespread and chronic inability to recall the anthem's words, especially if it ran to verses two, three, and even four, as it apparently did at the premiere. The second factor was simple curiosity, a sincere desire by music lovers to listen carefully in order to grasp Stravinsky's reharmonization. The third factor, in view of real difficulties for male voices to navigate the entire melody pitched in B-flat, was a consequent and vain attempt to join in by harmonizing one of the lower voices in a manner to which, attested by both Morton and Steele, some (and surely few) altos, tenors, and basses in 1941–42 audiences were apparently accustomed. This tiny percentage of an audience—altos, tenors, and basses—was indeed going to need "considerable practice" in order to sing Stravinsky's newly minted lower voices. One can readily empathize with the degree of frustration generated from their inability to do so.

Melody and Rhythm

Statements uttered before the premiere, at it, and afterward, such as those by Sample, Wecker, and Saunders (Los Angeles), Fisher (San Francisco), the announcer on Sample's 1942 recording, and by Stravinsky himself (Boston), emphasized that not a note of the tune was altered. Still, some critics found it otherwise; for example, Sloper (Boston): "melodic line reshaped." Almost as baffling as melody is why the matter of rhythm arose at all. Yet some thought they heard changes in the rhythm of the melody. Jones (Los Angeles): "rhythmic balance on the words improved, made . . . the melody easier to sing"; Sloper (Boston): "note values altered"; McPhillips (Los Angeles, 1966): "[rhythmic] values changed . . . for a more melodious effect."

Orchestration

Most reviewers were enthusiastic. Saunders (Los Angeles, 1944): "master of his craft"; Einstein (San Francisco): "sonorous"; and Smith (Boston): "brilliant." Only Pettis (San Francisco) was disappointed that the orchestration failed to mitigate what he deemed "singularly turbid harmony."

Bass Line

The most alert critics mention its excellence (suggested above concerning Example 1). Morton (Los Angeles): "very good"; and McPhee, studying the edition in 1942: "bass progression [strengthened]"; only Walsh (2006) finding it to have "a few quirks."

Counterpoint

Even though Stravinsky himself spoke of his version's "old contrapuntal style" (Boston, 1944), just three writers even noticed and those but tangentially. Jones: "voices . . . moved up and down contrapuntally" (perhaps referring to the fine contrary motion between tune and bass during the first strain); and Saunders (Los Angeles, 1944): "supporting . . . contrapuntal lines." Steele (Los Angeles), took the one negative position: "unrelated."

Harmonization

Here a clear fault line runs between favorable and unfavorable judgments. Among the former, Morton spoke to "new harmonies . . . infinitely more interesting"; Jones: "streamlined and yet with added harmonic richness"; Saunders: "progressive, and far from conventional"; and McPhee: "beautiful and simple." Even before their initial rehearsal some experienced San Francisco Orchestra players had found its

harmony (and its counterpoint) less "excessive" than *Petrouchka*. By the mid-1960s most critics were no longer even dubbing the harmonization as "far from conventional," and several were testifying to its general assimilation by audiences. Bernheimer (Los Angeles): "pleasant harmonic peculiarities"; and Reno (Miami): "pungent but not in the least distorting."

Unfavorable assessments running from the Los Angeles premiere to an anniversary performance there some six decades later (and in Walsh's case even beyond), outnumber favorable ones. Ussher (Los Angeles): "[seemingly] wrong notes being played"; Steele (Los Angeles): "bare and acrid"; Fried (San Francisco): "Stravinskian chords" incorporating "dissonances . . . inappropriate and harsh"; Pettis (San Francisco): "particularly turbid"; Brown (Washington D.C.): "simple, slightly astringent"; anonymous (*New York Times*, re Boston): "odd, somewhat dissonant"; Wolffers (Boston): "strange-sounding, discordant"; anonymous (*Boston Sunday Globe*): "harmonically dissonant"; Sloper: "acidulated"; Smith: "a poor joke"; Holland (re Los Angeles 2001): "eerie"; and Walsh (2006): who, conceding its dependence as a "gloss on the familiar text" (though not specifying that musical "text" as Damrosch's), found Stravinsky's harmonization to be laced with "scrunchy [closely spaced, i.e., dissonant] added notes."

Thus with almost all who faulted Stravinsky's harmonization—whether professional critics (excepting Pettis) or amateur music lovers—a major sticking point seems to have been dissonance, perceived or real. The norms of the day thus require examination. What level of dissonance would a general public have tolerated in the 1940s? Fried's prediction, aired a day before even the first orchestra rehearsal for the San Francisco premiere that the "average American eyebrow" would elevate at the ensuing concert because of (undescribed) "Stravinskian chords," indicates that he (like Pettis) had at least studied the new harmonization's score. Be this as it may, his prediction turned out to have been correct for St. Louis, probably for Washington D.C., to a limited degree for San Francisco, but emphatically so two years later for Boston.

Dissonance

When interviewed in Washington on 6 January 1941, Stravinsky said: "I want my music to be simple, relatively free of dissonance,"[333] perhaps thus seeking to dissociate himself in the public mind from having just mentioned Schoenberg. Probably he was also responding to another newspaper report there a day earlier, announcing his arrival: "We are at present in the midst of a reign of dissonance."[334] Certain comparisons ventured above about Damrosch's and Stravinsky's B-flat harmonizations

may now usefully be recalled and some others extended. In respect to primary triads in root position and their first inversions on scale degrees of B-flat major, Stravinsky employs about 30 percent fewer than does Damrosch; far, far fewer dominant sevenths; hardly any secondary dominant sevenths; and not a single diminished seventh. That is, he is exceedingly parsimonious with those (non-dissonant) chromatic chords—secondary dominants and diminished sevenths—by which, I believe, he characterized "its traditional coloristic harmonization" (meaning Damrosch's) to Fried early in January1942 as "not right." Here he probably conceived some kind of comparison (though surely forcing it a little) between "color" and "chroma," and thus linked "coloristic" with "chromatic."

Compensating for his considerable reduction in Damrosch's primary triads, Stravinsky employs many diatonic seventh chords (both major and minor), building them on primary scale degrees. But even with the most dissonant of them—the major seventh—he uses just the tonic B-flat major seventh chord and even that chord but five times, one being an exact repetition of the other (mm. 1/2, 3/2, 10/1–2, 12 [incomplete], and 15/2,); there is but one other, a single subdominant major seventh in first inversion (m. 22/3). Normally he places the former in weak metrical positions (second beat), most often as a passing chord. For the sake of good voice leading, however, he is unafraid of its harshest form, the last inversion, employing it at identical harmonic situations when the bass moves by step (mm. 3/2 and 15/2). By contrast, only one and the weakest possible passing reference to a major seventh chord occurs in Damrosch (m. 17/3). The less pungent minor seventh chord, totally absent from Damrosch, Stravinsky uses much more liberally (mm. 2, 3/1, 5/3, 7/2, 9/2, 10/3, 11, 13/3, 14/3, 17/2, 18/2, 19/3, 23/2). Thus from Stravinsky's point of view, eschewing those "coloristic" (chromatic, Romantic) 1917 chords might perhaps justify him claiming first to Andersson that his harmonization employed "the most severe classic voice leading," and subsequently to Fried "in a severe classic style."

It cannot be merely his few seventh and ninth chords that raised such hackles. More pungent and prolonged instances of his mostly passing dissonances abound in demotic music of the time. Recall, for example, such period favorites as Glenn Miller's "Moonlight Serenade" (1939) with sustained major seventh chords on the subdominant at "Let us stray" and, in the Marcus–Benjamin–Seiler "I Don't Want to Set the World on Fire" (1941), at "love"; Ruth Lowe's keening for her deceased spouse, "I'll Never Smile Again" (1939), which repeats a closely spaced incomplete dissonant ninth at every fermata on "nev-";

and Jerome Kern's "The Last Time I Saw Paris" (1940), with threefold onomatopoetic minor seconds at "taxicabs" and "squeaky horns." Moreover, by 1944 (directly after Boston) the editor of *Musical America* was reminding his readers that in the past they had often heard their national anthem performed in a "subtly changed and even enriched harmonization" allied with many a "seasoning passing note."

Expectations from a "Modernist"

That dissonance alone caused such public disquiet seems untenable in view of acceptance by both low and high brows of equal and even considerably higher levels of it in the day's popular music, not to mention wide audience exposure late in 1940 and thereafter to *The Rite of Spring* in Disney's *Fantasia*. Rather, Stravinsky's unexpected application of these chords to a melody upset a public habituated to hearing and singing it in one or the other "standard" harmonization. In 1920, for example, on the day of the premiere of *Pulcinella*, he had prepared its French public for his harmonizations of preexistent materials from the eighteenth century. "There are some innovations which cause surprise. But the ear becomes bit by bit sensitive to those effects which are at first shocking. There is a whole musical education to be undertaken."[335] Much later (June 1956) he declared in wonderful non-Crafted English (perhaps recycled from an interview in German in 1933): "Accustomcy to music is a fact with which we have to count."[336] But 1941 saw neither preparations nor declarations—surely because he felt no need for them.

Expectations of dissonance could only intensify the general public's unease apropos a self-disavowing modernist, not to mention an ultra-modernist. During the 1920s and 1930s the two French-American fashion magazines, *Vogue* and *Vanity Fair*, were strong advocates of Stravinsky's new works, in the words of Mary E. Davis, annexing "artistic modernism to high fashion."[337] She cites an anonymous reviewer for *Vogue* following a New York performance in January 1916 of his *Three Pieces for String Quartet* who declared: "The name Igor Stravinsky seems to stand for the last word in modernism."[338] Before going to America he had even mockingly conjured himself in 1922 into being "at the very *head of modern music*" ("à la *tête de la musique moderne*," his emphasis).[339] On his first visit to New York in 1925, critics and interviewers dubbed him a "modernist," even an "ultra-modernist," by which they apparently meant one who employed dissonance for shock effect. Interviewed there early in January, one reporter said to him: "But, you say you detest modern music and yet you are generally looked on as the forefront of the modernists."[340] A reviewer of his 25 January concert at

Aeolian Hall with soprano Greta Torpadie (1890–c.1970) called her the "official singer in America for Stravinsky and the other modernists."[341] To N. [S.?] Roerig, writing in English for an unidentified U.S. newspaper, Stravinsky tried to deflect such categorization: "I detest all modern music! In no way do I compose modern music, nor do I write music of the future; I write only for the present."[342] A month later in 1925 at Chicago an interviewer wrote: "The American public . . . thought of him as . . . reared from the cradle on a diet of discord . . . racking our nerves to create a sensation."[343] That same year Schoenberg even composed a choral satire on his own text, twice pillorying "der kleine Modernsky." And a decade later, when reviewing Stravinsky's and Dushkin's joint recital in San Francisco's Opera House (13 February 1935), Fried declared: "Everyone in the art and music circle wanted to see the Russian modernist."[344]

He struck back at his critics and their labels in his Harvard lectures, *Poétique musicale* (1939–40). He requested that one of his collaborators for these lectures, his friend Pierre Souvtchinsky (1892–1985), who had developed an outline of the lecture topics in April 1939, should add the terms *académisme* and *modernisme* to this outline for the fourth lecture, "Typologie musicale." This Souvtchinsky did, penciling into his original ink outline both the Russian and the French for the former term and adding the Russian for the latter (already present in his French text).[345] Stravinsky and his ghostwriter, Roland-Manuel (Roland Alexis Manuel Lévy, 1891–1966), then expanded this outline into six lectures in good French. In his fourth talk, Stravinsky called modernism "an ineffectual word" and "an abortive neologism," declaring that critics measure all new works "in terms of modernism" and use that term for "whatever appears [to them as] discordant and confused."[346]

But even had Alexis Kall's ultimately rejected English translation of the *Poétique musicale* appeared as first planned "early in the autumn" of 1940—the French text delayed until the summer of 1942 and a different English translation until 1947—it is unlikely that the next wave of American critics would have ceased their stereotyping.[347] Though interviewing him in December 1939 and writing "Stravinsky, known as an extreme modernist, says there is no such thing as 'modern music'" a mere two years later, at the time of the composer's premiere of the anthem in San Francisco, this same critic, Marie Hicks Davidson, was still dubbing him "the famous Russian modernist."[348] In December 1940 Stravinsky was called a "modernist" and disparaged as a "composer who can take a couple of notes and grind them into harsher dissonance than any man alive, who revels in high-priced discords and something else he calls atonal [*sic*] music."[349] Early in 1942 Fried complained

about "modern dissonances" in Stravinsky's new harmonization and Saunders recalled that at the premiere some "conservative" players in Sample's WPA Orchestra were "startled by its 'modernity.'"

By far the most astute critic in Los Angeles, Lawrence Morton was as weary as Stravinsky of the term. Just three weeks after the 1941 premiere, he wrote: "'Modern music' is not a term that *evaluates*, but a term that *describes*. It describes the materials of which music is made. . . . Modernity in music, however, is ephemeral; it too will pass away—long before the music which it characterizes."[350] Morton's actual review of the premiere best articulated the situation: "Everyone who feared that Stravinsky's new harmonization would sound like 'Sacre' or hoped that it would sound like 'Les Noces' jammed the Embassy Theater to hear the world premiere."[351] People would have felt the same had Stravinsky offered them a similar non-"coloristic" harmonization of a well-known Christmas carol or of "America the Beautiful." The settled expectation was that anything this "modernist" ever composed or arranged would be "dissonant." Apart from a few orchestra players, elite music lovers, and serious composers, Stravinsky's name during the 1930s and 1940s still signaled shock to the general American public.

Unhappy Patriots

With all-out efforts to defeat the Axis in Europe and Asia, the first half of the 1940s witnessed heightened feelings of patriotism in the United States. Readers of the *Los Angeles Times* were asked late in 1941 apropos Stravinsky's new harmonization: "Why . . . change our national anthem . . . in these perilous times when every vestige of patriotism is necessary?" The word "change" here and the several usages of "revise" by the Boston and New York press in 1944 understandably led some to hear that Stravinsky had done far more than merely "reharmonize." Inevitably, there were those who felt their patriotism, if not compromised, was at least bruised from encountering Stravinsky's arrangement. Such people did not welcome any new treatment. They had long since bonded with their own "standard," "usual," or "customary" harmonization—be it Damrosch's, the BSO's, Kindler's, or some other. They felt that it alone properly enshrined a treasured national artifact, forgetting (if they ever knew) that aside from the tune and its words no "official" version existed. No amount of information such as circulated by Morton in 1940, by the *Boston Sunday Globe*, or by *Musical America* that there was no officially approved harmonization would convince them otherwise. Moreover, the paranoia and jingoism that often enough accompany patriotism in time of war crop up early on. Morton reported hearing rumors in Los Angeles of "subversive intentions." Sample later

judged 1941–42 "an inappropriate time to introduce it" and quoted an unnamed (probably Los Angeles) critic who had decried "some Russian [person] meddling with our National Anthem."[352] Libbey in Boston accused the composer of "some underhand and sinister motive," only capping it with a derisive inquiry, "Is nothing in America sacred to these iconoclastic foreign minds?"[353] This last jab must have particularly galled the composer, who less than three years earlier had himself several times referred to the anthem as "sacred."

After Pearl Harbor, organizations such as the Pasadena Music Teachers' Association and the DAR protested. Although members of the latter did not protest nationally, apparently some did so regionally in order to protect Damrosch's harmonization, one that their national executive had deemed the "generally accepted 'standardized' version."

"Academic" Music—Rules Written and Unwritten

Many years before he wrote Feist in August 1941 to complain about Damrosch's setting, Stravinsky had delivered himself on the subject of academicism. Early in 1912, writing from Switzerland to his mother, he reiterated his distaste for "the activity of [Alexander] Glazunov and the other pillars of academicisim.... Academicism [is] a negative phenomenon ... submit to it or see something precious in it I will not."[354] In the fourth of his six lectures delivered at Harvard in 1939–40, he defined it as "composed strictly according to the precepts of the conservatory ... very useful and even indispensable to beginners" and in the next lecture allowed that he himself had benefited from Rimsky-Korsakov's "solid and most estimable academic instruction." It is even possible for contemporary composers (meaning himself) to "make use of academic forms without running the risk of becoming academic." Yet composers "who make an ideal of academicism ... produce stiffly correct works that are bloodless and dry." He concluded his discussion in lecture four by noting: "I do not have a temperament suited to academicism; so I always use academic formulas knowingly and voluntarily," and "I am no more academic than modern, no more modern than I am conservative."[355]

Stravinsky greatly esteemed the music of Joseph Haydn (1732–1809) and, before composing *The Rake's Progress* (1947–51), at times even above Mozart.[356] A statement Haydn reportedly made during his last decade about rules resembles Stravinsky's own convictions. Haydn: "Art is free, and will be limited by no pedestrian rules. The ear, assuming it is trained, must decide and I consider myself as competent as any to legislate here."[357] After observing to his student Andersson early in 1941 that "whenever Rimsky-Korsakov tries for form he becomes academic," on 15 May Stravinsky instructed Andersson: "Write this way

because the ear orders it."[358] Craft's 1949 diary quotes Stravinsky: "Every element of musical composition has its rules."[359] Expanding this a decade later, Stravinsky declared that academicism results "when the reasons for the rule change, but not the rule." According to him, an "academic composer" would concern himself "more with the old rule than with the new reality."[360] For both Haydn and Stravinsky, of course, the only rule operative was knowing those of the game.

Stravinsky spoke twice more about "academic music." After he had composed *In Memoriam Dylan Thomas* in March 1954, Lawrence Morton asked him what he had known about the "twelve-tone system" in 1935 when he was finishing his *Concerto for Two Solo Pianos*. He replied: "Very little . . . and I probably would have thought it very academic. . . . But I do resist the academic approach, except that I find it very interesting to experience the serial method . . . so long as the harmony is correct. I must have the correct harmony!"[361] Two years later he made a similar assertion to Ansermet, stating that in serial writing vertical combinations "must justify themselves before God!"[362] Craft corrects Ansermet's misunderstanding about the deity's role. He shows that Stravinsky meant that he had to make the vertical combinations "right in his art, since rules did not exist."[363] Thus in respect to the harmonizations in his several "Star-Spangled Banners," we might expect them to be "correct" by his lights and that for him "the old rule" signified the normal triads, seventh chords, secondary dominants, and other chromatically altered chords familiar, even passé, to Damrosch's generation. Ansermet, his collaborator over many years, hinted in 1961 at what Stravinsky meant by "the new reality." He observed that whereas for us (educated in Western musical mores), a melody always implies its own possible harmonizations,

> it seems that for Stravinsky a melody has no harmonic implications at all, or rather for him a melody is self-sufficient. So that a harmonization which would be natural [in Western tradition] for the melody is the last thing that he would think of adding to it. When we had heard a melody that had pleased us and we repeated it at the piano for each other, he would never find its harmonization and would dress it up with the most unexpected chords.[364]

Ansermet's remarks have been interpreted as perhaps meaning that Stravinsky lacked a "natural" feeling for harmony.[365] Yet Ansermet's careful avoidance in French of the auxiliary "could" makes it unlikely that he believed this, let alone that Stravinsky lacked expertise in harmonizing a melody in any traditional sense. After all, a reasonably diligent student could and would have learned this technique from a year's

study and Stravinsky's two earliest surviving works from 1902, composed while he was studying harmony and counterpoint (late 1901–mid-1904), demonstrate ample familiarity with "the old rule" and "natural" harmonies.

Stravinsky certainly knew Ansermet's 1961 book, which irritated him.[366] It may even have provoked him to publish a year later his recollections about studying (among other theoretical disciplines) between 1902–4 "the harmonization of chorale melodies." His harmony teacher was both "particular about voice leading and scornful of the 'interesting new chords'" dear to young composers. When pressed for an explanation as to why such "new chords" were unsuitable for the task at hand, the teacher instructed Stravinsky "to appeal to my ear as the first and last test."[367] His theory teachers, former students of Rimsky-Korsakov, certainly used their master's slightly revised *Practical Course in Harmony* of 1893, a book, in Taruskin's words, "exceptionally concise, laconic, and hence dogmatic."[368] Rimsky's foreword in 1886 states that "within eight working months" a student should, among other tasks, be able to accomplish the following: "1) Harmonization of a chorale melody in strict harmony; 2) harmonization of a chorale, with strict melodic figuration in the three lower voices, the melody being left intact; 3) harmonization of a chorale in free style."[369] Needless to say, Rimsky's text includes no provision (except as components during a sequential chain) for those major sevenths that appear as independent chords in Stravinsky's "The Star-Spangled Banners."

It was by the process of appealing to his ear "as the first and last test," for which there is ample documentation during his entire compositional life, that Stravinsky found "correct harmony." His artist son Théodore well described this process: "He always composes at the piano . . . because of his need for direct contact with the elements of sound, wanting, despite his experience and his memory, to re-test in some way with his ear every chord, every interval, every succession of notes."[370] Commenting on Stravinsky's extraordinary remark during a composition class at Harvard (probably late April 1940) about his "discovering" a simple D-major triad for his *Oedipus Rex* (1926–27), Professor Walter Piston (1894–1976) observed that "Stravinsky regarded every chord as an individual sonority, having many attributes above and beyond the tones selected from a scale or altered this way and that," an observation as trenchant as Jann Passler's about "Stravinsky's attitude toward chords as sonic rather than functional entities."[371] Creative reliance on his ear rather than on "the old rule" or on "natural" harmonies in his four harmonizations of "The Star-Spangled Banner" thus perfectly exemplifies a statement he made some twenty years later: "My music . . . followed

rules that were not written, but I hope that I have added something *new* to what was *existing*."[372]

Perhaps that "gradual replacement" in the public's ear and mind advocated by his publisher might now commence with our nation embracing Stravinsky's wonderful B-flat-major setting, made for Independence Day 1941. Contemporaneous reviewers considered it "dignified," "respectful," and above all—joined by the composer himself, and even by one hostile critic—"reverent." Not unlike that wartime period of his anthem harmonizations some six decades ago, our own new Age of Anxiety has arrived. It may be a propitious time to turn away from the undoubtedly sincere but ragged and wobbly improvisatory renditions so often grafted upon what he persuasively characterized in July 1941 as "this noble national chorale" and "noble national song"—to one he "chose to harmonize and orchestrate." However skittish and intentionally commercially beguiling Stravinsky's wording in his telegram to Feist on 11 August 1941 was, it now seems indisputable that he had created a "piece . . . for chorus and orchestra of National importance."

Appendix

1a. Autograph cover, "THE / STAR-SPANGLED / BANNER"; red crayon, within red and blue crayon frame; 1 p., 13.5×10.5 cm. Basel, PSS: MS 111, R 146.

1b. Autograph, anthem's melody only, B-flat major (folded within 1a), on three rastrum-drawn staves: "Hollywood Bowl / 27 Aug [month in Russian abbr.] 40"; pencil, 1 p., 13.5×21 cm. (facsimiles of 1a–1b in *Settling New Scores*, 159, pl. 84). PSS: MS 111, R 146.

2. Autograph (pre-compositional, June 1941) markings on Stravinsky's copy of a four-voiced mixed chorus and piano arrangement, B-flat major, of *The Star-Spangled Banner, A Standardized Version of the Melody* [harmonized by Walter Damrosch, copyright 1918] (New York: G. Schirmer, c.1937), no. 28279; red pencil, 3 pp., 31×23 cm. Washington D.C., LC: ML 96.S94 Case.

3. Autograph, six (unnumbered) brief sketches, undated and untexted, B-flat major, on the fourth leaf (one of 4) made by twice folding a large Royal folio sheet vertically and then horizontally. (The Royal folio sheet itself, 36×46.2 cm., is one of three such large twice-folded sheets loosely inserted among ninety-two pages of 1940–42 sketches for *Danses concertantes* in his Skizzenbuch XI). The six unsigned sketches, all on rastrum-drawn staves, are for the final twelve measures

of "The Star-Spangled Banner" (two versions each for mm. 21–22 and for mm. 23–24) and are distributed thus: five sketches on one side of a verso, pencil, 36×23.1 cm., plus one sketch, pencil, on a facing recto (also containing data pertaining to *Danses concertantes*); probably early June 1941 (see no. 4 below; one sketch seems only partially transcribed in *Pictures and Documents*, 648, n. 55). PSS: MS R 142.

4. Autograph untexted compositional draft, B-flat major, piano solo [16 June 1941]; cover, the title only inscribed in red pencil on three five-lined, rastrum-drawn staves, unevenly spaced: "The STAR- / -Spangled-/ -Banner" and below in black ink: "Harmonized by / Igor Strawinsky / in June 1941". Cover encloses 2 pp. of music, p. 1 inscribed on four pairs of rastrum-drawn staves, headed in red ink: "The Star-Spangled Banner" and below in black ink: "Harmonized by Igor Strawinsky / June 1941"; p. 2: one pair of rastrum-drawn staves, and below in black ink, "Souvenir to / Earnest Andersson / for his inspiration / to do this version / of this nobel [*sic*] american / national corale [*sic*]/ with my best feelings / Igor Strawinsky / 1941." Pencil, three pages, 25×19.5 cm., torn from a spiral notebook bought by Earnest Andersson for Stravinsky; cover page bears non-autograph "35" penciled on upper-right corner; Stravinsky gave no. 4 to Andersson by 9 July 1941. Sample–Andersson private collection, Penn. (henceforth, S–A priv. coll.).

4a. Autograph inscription, three sides of six-sided yellow pencil with attached eraser (originally owned by Earnest Andersson) and stamped "FOX FILM CORPORATION MADE IN USA No. 2: [inscribed by Stravinsky] 'STAR-SPANGLED-BANNER / JUNE 16—1941 / Igor STRAWINSKY,'" black ink. No. 4a was used to notate no. 4 on 16 June 1941, the newly inscribed pencil returned to Andersson, probably the next day. S–A priv. coll.

4b. Photostat of no. 4 stamped as made in Los Angeles on 8 July 1941 by Bowman, Economy Blue Print & Supply Co.; 27.9×21.6 cm. LC: ML 96.5.S865 Case, Gift of Igor Stravinsky, 22 December 1964.

5. Autograph fair copy, four-voiced mixed chorus and piano, written on three staves (S and A on single stave) and piano (two staves), B-flat major, headed: "The Star-Spangled Banner / Harmonized by / Igor Strawinsky / 1941," and at bottom of p. 1: "Copyright by Igor Strawinsky, 1941" (without copyright number); ink, three pages, 31.7×24.2 cm., on printed fourteen-stave paper, G. Schirmer, Royal Brand, No. 68, with non-autograph no. "40" penciled at upper right of p. 1; (pre-8 July 1941, see below, no. 5c). LC: ML 96.S94 Case, Gift of Igor Stravinsky, 22 December 1964.

5a. Autograph dedication on (unstamped, undated [8 July]) photostat of no. 5; p. 1, upper left: "To you, dear Mr Andersson / with my best feelings / Igor Strawinsky" and given to Andersson by 9 July; ink (some smearing), 3 pp., 27.9×21.6 cm. S–A priv. coll.

5b. Autograph dedication on attached blank page to (unstamped, undated [8 July]) photostat of no. 5; p. 1: "Dear Mr Sample / Happy to send you my version of your / noble national song witch [*sic*] your suggestion / brought about / very sincerely yours / Igor Strawinsky / July 1941"; ink, 4 pp., 27.9×21.6 cm. S–A priv. coll.

5c. Photostat of no. 5, stamped as made in Los Angeles on 8 July 1941 by Bowman, Economy Blue Print; also stamped on p. 1: © C1 E unpub 267324 (assigned on) 1 August 1941 (a new copyright no., 37275, was recorded early in September), 3 pp., 27.9×21.6 cm. LC: ML 96.5.S865 Case.

5d. Autograph dedication, mostly in alternating red and blue inks on red and black printed title page of the first 25-cent printed edition of no. 5, c.25.5×c.18 cm. At top right, within autograph red ink rectangle: "Copy No. 1"; top left [blue ink:] "To you" [red:] dear / [blue:] Mr [red:] Andersson / [blue:] from [red:] your / [blue:] Igor / [red:] Strawinsky / [red:] 1 [blue:] 9 [red:] 4 [blue:] 1" (5d is one of several printed copies, printed c.5 Sept. 1941 by Mercury Music Corporation and received by composer, c.13 Sept.; performance restrictions effective 1 Sept. 1944, printed on p. 2, are lacking in Mercury's second and larger 30-cent issue, with red and blue ink cover, of mid-Oct. 1941, 31.2×23.1 cm.). S–A priv. coll.

5e. Autograph pitch alterations, solely in choral parts (p. 2, mm. 1–5, only), on one 25-cent exemplar of no. 5d; pencil (one of two copies retained by Stravinsky). LC: Stravinsky-Craft collection (uncatalogued); PSS: one unmarked exemplar.

5f. Scribal copy of no. 5 (of unknown date and hand), an ozalid (blueline) of no. 5; 4 pp., 32×c.25 cm., on commercially printed ten-stave paper. LC: ML 96.S94 Case, Stravinsky-Craft donation.

6. Autograph fair-copy full score, four-voiced mixed chorus and large orchestra, B-flat major, headed "The Star-Spangled Banner / harmonized and orchestrated / by Igor Strawinsky (1941)," at bottom: "Copyright by Igor Strawinsky, 1941" and on p. 3 (along lower-right margin): "Finished July 4, 1941 Igor Strawinsky"; ink, 3 pp., 43.2×34.6 cm., on special twenty-seven-stave paper (printed for EARNEST ANDERSSON, both his names scraped away), with autograph metronome mark "M.M. ♩= 80" (p. 1), and several corrections and additions, traces only remaining. Mounted on a single larger page, 47.6×41.9 cm. (the binding of the entire volume, 49.5×44.5 cm., is

signed in gilt by Charles L. Malotte of Los Angeles), this three-page autograph score is preceded by a similar large page with autograph signed statement in black ink, dated "1941" (see above, version A); the statement precedes equally large pages that mount one typed smaller page, 27.9×21.6 cm., of "Remarks" by Karl Wecker given at the premiere and, finally, its printed program, 20.5×14 cm. (folded), 14 Oct. 1941, which also cites (but does not print) "REMARKS" by Stravinsky, who later had no. 6 sent to President Roosevelt. LC: ML 96.S44 Case, Vault.

6a. Autograph inscription: "Photostat-negative / of / My STAR-SPANGLED BANNER/ orch. score manuscript / IStr." ink, on large, slightly torn brown paper folder enclosing a large negative (unstamped, undated) photostat [pre-8 July] of no. 6 (score only and lacking a few key-signature flats on pp. 1–2 and the autograph's metronome mark), but showing additional autograph dynamic marks, white ink, probably made on 9 July. Except for the latter, no. 6a is identical to smaller unstamped, undated positive photostat, no. 6b; 3 pp., 43.2×34.6 cm. LC: ML, PC 16, Gift of Robert Craft.

6b. Autograph inscription on (unstamped, undated positive) photostat [pre 8 July] made directly from negative photostat no. 6a (although before no. 6a's autograph white ink additions): "Dear Mr Andersson / Here you have my own version / of your noble national chorale. / My wish was to mold this music / in the traditions of the most severe / classic voice leading, witch [*sic*] is / quite diffirent [sic] from the usual / scholarly conception of this kind / of song / Very sincerely / yours / Igor Strawinsky / July 1941" given to Andersson by 9 July; ink, 3 pp., 27.9×21.6 cm. The first two pages of no. 6b, like those of no. 6a, differ slightly from no. 6c. S–A priv. coll.; PSS: one uninscribed exemplar (unstamped and undated), also lacking a few key-signature flats, and without copyright.

6c. Photostat (positive) of no. 6 (score only, but lacking its autograph metronome mark); stamped as made in Los Angeles on 8 July 1941 by Bowman, Economy Blue Print; 3 pp., 27.9×21.6 cm; no. 6c is also stamped on p. 1: © CI E unpub 267325 (assigned on) 1 Aug. 1941 (a new copyright no., 37276, was recorded early in Sept.). Several necessary flats added, pp. 1–2, distinguish it from nos. 6a–b. (Published, New York: Mercury Music Corporation, Dec. 1941; 3 pp., 32.8×23.5 cm., price: $1, including a facsimile similar to the autograph signed statement in no. 6, but recopied a little carelessly and dated: "October, 1941"; see above, version B). LC: ML 96.5.S865 Case.

6d. Autograph dedication on title page, upper right, of printed edition of full score (New York: Mercury Music Corporation, Dec. 1941; 3 pp.; see no. 6c above): "To James Sample / my best wishes for a very / happy/ new / year / IStrawinsky / Dec 30th / 1941"; ink. S–A priv. coll.

7. Unlocated edition, "Star Spangled Banner harmonized Igor Strawinsky; mixed cho[rus] © Sept. 8, 1941; E pub. 97364; Mercury Music Corp[oration], New York" and later that month assigned a new copyright no., "37277." Neither autograph nor edition of this arrangement, apparently for unaccompanied mixed chorus, is known, although Stravinsky wrote Feist, 14 Sept. 1941 (PSS), as just then "making" an arrangement for "mixed chorus a capella [*sic*]," too late, however, for this particular copyright; see LC Catalog of Copyright Entries, pt. 3 (1941), no. 8, 1491, no. 37277.

8. Autograph textless piano solo, B-flat major, on cover page, 29.9×21.6 cm., "The Star Spangled Banner / Manuscript / of my version (piano- / -arrangement) / Igor Strawinsky / 1941," its music page headed: "The Star Spangled Banner" and signed lower right: "Harmonized by / Igor Strawinsky / 1941"; one (folded) sheet, ink, 2 pp., 29.9×43.2 cm., on 3 carefully rastrum-drawn double staves. No. 8 may well date from June–July 1941; it was perhaps sent to Mrs. Roosevelt (after Nov. 1941), though certainly later to Klaus Mann, as shown by Stravinsky's accompanying signed typed letter of 13 September 1943; an autographed photograph taken by Edwin McQuoid, 28–29 Oct. 1940 (see Slim, *Annotated Catalogue*, no. 73), accompanied no. 8. Kansas City MO, Western Historical Manuscript Collection, University of Missouri, Kansas City.

9. Autograph (across spine) on heavy cardboard folder: "My / arrangement / of / the / National / Anthem [red double underlining] / 1) orch. / parts [red underlining] 2) Choral / parts 3) full / score"; black ink, 31.7×25 cm. (folded). Autograph cover: "1260 No Wetherly Drive / Hollywood (Calif) / Crestview 1.4858" and below: "STAR SPANGLED BANNER" with each letter outlined in red and blue crayon. PSS (this folder, no. 9, now contains just one photostat: the first page only of no. 13, D major, below).

10. Autograph inscription on empty envelope: "THE STAR SPANGLED BANNER / Rough Sketches / piano score & male chorus a cappella / (1941)"; pencil, 25.5×13 cm. PSS: MS 111.

10a. Autograph annotations in Russian about ranges for first and second tenor, baritone, and bass voices (from high A for tenor 1 to low E for bass, for the September D-major harmonizations); two differently sized pages of very thin paper, the first, pencil, 15.9×11 cm., roughly

written; the second, pencil, 18.2×11 cm., more neatly written (see nos. 11–13 below). PSS: MS 111.

10b. Autograph Russian text (19 lines) concerning a request made to Stravinsky to participate in a patriotic WPA concert in Los Angeles with his newly harmonized composition of the chorale, the Star-Spangled Banner: "that you are going to hear now"; signed "IStr."; pencil, 1 p., 20.3×12.5 cm. PSS: MS 111.

11. Autograph accompanied textless four-voiced men's chorus (copied on two staves) with piano below, D major; cover: "STAR SPANGLED / BANNER / for / male choir and / piano / by / Igor Strawinsky"; 1 p., 31.7×24.2 cm. (all double underlines and letters outlined in red and blue crayon), plus three same-sized pages, the first headed: "STAR SPANGLED BANNER"; pencil, on printed fourteen-stave paper, G. Schirmer Royal Brand, No. 68; p. 3 initialed "IStr" is outlined in red and blue (completed by 14 September 1941). PSS: MS 111.

12. Autograph unaccompanied textless four-voiced men's chorus, D major, headed: "The STAR SPANGLED BANNER / for Male chorus / a capella / by Igor Strawinsky / Sept 41" (the title underlined in pencil; double underlinings in red and blue) and signed "IStr" at end of p. 2; pencil, 2 pp., 31.7×24.2 cm., on printed fourteen-stave paper, G. Schirmer Royal Brand, No. 68. PSS.

12a. Scribal (non-autograph) copy of no. 12, headed: "THE STAR SPANGLED BANNER / for male chorus / a cappella / by Igor Stravinsky / Sept 1941" (double underlining in red and blue); pencil, two (joined) pages, each 31.7×24.2 cm., on printed fourteen-stave paper, G. Schirmer Royal Brand, No. 68. PSS.

13. Autograph fair copy, unaccompanied textless four- to six-voiced men's chorus, D major [September 1941], outer cover: "The Star Spangled Banner / for / Male Chorus / by I Stravinsky"; ink, 31.7×24.2 cm.; plus ink on two same-sized (inner) pages joined by Scotch tape; printed fourteen-stave paper, G. Schirmer Royal Brand, No. 68, the first page headed "The Star Spangled Banner / Harmonized and / arranged for male chorus / by Igor Stravinsky (1941)" and at bottom of same page, "Copyright by Igor Stravinsky 1941"; the final (outer) page is without notation. (Despite "Copyright," no printed ed. of no. 13 is known; facs. ed., omitting cover page, in *A Stravinsky Scrapbook*, 12–13). PSS.

14. Autograph cover, "Igor Stravinsky / 1260 No. Wetherly Dr / Hollywood, / Calif /" and below: "Strings. 8-7-5-5-4," for a set of printed orchestral parts (see no. 6, above), B-flat major, $3.50; ink,

c.25.5×c.18 cm. (New York: Mercury, c.3 Dec. 1941); cover is printed in red and blue ink (possibly no. 14 was originally stored in no. 9, above). LC: Stravinsky-Craft collection (uncatalogued); PSS: a non-autograph cover and one non-autograph manuscript for Clarinet 3.

15. Autograph inscription in six whole notes, B-flat major, with a French text, on commercially printed Christmas card on two rastrum-drawn staves with autograph message above in French and signed: "Igor et Vera Strawinsky / nöel 1941"; ink, 1 p., 19×29 cm. when opened (facs. in Slim, *Annotated Catalogue*, 233, no. 76). Vancouver, University of British Columbia, Main Library.

Notes

H. Colin Slim taught at the University of Chicago, the University of California, Santa Barbara, the Graduate Center of the City University of New York, and the University of California, Irvine, until retiring in 1994. Trained at the University of British Columbia and at Harvard, he was active as a duo-pianist and orchestral conductor. He has published widely on Renaissance vocal and keyboard music, and also on their relationships to the visual arts, and has edited operas by A. Scarlatti and Rossini. His publications include *A Gift of Madrigals and Motets*; *The Prodigal Son at the Whores': Music, Art, and Drama*; and *Painting Music in the Sixteenth Century: Essays in Iconography*. Recently, he has published five studies on Stravinsky, including an *Annotated Catalogue* of his Stravinsky collection, which he donated to U.B.C. in 2002; the article "Sir Arthur Faulkner Hears Paganini at Mainz" (in *Music Libraries and the Academy*), and a study of an oil portrait of Wilhelmina Schroeder-Devrient, "Joseph Weber's Diva, *pinxit* 1839" (in *Music in Art*, v. 31). Mailing address: 1154 Woodside Road; Berkeley, CA 94708.

1. See William W. Austin, *Music in the 20th Century: from Debussy through Stravinsky* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1966), 268–70; Richard Taruskin, *Stravinsky and the Russian Traditions: A Biography of the Works Through Mavra*, 2 vols. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 2:1183–89; and Stephen Walsh, *Stravinsky: A Creative Spring: Russia and France 1882–1934* (New York: Knopf, 1999), 276–77 (henceforth, Walsh, *Stravinsky I*).

2. Walsh, in *Stravinsky I*, 285, notes that he finished his "Ragtime" on the morning of the Armistice.

3. Dated 1 Jan. 1919; see excerpts from and discussion of this harmonization in Louis Andriessen and Elmer Schönberger, *The Apollonian Clockwork: On Stravinsky*, trans. Jeff Hamburg (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 28–29.

4. George J. Svejda, *History of the Star Spangled Banner from 1814 to the Present* (Washington, D.C.: Division of History, Office of Archeology and Historical Preservation, 1976), 384.

5. For this report and the ensuing incidents, see Svejda, *History*, 344–52.

6. Thomas M. Leonard, *Day by Day: The Forties*, ed. Richard Burbank and Steven L. Goulden (New York: Facts on File, 1977), 144. This action would result, according to the *New York Times*, 12 July 1941, 11, in at least 22,000 weekly performances of the anthem in New York alone.

7. *New York Times*, 23 Nov. 1941, pt. 4, 7; 14 Dec. 1941, pt. 4, 9; and 11 Dec. 1941, 26.

8. B. Vernon Steele, "Our National Anthem," *Pacific Coast Musician* 31, no. 2 (17 Jan. 1942): 4.

9. See "Wanted—A New National Anthem," *Rob Wagner's Script* 24 (20 July 1940): 1; and Morton, "Music Notes," *Rob Wagner's Script* 26 (30 Aug. 1941): 18 (henceforth, *Script*). See also Douglas Moore, "How to Sing 'The Star-Spangled Banner,'" *Musical America* 62 (10 Feb. 1942): 30, 243; and for our own period, Michael Wilson, "You Can Name That Tune, But Sing It? / Project Reteaches National Anthem," *New York Times*, 14 Mar. 2006, A15, noting that a Harris poll of 2,200 citizens discovered that 61 percent did not know all the words.

10. Svejda, *History*, 302–3 and 396–97.

11. See Lawrence Morton, "Music Notes," *Script* 24 (19 Oct. 1940): 27; and H. Colin Slim, *Annotated Catalogue of the H. Colin Slim Stravinsky Collection Donated by Him to the University of British Columbia Library* (Vancouver, CA: Benwell-Atkins, 2002), nos. 77 and 79. Morton's review of the premiere of Stravinsky's arrangement of the anthem, "Music Notes," *Script* 26 (25 Oct. 1941): 29, highly recommends it to Brodetsky for his ensemble.

12. See Svejda, *History*, 303–4; "No Official Version Exists of 'The Star-Spangled Banner,'" *Boston Sunday Globe*, 23 Jan. 1944, 38; Robert J. Garofalo, *Frederick Shepherd Converse (1871–1940): His Life and Music* (London: Scarecrow Press, 1994), 64–65; and Walsh, *Stravinsky I*, 405–6 and 641n52.

13. See Igor Stravinsky and Robert Craft, *Memories and Commentaries* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1960), pl. 3, 120–21, from originals in "Two Celebrities Roll a Hoop," *Life* 2, no. 17 (26 Apr. 1937): 60. His reasons for reharmonizing the anthem are set forth in *Memories and Commentaries*, 93, and in its revised edition, ed. Craft (New York: Faber & Faber, 2002), 234.

14. Color facsimile of it and its cover in *Settling New Scores: Music Manuscripts from the Paul Sacher Foundation*, ed. Felix Meyer (Mainz: Schott, 1998), 159, no. 84; and facsimiles in Robert Craft, *A Stravinsky Scrapbook 1940–1971* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 1983), 13, nos. 18–19; no. 18 misleadingly crops and converts the anthem's rectangular cover from portrait into landscape format. Stravinsky's mention of the anthem as "l'hymne américain" during lecture two of his *Poetics of Music* delivered at Harvard University in Oct. 1939 does not by itself guarantee how well he then knew it.

15. See note 9 above, "Wanted," 1–2.

16. Richard D[rake] Saunders, "Reviewer Hits Boston Arrest of Stravinsky," *Citizen-News*, 11 Mar. 1944, 12.

17. James Sample, handwritten notes, c.1970; in his six-hour taped interview, c.1972, by Grieg Aspnes (died 2004; related by marriage to Ernestine Anderson–Sample); and in his taped interview, 1992, all in the Sample–Andersson private collection, PA

(henceforth, S–A priv. coll.). I am deeply indebted to the owner of this collection for so generously allowing me access to its resources, for permission to publish, and to Richard Leppert for contacting the owner on my behalf.

18. Sample–Aspnes, taped interview, c.1972 (S–A priv. coll.). On her, see *Music and Dance in California*, ed. José Rodriguez (Hollywood, CA: J. Perlman, Bureau of Musical Research, 1940), 370 (with photograph); and *Music and Dance in California and the West*, ed. Richard Drake Saunders (Hollywood, CA: Drake-William, Bureau of Musical Research, 1948), 212; for her comedic pursuit of the Stravinskys, see *Dearest Bubushkin: The Correspondence of Vera and Igor Stravinsky, 1921–1954, with Excerpts from Vera Stravinsky's Diaries, 1922–1971*, trans. Lucia Davidova, ed. Robert Craft (New York: Thames & Hudson, 1985), 10 Feb. 1941 (henceforth, *Bubushkin*).

19. Dates are incorrect in Vera Stravinsky and Robert Craft, *Stravinsky in Pictures and Documents* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1978), 359 (henceforth, *Pictures and Documents*); and in Stravinsky, *Selected Correspondence*, ed. Robert Craft, vol. 2 (New York: Knopf, 1984), 311. See *Bubushskin*, 21 and 27 Feb., 22 Apr. 1941. Andersson was made a Doctor of Music, *honoris causa*, by the New York College of Music, 1 May 1943.

20. Earnest Andersson, handwritten diary, 1941, 8: "Apr. 22" (S–A priv. coll.); *Bubushkin*, 22 Apr. 1941. An edition of this diary is in preparation. Sample had been superbly trained at the École Monteux des Chefs and much praised; see John Canarina, *Pierre Monteux, Maître* (Pompton Plains, NJ: Amadeus Press, 2003), 171. Sample received two doctorates, *honoris causa:* in music from the New York College of Music, 1 June 1942, and a Doctor of Laws from Ganon College (now Ganon University), 27 Apr. 1963.

21. Amory, letter (carbon copy) to Hunter, 2 [*sic*] Aug. 1941, indicating carbon copies to Karl Wecker and Culbert C. Olson, governor of California (S–A priv. coll.).

22. Andersson, handwritten diary, 1941, 36–37 (S–A priv. coll.), shows that on 19 June Stravinsky even offered to lend Sample his *Volga Boatmen* for two *free* performances! The Berkeley composer Charles Cushing evinced similar interest in 1946; see Slim, *Annotated Catalogue*, 300.

23. Sample, handwritten notes, c.1970; Sample–Aspnes, taped interview, c.1972; Sample, letter to Norman Lebrecht, May 1986; and Sample, taped interview, 1992 (S–A priv. coll.).

24. Andersson, handwritten diary, 1941, 33–35 (S–A priv. coll.).

25. Sample, handwritten notes, c.1970; Sample–Aspnes, taped interview, c.1972; and Sample, taped interview, 1992 (S–A priv. coll.).

26. Stravinsky and Craft, *Memories and Commentaries* (1960), 93. Considering the two authors' conversation as taking place in 1958–59 stems from the date of the lower plate facing 121, "[Oct.] 1959," and the bracketed years, "Oct., 1958–Apr., 1959," at 154.

27. Lawrence Morton Papers, Box 85, Special Collections 1522, Charles E. Young Research Library, University of California at Los Angeles; see Slim, *Annotated Catalogue*, 231.

28. Andersson, handwritten diary, 1941, 33, 45, and 50–51 (S–A priv. coll.). Positive photostats of this autograph and of its two companion autographs (Appendix.,

nos. 4b, 5c, 6c) are each stamped 8 July 1941 by one Bowman of the Economy Blueprint Company in Los Angeles, hence Andersson's notation, 9 July, 51: "(dated by B/B Co)."

29. See, for example, Bruno David Ussher, "Sounding Board / WPA Concert," *Daily News* (Los Angeles), 29 Oct. 1941, 20; Richard D. Saunders, "Hollywood," *Musical Courier* 124 (15 Nov. 1941): 28; and Slim, *Annotated Catalogue*, 231–32 (information there about a putative 1940 sketch is incorrect). On Sample, see *The International Who Is Who in Music, Fifth (Mid-Century) Edition*, ed. J. T. H. Mize (Chicago, IL: Who Is Who in Music, Inc., Ltd., 1951), 363 with pl.; and *Who's Who in the Midwest, 1976–1977*, 15th ed. (Chicago, IL: Marquis, 1977), 638. Arlis Dale, Music Department of the College of St. Catherine, St. Paul, kindly furnished Sample's death date, 7 Oct. 1995, from a useful obituary in the Erie, Penn. *Times*.

30. "U.S. Anthem Variation Awaits Premiere," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 13 Oct. 1941, dated "Los Angeles 12 Oct."; unpaginated newspaper clipping (S–A priv. coll.).

31. Sample, inscribed copy (S–A priv. coll.).

32. Chronicled in Stravinsky's own diary (PSS); see *Bubushkin*, 119–27, esp. 8 Mar. 1941.

33. Andersson, handwritten diary, 1941, 37 and 54 (S–A priv. coll.). H. Colin Slim, "Stravinsky's *Scherzo à la Russe* and Its Two-Piano Origins," in *Essays on Music and Culture in Honor of Herbert Kellman*, ed. Barbara Haggh (Paris: Minèrve, 2001), 526, cites another example of Stravinsky using Andersson's same large music paper several years later, this time inking out the name of his by-then deceased student.

34. Andersson, handwritten diary, 1941, 41–42, 45, 48, and 50–51 (S–A priv. coll.). The photostatic process first made a (nontransparent) negative photostat, then rephotographed it to make positive images, called photostats, of the desired size. For example, Stravinsky had invited Andersson on 22 Apr. "to keep [the] negatives" from a different assignment to make photostats; Andersson, handwritten diary, 1941, 10–11. Further, see William D. O'Toole, "Copying Machines," in *Encyclopedia Americana* 7 (Danbury, CT: Grolier, 1999), 771–72.

35. Sample–Aspnes, taped interview, c.1972 (S–A priv. coll.).

36. See n. 34 above, for a summary of the photostat process and the discussion below about Stravinsky's proofreading.

37. Andersson, handwritten diary, 1941, 48 and 50 (S–A priv. coll.).

38. *Bubushkin*, 28 July 1941.

39. See *Library of Congress, Copyright Office, Catalog of Copyright Entries, Part 3, Musical Compositions including List of Renewals, 1941*, n.s. 36, no. 8 (Washington, D.C.: 1941), 1491, nos. 37275, 37276. Both initial certificates (PSS) were issued on 1 Aug. 1941 by the Copyright Office, nos. "E unp. 267324: Voice and piano SATB" and "E unp. 267325: harmonization and orchestration of the Air."

40. Sample–Aspnes, taped interview, c.1972 (S–A priv. coll.).

41. Sample–Aspnes, taped interview, c.1972 (S–A priv. coll.).

42. Edward N. Waters, letter to Grieg Aspnes, 30 June 1972 (S–A priv. coll.).

43. See plate with "Mardi . . . Éditeur Feist" facing title page of *Bubushkin* and *Musical Courier* 123 (1 Feb. 1941): 133. On *Tango*, see Walsh, *Stravinsky: The Second Exile:*

France and America, 1934–1971 (New York: Knopf, 2006), 121, 131, 600n61, and 602n37 (henceforth, *Stravinsky II*). Having given a copy of *Tango* to Andersson on 30 May 1941, Stravinsky subsequently discussed with him the Goodman–Iturbi quarrel about it of that June; see Andersson, handwritten diary, 1941, 30, 46–47 (S–A priv. coll); "Iturbi Refuses to Conduct Concert for Benny Goodman," *Los Angeles Times*, 27 June 1941, 13; "José Iturbi in Rage Over Benny Goodman," *New York Times*, 27 June 1941, 15; and "Iturbi Refuses to Appear with Goodman," *Musical America* 61 (July 1941): 14.

44. See above, n. 21, Amory letter to Hunter (S–A priv. coll.).

45. Telegram to Feist, 11 Aug. 1941, correspondence with publishers in the Stravinsky archives, Paul Sacher Stiftung, Basel (henceforth, PSS). I wish to thank Dr. Ulrich Mosch and his very helpful assistants for their many kindnesses extended to me whilst working at the Sacher Foundation, May 2006; see also Walsh, *Stravinsky II*, 132 and 602n40. I am much indebted to Professor Walsh for so kindly sharing in advance of the publication of *Stravinsky II* his proofs and his notes about portions of this correspondence and to Professor Keith Polk.

46. Telegram to Stravinsky, 12 Aug. 1941 (PSS).

47. Letter to Feist of 14 Aug. 1941 (PSS), most of it in *Pictures and Documents*, 368 and 556, with some parts paraphrased by Walsh, *Stravinsky II*, 132 and 602n42. *Pace* Walsh, the premiere was to be in Los Angeles, not Washington.

48. Kerr, letter (copy) to Amory, 21 Aug. 1941 (S–A priv. coll.).

49. Hunter, letter to Amory, 20 Aug. 1941, in the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, N.Y. Official File 240, Gifts to the Government: Miscellaneous 1941–45 (henceforth, FDRL). I am greatly indebted to Matthew C. Hanson, archives technician, who located these documents and kindly sent me photocopies.

50. Framed by owner, 44.5×34 cm. (S–A priv. coll.). In Stravinsky's hand, it is identical—even to line breaks—except for spelling "California" in full. Although he spoke no French, German, or Russian, it was drafted by Andersson, who "had a passion for words [in English] and an appreciation for their precise meanings," according to the owner of the S–A collection (kind letter to me of 25 Jan. 2007). Sample, handwritten notes, c.1970 (S–A priv. coll.), confirms its chronological precedence.

51. Letter to Stravinsky of 19 Aug. (PSS), much of it in Walsh, *Stravinsky II*, 132 and 602n43.

52. Letter to Feist of 23 Aug. 1941 (PSS).

53. Letter to Stravinsky of 28 Aug. 1941 (PSS).

54. Letter to Feist of 31 Aug. 1941 (PSS), a letter probably composed by Andersson; see his handwritten diary, 1941, 54 (S–A priv. coll.).

55. The preceding letters and memoranda, 27 Aug. to 4 Sept. 1941, are in FDRL.

56. Letter to Stravinsky of 5 Sept. 1941 (PSS). On Guenther, a PhD in musicology (Vienna 1913), see biographical note and picture in *Musical Courier* 128 (Aug. 1943): 23.

57. Letters to Stravinsky of 5 and 13 Sept. 1941 (PSS); copies of this 25-cent edition are in Library of Congress (LC) and in PSS and S–A priv. coll.

58. Letter to Feist of 14 Sept. 1941 (PSS).

59. Kenneth J. Bindas, *All of This Music Belongs to the Nation: The WPA's Federal Music Project and American Society* (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1995), 133n26; see also Earl V. Moore, "The WPA Music Program," in *Who Is Who in Music*, ed. Joseph Barone et al. (Chicago: Lee Stern Press, 1941), 388–90; and William F. McDonald, *Federal Relief Administration and the Arts* (Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 1969), 584–646.

60. LC, *Catalog of Copyright Entries, Part 3*, 1491, no. 37277, lists his harmonization for mixed chorus, copyright on 8 Sept. 1941 for Mercury Music Corporation, but there is no trace of any such edition; see App., no. 7. Yet early on Sample had recommended that Stravinsky compose additional arrangements: "for band; mixed choir; solo piano"; and one for "two parts," so that his harmonization would not be pirated; see Sample–Aspnes, taped interview, c.1972 (S–A priv. coll.).

61. Letters to Feist of 14 Sept. and to Stravinsky of 19 Sept. and 7 Oct. 1941 (PSS).

62. *Bubushkin*, 18 Sept. 1941.

63. Letter to Feist, 25 Sept. 1941 (PSS).

64. Letters to Feist of 14 Sept. (PSS) and to Sample of 30 Sept. 1941 (LC). However, many recordings made by Sample, perhaps over five hundred, have been destroyed.

65. Draft of telegram to Feist, 5 Oct. 1941 (PSS).

66. Letter to Feist, 21 Oct. 1941 (PSS).

67. *Bubushkin*, 9 Oct. 1941; quoted from Stravinsky's diary (PSS), where, however, an arrow connects the appearance of Andersson on 8 Oct. with the dispatch of the score (a photostat) the next day: this latter date also confirmed by Stravinsky's letter to Feist, 21 Oct. 1941 (PSS).

68. Letter to Feist, 21 Oct. 1941 (PSS).

69. *Bubushkin*, 13 Oct. 1941 (entries from both Stravinskys's diaries).

70. "New Version of National Anthem," and "Anthem to Get New Treatment," *Los Angeles Times*, 10 and 13 Oct. 1941, A14 and 8, respectively.

71. See note 30 above.

72. Andersson, handwritten diary, 1941, 35 (S–A priv. coll).

73. Four years earlier the WPA Orchestra and the Negro Chorus in Los Angeles had made recordings for nationwide broadcasts; see Kenneth H. Marcus, *Musical Metropolis. Los Angeles and the Creation of a Musical Culture, 1880–1940* (New York: Palgrave-Macmillan, 2004), 156, and its CD, track 18; Bindas, *All of This Music*, 79; and Judith Anne Still et al., *William Grant Still, A Bio-Bibliography* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996), 32–33.

74. See *Los Angeles Times*, 19 and 22 Jan., and 19 June 1941, C5, 12, and A10, respectively.

75. See *Los Angeles Times*, 24 Sept. and 26 Nov. 1941, A 10, and A 4, respectively.

76. See John Smallman, "Los Angeles Oratorio Society," in *Who's Who in Music and Dance in Southern California*, ed. Bruno David Ussher (Hollywood, CA: Perlman, 1933), 76–78; and Howard Swan, *Music in the Southwest 1825–1950* (San Marino, CA:

Huntington Library, 1952; repr., New York: Da Capo Press, 1977), 167, 239, and 281–82.

77. Carbon copies of these letters of 2 [*recte*: 11] and 21 Aug. 1941 (S–A priv. coll.).

78. See *Los Angeles Times*, 24 May 1940 and 22 Mar. 1942, 10 and A2, respectively. On Wecker, see "Wecker to Manage Hollywood Bowl," *Musical America* 64 (25 Mar. 1944): 19; and *Music and Dance in California and the West*, 276.

79. "Stravinsky, Here to Conduct," *Washington Post*, 7 Jan. 1941, 28; and "Stravinsky Bares Aversion to Canned Music on Radio," *Washington Times-Herald*, 7 Jan. 1941 (PSS); see also n. 247 below, and *Igor and Vera Stravinsky. A Photograph Album 1921–1971*, ed. Vera Stravinsky, Rita McCaffrey, and Robert Craft (New York: Thames & Hudson, 1982), 98, plate no. 164 (henceforth, *Igor and Vera Stravinsky*).

80. Final sentence in letter to Feist, 5 Mar. 1944 (PSS), cited in n. 156 below.

81. See the declarations in 1938 to this effect by the federal director of the Music Project, Nicolai Sokoloff (1886–1965), and by its California director, Harle Jervis, in Bindas, *All of This Music*, 69 and 10, respectively.

82. *Bubushkin*, 14 Oct. and 14 July 1941.

83. *Music Educators Journal* 25 (May 1939): 45–47.

84. *Musical Courier* 123 (1 Feb. 1941): 126.

85. Isabel Morse Jones, "Lionel Barrymore Heads Talent at WPA Concert," *Los Angeles Times*, 15 Oct. 1941, A10; additional quotation from her review in Walsh, *Stravinsky II*, 133.

86. Saunders, "Stravinsky Re-Scores America's Anthem for Coast Performance," *Musical Courier* 124 (1 Nov. 1941): 28.

87. Stravinsky, *Selected Correspondence*, vol. 1 (New York: Knopf, 1982), 9n18. On Kall and Stravinsky, see H. Colin Slim, "Unknown Words and Music, 1939–44, by Stravinsky for His Longtime Friend, Dr. Alexis Kall," in *Words on Music: Essays in Honor of Andrew Porter on the Occasion of His 75th Birthday*, ed. David Rosen and Claire Brook (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2004), 300–319; I gratefully acknowledge a correction by Walsh, *Stravinsky II*, 579n14, who also, upper pl. 4, 204–5, reproduces a hitherto unknown photograph of Kall with Stravinsky at the Disney studios just before Christmas, 1939. Stravinsky partly obscures Kall in a similar photograph in Stravinsky, *Selected Correspondence*, 2:338–39, plates 10–11.

88. Alexander Fried, "Stravinsky Fears Blow to Music During War," *San Francisco Examiner*, 12 Dec. 1939, 36.

89. *Bubushkin*, 4 Nov. 1940.

90. Jones, "Stravinsky Version of Anthem Played," *Musical America* 61 (25 Oct. 1941): 18, filed 18 Oct.. Jones's "repeated three times" could also mean four playings, as stated by Florence Lawrence (see below, n. 111); and by Sample, handwritten notes, c.1970 (S–A priv. coll.).

91. Morton, "Music Notes," *Script* 26 (25 Oct. 1941): 28–29.

92. Letters to Stravinsky of 29 Oct. and 18 Nov., and to Feist of 21 Nov. 1941 (PSS).

93. See "Protest Revised Anthem," *New York Times*, 13 May 1938, 16, and 26 June 1938, pt. 9, 5, respectively. For his own story and how he was picketed in Baltimore (though not by the DAR), see Vincent Lopez, *Lopez Speaking, An Autobiography* (New York: Citadel, 1960), 298–300.

94. *F.D.R.: His Personal Letters, 1928–1945*, ed. Elliott Roosevelt, vol. 4 (New York: Sloan & Pierce, 1950), 1343 (31 Aug. 1942).

95. Svejda, *History*, 401–2.

96. Slim, *Annotated Catalogue*, 229, gives complete text. Perhaps these photographs are connected with Stravinsky's $50 check of 30 May 1940, noted in his diary (PSS), payable to Edwin McQuoid.

97. See Slim, "Stravinsky's *Scherzo à la Russe*," 519n10; *Bubushkin*, 20 June 1940; and Stravinsky's diary noting a $70 check, probably for insurance, to the Automobile Club of Southern California on 21 June 1940 (PSS).

98. *Bubushkin*, 14 Oct. 1941.

99. Franco Carlo Ricci, *Vittorio Rieti* (Naples, IT: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1987), 416.

100. Stravinsky, *Selected Correspondence*, 2:311.

101. J. Douglas Cook, "Visits to the Homes of Famous Composers, No. 2: Igor Stravinsky," *Opera, Concert and Symphony* [San Francisco] 11, no. 10 (Oct. 1946): 24; quoted with different punctuation in *Pictures and Documents*, 359. The resulting Andersson-Stravinsky efforts survive (S–A priv. coll.); see n. 105 below.

102. Stravinsky and Craft, *Memories and Commentaries* (1960), 93. See also Stravinsky's recollection in Craft's diary for 16 Dec. 1967 in Igor Stravinsky and Robert Craft, *Retrospectives and Conclusions* (New York: Knopf, 1969), 284; and in Robert Craft, *Stravinsky: Chronicle of a Friendship*, rev. ed. (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1994), 473.

103. Andersson, handwritten diary, 1941, 52 (S–A priv. coll.).

104. See the dated recording (S–A priv. coll.); and Saunders, "Hollywood," *Musical Courier* 123 (1 May 1941): 22, "of serene charm and limpid orchestration."

105. As well as Andersson's "lovely *Nocturne*," the 9 Apr. 1941 program noted that the WPA Orchestra had previously played his *The Sun Worshiper* (1937) and *Children's Suite* (1937), on both of which he was to work with Stravinsky in 1942. The source for both *Nocturno* and *Scherzo* is Andersson's four-movement *Futurama* Symphony of some 145 pages (S–A priv. coll.). There are also many pages of Stravinsky's corrections and suggestions, i.e., 1st movement: 31 pp., August 14th 1941; 2nd movement: 12 pp., August 12th 1941; 3rd movement: 50 pp. (both Andersson and Stravinsky); 4th movement: 2 pp.

106. Letter to Feist, 21 Oct. 1941 (PSS).

107. Morton, "Stravinsky at Home," in *Confronting Stravinsky: Man, Musician, and Modernist*, ed. Jann Pasler (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1986), 332; and Morton, "Stravinsky in Los Angeles," in *Festival of Music Made in Los Angeles*, ed. Orrin Howard (Los Angeles, CA: Los Angeles Philharmonic, 1981), 66n1. Concerning

Berlioz's basses, see Stravinsky and Craft, *Conversations with Igor Stravinsky* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday Press, 1959), 28.

108. Morton, "Music Notes," *Script* 26 (25 Oct. 1941): 29.

109. Morton, "Music Notes," *Script* 26 (30 Aug. 1941): 18.

110. Jones, "Lionel Barrymore"; and of Andersson's pieces: "a steady measured beat but the melodic line was vague and soon lost."

111. Florence Lawrence, "WHO THINK," *Los Angeles Examiner*, 15 Oct. 1941, unpaginated clipping (S–A priv. coll.).

112. Jones, "Stravinsky Version," 18; and of Andersson's pieces, "erratic melody but a strong rhythm."

113. "Mischa Violin Applauded at WPA's Concert," *Hollywood City News*, 29 Oct. 1941, unpaginated clipping (S–A priv. coll.); on Violin, see *Music and Dance in California and the West*, 272. A pre-concert announcement, "Mischa Violin Again to Aid WPA Group," *Los Angeles Times*, 26 Oct. 1941, D5, referred to "widespread discussion which followed the premiere of Stravinsky's new choral and orchestral version."

114. Saunders, "Stravinsky Re-Scores," 28; and of Andersson's pieces, "engaging melody . . . contrasting moods instrumented with a fine quality of luminosity."

115. "Music Notes," *Script* 27 (20 June 1942): 26–27.

116. Sample, handwritten notes, c.1970 (S–A priv. coll.).

117. *Los Angeles Evening Herald and Express*, 15 Oct. 1941, unpaginated clipping (S–A priv, coll.).

118. "Sounding Board," *Daily News* (Los Angeles), 16 Oct. 1941, 26.

119. Ussher, "Sounding Board." A former regional director (for eight western states) of the Federal Music Project in 1935 and from 1936 an assistant to its national director, Nicolai Sokoloff (see above n. 59, McDonald, *Federal Relief Administration*, 607), Ussher should have been better informed. The mind boggles. What if he had known Stravinsky's stirring (though agreeably mild) arrangement in 1919 for solo violin of the French national anthem? See Andriessen and Schönberger, *Apollonian Clockwork*, 28–29; and *Stravinsky The Composer*, vol. 7 (Ocean, NJ: Music Masters Classics, 1995), CD track 13, and booklet, 5.

120. "Letter [29 Oct.] to The Times," *Los Angeles Times*, 5 Nov. 1941, A4; on the date and program of this WPA concert, see Saunders, *Musical Courier* 124 (15 Nov. 1941): 28.

121. *Palm Springs Pup* 2, no. 2 (28 Nov. 1941), unpaginated (S–A priv. coll.), a now rare newspaper of which the above private collection also holds previous issues; the Palm Springs Historical Society has some from the 1950s.

122. Steele, "Our National Anthem."

123. LC control no. 00580436. See the listing of these items in the *Catalogue of 230 Master Electrical Transcriptions Produced by the WPA*, cited in *The U.S. Work Projects Administration Federal Music Project (Guides to Special Collections in the Music Division of the Library of Congress)*, ed. Wilda M. Heiss (Washington, D.C.: 1999), vii, 2, box 11; and in the LC online catalogue (they may be heard in the Recorded Sound Reference Center, LC). Morgan is not the country singer (1925–75). For the premiere of

Morgan's *Suite*, see Saunders, "Hollywood Hears New American Composers," *Musical Courier* 123 (15 Apr. 1941): 42. Brian Cornell and Christel Schmidt kindly assisted me in obtaining a copy of the recording.

124. The image is reversed in its rephotograph (S–A priv. coll.); see *Strawinsky: Sein Nachlass, Sein Bild* (Basel, CH: Kunstmuseum, 1984), 126–27, upper plate.

125. Sample, letter to Lebrecht, May 1986; Sample, taped interview, 1992, also considered Stravinsky's 1964 recording (see note 199 below): "twice as fast as it should go" (both S-A priv. coll.).

126. See *Bubushkin*, 18 Feb. 1942 and 8 Dec. 1955, respectively; and the program for 18 Feb. in *Los Angeles Times*, 15 Feb. 1942, C4. S–A priv. coll. owns a glowing typed letter of recommendation, covering both Andersson and Sample, to conductor Dimitri Mitropulos in Minneapolis signed by Stravinsky, 15 Feb. 1942; another typed recommendation for Sample alone, signed 29 June 1942; an otherwise unknown photograph (23.4×18.8 cm.) of Stravinsky taken between 1945 and 1949 at Sample's home, 2302 Rial Lane, Los Angeles; and many Christmas greetings, 1943–50, from the Stravinskys. Craft's own diary, 16 Dec. 1967, in *Retrospectives and Conclusions*, 234, also records a "Christmas letter from the conductor, James Sample" to Stravinsky. On Stravinsky's opinions of conductors, see Igor Stravinsky and Robert Craft, *Expositions and Developments* (Garden City, NJ: Doubleday, 1962), 99–100; *Memories and Commentaries* (1960), 105–7, (2002), 57–58; Stravinsky, *Themes and Conclusions*, ed. Robert Craft (London: Faber & Faber, 1972), 223–31 and [234–41]; Stravinsky and Craft, *Dialogues* (London: Faber & Faber, 1982), 81–[90].

127. *Bubushkin*, 14–15 Dec. 1941.

128. Letter to Feist, 12 Dec. 1941 (PSS).

129. Letter to Stravinsky, 10 Dec. 1941 (PSS).

130. Typed note, with autograph insertions (my emphasis), followed by autograph: "This is what I said to the orchestra at my rehearsal the 18th of Dec. 1941"; Programs, Notes, Annotations, etc. (PSS).

131. Autograph note and typed note, neither dated; Programs, Notes, Annotations, etc. (PSS).

132. *Bubushkin*, 124, no. 8, "ten days after Pearl Harbor," i.e., 15 or 16 Dec. 1941; *Pictures and Documents*, 369: Stravinsky was "humiliated."

133. Virginia Tracy, "Noted Composer Here to Conduct Symphony," *St. Louis Daily Globe–Democrat*, 19 Dec. 1941, 3C: "interview granted after his rehearsal Wednesday morning" (PSS).

134. "Stravinsky Holds Up His Version of U.S. Anthem," unidentified (St. Louis?) newspaper clipping, 19 Dec. 1941 (PSS); and see versions A and B, above.

135. "National Anthem Played, Not Stravinsky Version," *St. Louis Post–Dispatch*, 19 Dec. 1941, 12C. Stravinsky's arrangement is mentioned neither in an announcement of the orchestra's two concerts, nor by Thomas B. Sherman, "Stravinsky Conducts His Second Symphony," same newspaper, 18 and 20 Dec., 3C and 5A, respectively.

136. Harry S. Burke, "Stravinsky Gets Warm Ovation Here," *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, 20 Dec. 1941, pt. 3, 1C (PSS).

137. Burke, "Stravinsky Gets Warm Ovation Here."

138. *Bubushkin*, 20 Dec. 1941.

139. Letter to Stravinsky, 24 Dec. 1941 (PSS), here summarized.

140. Craft, in *Pictures and Documents*, 556, mentions DAR opposition in cities where Stravinsky tried to perform his arrangement. Perhaps Craft got this information from his mother, "a proud member of the DAR"; see his "Encounter and Metamorphosis," in Craft, *Present Perspectives, Critical Writings* (New York: Knopf, 1984), 233, which is slightly extended in his *Stravinsky: Glimpses of a Life* (London: Lime Tree Press, 1992), 20. Alisa Johnson, former archival assistant, Office of the Historian General, DAR, Constitution Hall, kindly informed me (letter of 17 Oct. 2006) that no official action by the National Society against Stravinsky's arrangement is recorded in its (closed) archives. Nor is there any by it or by its chapters recorded during these years in the *Daughters of the American Revolution National Historical Magazine*, and in the Society's *National Defense News*, or, for example, in *History of California State Society Daughters of the American Revolution, 1938–1968* (San Diego, CA: DAR, 1968). Scrutiny of DAR chapters in each state of this country might yet produce evidence to support Craft's statement.

141. "Igor Stravinsky: 'The Anthem Has a Fine Melody, but the Organization—Terrible,'" *San Francisco Chronicle*, 7 Jan. 1942, 11.

142. True, he had finished his orchestral arrangement in time for his two concerts in Mexico City, but even had there been sufficient time between 5 and 9 July 1941 to have the orchestra parts copied, there is no record in their programs that he conducted it (or any other arrangement) there.

143. Marie Hicks Davidson, "Stravinsky in San Francisco for Concert," and her "Anthem Features Concert," *San Francisco Call-Bulletin*, 6 and 10 Jan. 1942, 10 and 6, respectively.

144. A[lexander] F[ried], "Stravinsky Arrives for Symphony's Concerts / Composer to Offer Arrangement of Anthem at Opening Friday," *San Francisco Examiner*, 7 Jan. 1942, 26.

145. See Fried, "Own Classics Directed Here by Stravinsky," *San Francisco Examiner*, 10 Jan. 1942, 13; and *San Francisco Examiner Pictorial Review*, 21 Dec. 1941. I thank Jessie Ann Owens for obtaining a copy of this latter, now rare, publication.

146. See Ashley Pettis, "Music," *The Argonaut* 120, pt. 2 (21 Nov. 1941): 15, and 121, pt. 1 (16 Jan. 1942): 14, respectively. As to Pettis's credentials see, for example, his savvy letter about Samuel Barber's *Adagio for Strings*, "'Important' American Music," *New York Times*, 13 Nov. 1938, pt. IX, 8. On Pettis, see Melissa de Graaf, "Aaron Copland and the Composers' Forum-Laboratory: A Post-Concert Discussion, Feb. 24, 1937," in *Aaron Copland and His World*, ed. Carol J. Oja and Judith Tick (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005), 395 and 409n1.

147. Marjory M. Fisher, "Strawinsky Is 'Best-Seller,'" *The San Francisco News*, 10 Jan. 1942, 5.

148. Fisher, "San Francisco Men Led by Igor Stravinsky / Conducts Own Arrangement of National Anthem, and His Third Symphony," *Musical America* 62 (25 Jan. 1942): 11, filed 20 Jan.; and Pettis, "Music," *The Argonaut* 121, pt. 1 (16 Jan. 1942): 14.

149. Alfred Frankenstein, "Stravinsky Presents His Symphony," *San Francisco Chronicle*, 10 Jan. 1942, 19.

150. *Igor and Vera Stravinsky*, 100, no. 168, reproduced from *San Francisco Life* 10 (Feb. 1942): 8, but lacking that journal's caption.

151. *Bubushkin*, 9 Jan. 1942.

152. Cushing to Feist, 14 Jan. 1942, Cushing Papers, File A 41, University of California at Berkeley, Archives.

153. Feist to Cushing, 21 Jan. 1942, Cushing Papers. Inscribed by Cushing, "Jan. 1942," the copy is in the Music Library of the University of California, Berkeley. Stravinsky had already authorized Guenther to make school orchestra and band arrangements (see letter to Feist, 14 Sept. 1941, PSS). Guenther had previously made a dance-band arrangement of *Tango*, played by Benny Goodman in Philadelphia, 10 July 1941, a score Mercury copyrighted 19 Aug. 1941; see *Pictures and Documents*, 368; Walsh, *Stravinsky II*, 602n37; and n. 39 above, *Catalog of Copyright Entries*, 1495, no. 37395.

154. Cushing to Stravinsky, 6 Mar. 1942, Cushing Papers, File A52 (carbon copy); original, LC.

155. Stravinsky to Cushing, 11 Mar. 1942, Cushing Papers, File A 52, plus a typed and signed copy of same by Stravinsky in LC; see also Svejda, *History*, 424. Cushing remained friends with Stravinsky; see Slim, *Annotated Catalogue*, 299–300.

156. Letter to Feist, 5 Mar. 1944 (PSS).

157. Colin McPhee, "Records and Scores," *Modern Music* 19, no. 2 (Jan.–Feb. 1942): 125; repr. in *Stravinsky in Modern Music*, ed. Carol J. Oja (New York: Da Capo Press, 1982); on McPhee, see Oja, *Colin McPhee: A Composer in Two Worlds* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Press, 1991).

158. See Hans Kindler, "Symphony Program Features Bruckner," *Washington Post*, 18 Jan. 1942, pt. 6, 4; and Frances Nash Watson, Harold A. Brooks, and John Russell Mason, *Hans Kindler's Programs with the National Symphony Orchestra, 1931–1949* (Washington, D.C.: n.p., 1950), 18 Jan. 1942, wherein, following intermission, the first work: "(arr. by Igor Stravinsky)*" under a heading "Folk and Patriotic Music in Symphonic Form" alerts audience members to "*See program insert" in order to vote.

159. "Audience Will Choose National Anthem Version," *New York Times*, 18 Jan. 1942, 12, filed 17 Jan.

160. Ray C. B. Brown, "Audience Divided on Stravinski Arrangement of Anthem," *Washington Post*, 19 Jan. 1942, 13; and Jay Walz, "Capitol Hears Concert of Swing and Classics," *Musical America* 62 (10 Feb. 1942): 23. Apropos Kindler's subsequent Baltimore premiere, Gustav Klemm, "Kindler Forces Invade Baltimore," *Musical America* 125 (20 Feb. 1942): 13, opined: "The Stravinsky arrangement of the Star Spangled Banner made its first, and last, appearance locally at this concert."

161. *Bubushkin*, 6 Jan. 1941.

162. "Stravinski to Wield Baton on Wednesday," *Washington Post*, 5 Jan. 1941, pt. 6, 7; for Stravinsky's program, see Watson, Brooks, and Mason, *Kindler's Programs*, 8 Jan. 1941.

163. Letters to Stravinsky, 1 and 3 Feb. 1942 (PSS).

164. *Bubushkin*, 8–10 Jan. 1942.

165. Victor Yuzefovich, "Chronicle of a Non-Friendship: Letters of Stravinsky and Koussevitzky," *Musical Quarterly* 86 (2002): 794–95, letters 44–45.

166. Letter to Feist, 1 Mar. 1942 (PSS).

167. Letter to Stravinsky, 20 May 1942 (PSS).

168. Brown, "Boston Symphony Heard in Russian War Relief Concert," *Washington Post*, 1 Apr. 1942, 16. The anthem was not identified as Stravinsky's arrangement in "4,000 at Russian Concert," *New York Times*, 1 Apr. 1942, 26; or in "Washington Aids Russian Relief at Evening Concert," *New York Herald Tribune*, 1 Apr. 1942, 27; or by Jay Walz, "Washington Hears Boston Symphony," *Musical America* 62 (25 Apr. 1942): 23. Professor Sally Bick kindly informs me that Copland's arrangement exists in a piano sketch dated May 1942, indicated as arranged for Koussevitzky (LC, uncatalogued).

169. [Major] Harold W. Kent, "Contributing to the National [War] Effort," *Music Educators Journal* 28, no. 6 (May–June 1942): 56 and 24; see also "Anthem Set in A-Flat So Everyone Can Sing," *New York Times*, 3 Apr. 1942, L17.

170. Anna R. Robinson, "Music Educators See Opportunity in Emergency," *Musical America* 62 (10 Apr. 1942): 3, 7, and 38. On Ganz, see Stravinsky, *Selected Correspondence*, 1:155–56, 160–61; and Slim, *Annotated Catalogue*, 91–92.

171. See Stravinsky, *Selected Correspondence*, 2:338–39, pl. 10 (upper left), its caption in Yiddish kindly translated for me by Richard Taruskin. For Lopez's hotel engagement, 8–23 Dec., see *San Francisco Call-Bulletin*, 2 and 13 Dec. 1939, 3 and 26, respectively. In *Lopez Speaking*, 320, he recalls meeting Stravinsky and Monteux (among others) on the occasion of his society singer's opening performance with his band. Stravinsky, however, was in San Francisco only 10–16 Dec. Stephen Walsh kindly informs me that this seems to have been their only encounter.

172. Kent's letters to President General Mrs. Pouch, 25 July 1942 and 17 Mar. 1943, and a copy of her sole reply to him, 30 July 1942, are in the closed archives of the National Society, DAR. Alisa Johnson, former archival assistant (see n. 140 above), kindly furnished these details about Kent and Mrs. Pouch in letters to me of 17, 25, and 31 Oct. 2006.

173. Yuzefovich, "Chronicle," 868, cites an undated letter by Stravinsky in Koussevitzky's papers (LC) containing an excerpt from the Massachusetts 1917 statute that the police used to forbid Stravinsky in 1944 from conducting his arrangement for a second time in Boston. This can hardly have been a reason for Koussevitzky in 1942 because Stravinsky stated in 1944 that he knew nothing of the statute; see the editorial "Dear Musical America," *Musical America* 64 (25 Jan. 1944): 9; and Jules Wolffers, "Boston," *Musical Courier* 129 (5 Feb. 1944): 8. Knowledge of this statute, however, might well have deterred Koussevitzky from performing it during 1944 and thereafter.

174. *Boston Daily Globe*, 13 Jan. 1944, 12. The anthem's facing verso seems to contain words (the facsimile), suggesting that Stravinsky was studying his copy of Mercury's edition.

175. "'Star-Spangled Banner' Version of Stravinsky Startles Audience," *New York Herald Tribune*, 15 Jan. 1944, 7 (filed 14 Jan.); the same, partially in "Revises Nation's Anthem" and partially in "Revised Anthem Played / Stravinsky's Version Puzzles the

Boston Symphony Audience," *New York Times* 13 Jan. 1944, 16 (filed 12 Jan.), and 15 Jan. 1944, 11 (filed 14 Jan.), respectively (only the latter is quoted in Svejda, *History*, 425.). See also "Dear Musical America," cited in n. 173 above.

176. Stravinsky and Craft, *Memories and Commentaries* (1960), 93.

177. L. A. Sloper, "Stravinsky as Symphony Guest Conductor," *Christian Science Monitor*, 15 Jan. 1944, 4.

178. C. W. D., "Music, Symphony Hall, Boston Symphony Orchestra," *Boston Daily Globe*, 15 Jan. 1944, 6.

179. Wolffers, "Boston," 8.

180. Moses Smith, "Stravinsky Meets the Boston Censor," *Modern Music* 21, no. 3 (Mar.–Apr., 1944): 172.

181. For a facsimile of an autographed program, see Yuzefovich, "Chronicle," 815.

182. "State Law Prohibits Playing New Version Star Spangled Banner," *Boston Sunday Globe*, 16 Jan. 1944, 1.

183. The interview's headline is cited in Walsh, *Stravinsky II*, 604n72, who dates it 12 Jan. 1944, and to whom I am grateful for sending me a copy of the entire clipping (PSS; concluded on page 4 of the newspaper). On the probable date of the interview itself, see *Bubushkin*, 10 Jan. 1944.

184. See "Dear Musical America," cited in n. 173 above.

185. About the latter, see, for example, his discussion in Apr. 1944 about his *Babel* with Nathaniel Shilkret (1889–1982), music publisher, composer, and its commissioner, as recalled by Alexandre Tansman, *Igor Stravinsky* (Paris, 1948), trans. Therese and Charles Bleefield (New York: Putnam's Sons, 1949), 129–32; and *Bubushkin*, 18 Apr. 1944. Walsh, *Stravinsky II*, 156–57, states, however, that Shilkret first approached Stravinsky early in March (1944), and that he had finished composing *Babel* by the end of that month.

186. "Anthem," *Boston Sunday Globe*, 16 Jan. 1944, 19.

187. "Stravinsky Liable to Fine," *New York Times*, 16 Jan. 1944, 41 (filed 15 Jan.) and "Stravinsky Afoul of Law; Revised National Anthem; Massachusetts Bars Revision of National Anthem," *New York Herald Tribune*, 16 Jan. 1944, 31, filed 15 Jan.

188. Stravinsky and Craft, *Memories and Commentaries* (1960), 93–94; its revised and condensed edition (2002), 216, alters this inexplicably to "after the concert."

189. Copies of Kent's two letters of 26 Jan. and 5 Feb. 1944 are in the closed archives of the National Society, DAR, Washington, D.C. James L. Ladewig kindly alerted me to a copy of Kent's harmonization in A-flat major with "amended lyric and melody effectually united" and its "compass modified two tones for a valid interpretation of the fully resolved message." Library, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore; see P. W. Filby and Edward G. Howard, *Star-Spangled Books* (Baltimore, MD: Maryland Historical Society, 1972), 135, item S 10, and 150, item S 59.

190. *Musical America* 64 (10 Feb. 1944): 200, citing, as one example, Puccini's altered quotation of the anthem in *Madama Butterfly*.

191. Saunders, "Reviewer Hits Boston Arrest of Stravinsky," *Citizen-News*, 11 Mar. 1944, 12.

192. Saunders, *Citizen-News*, 18 Mar. 1944, 11. On Richard D. Saunders, see *Music and Dance in California and the West*, 163 (with a photograph). Stravinsky retained clippings of both Saunders's articles in his files (PSS).

193. See Léonie Rosenstiel, *Nadia Boulanger: A Life in Music* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1982), 276, 317, 320, and 348.

194. Winifred Johnstone, "Mr. Stravinsky's Rendition," *Christian Science Monitor*, 14 June 1944, 20; see also Walsh, *Stravinsky II*, 152, whom I thank for this reference. Boulanger herself added a word of consolation in her letter to Stravinsky of 19 Aug. 1944 (PSS).

195. See Charles M. Joseph, *Stravinsky Inside Out* (New Haven, NJ: Yale University Press, 2001), 19, pl. captioned: "Arrested in Boston, Apr. 1940, for illegally arranging 'The Star-Spangled Banner,'" repeated in Joseph, *Stravinsky & Balanchine: A Journey of Invention* (New Haven, NJ: Yale University Press, 2002), 175; and accepted by Craft in *Memories and Commentaries* (2002), 216. Walsh, *Stravinsky II*, 602n41, cites additional examples.

196. *Bubushkin*, 15 Apr. 1940; see esp. "Mr. and Mrs. Stravinsky Are Fingerprinted," in *Lion Heart Autographs Catalogue 43* (New York: Lion Heart Autographs, 2005), 68, lot 113, with photographs of a declaration by the Boston Police Department and of Stravinsky's fingerprints, 15 Apr. 1940.

197. Stravinsky and Craft, *Memories and Commentaries* (1960), 94. On Sample's championing of the arrangement, see above.

198. See Albert Goldberg, "Stravinsky Conducts Own Works at Bowl," and his "Amiable Stravinsky Conducts Stravinsky," *Los Angeles Times*, 28 July 1962, pt. 1, 12, and 4 Sept. 1965, pt. 3, 5, respectively. Stravinsky had sent an angry letter about Goldberg's reviewing capabilities to the *Times* on 5 Jan. 1962, repr. in Stravinsky and Craft, *Themes and Episodes* (New York: Knopf, 1966), 85–87; and Vera had recorded Goldberg's comments about "too much Stravinsky" at the Monday Evening Concerts in *Bubushkin*, 2 Jan. 1955. The composer had not earlier objected, however, to Goldberg's abilities; see Stravinsky, *Selected Correspondence*, 1:303n6 and 368–69, and also Walsh, *Stravinsky II*, 293–95.

199. See Philip Stuart, *Igor Stravinsky—The Composer in the Recording Studio: A Comprehensive Discography* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1991), 48, no. 141, and 62; and *Pictures and Documents*, 474, upper pl. depicts the Stravinskys listening to a rehearsal [by Craft?] in Toronto's Massey Hall the day before recording the anthem (and four other works). Presumably the same situation prevailed in May 1964 as on 29 Nov. 1962 at the same place and with the same performers, i.e.: "I [Craft] rehearse and I.S. records"; see Craft, *Stravinsky, Chronicle of a Friendship*, 344.

200. William McPhillips, "Stravinsky in Spotlight. Bowl Opens 45th Season of Symphonies under the Stars," *Los Angeles Times*, 6 July 1966, pt. 1, 3, with photograph.

201. Martin Bernheimer, "Stravinsky at Bowl: Tranquil and Significant," *Los Angeles Times*, 7 July 1966, pt. 4, 12.

202. Doris Reno, "Stravinsky Finesse Thrills Audience Here," *Miami Herald*, 25 Feb. 1967, 7C; its issue of 22 Feb. 1967, 12, presents one example of the bizarre

advertisement. Her endorsement has since been sustained by Craft in *Memories and Commentaries* (2002), 216.

203. In 1962 I did not know his tempo marking in the LC autograph, but later, having heard his recording, I led it more rapidly on 13 and 14 Feb. 2004 with the University of California Irvine Symphony.

204. *A Festival of Stravinsky: His Heritage and His Legacy, 30 June and 5 July 1966* (New York: New York Philharmonic, 124th year, 1965–66), C.

205. "Stravinsky at Eighty-Five," Stravinsky interviewed in *The New York Review of Books* (1 June 1967), repr. in *Retrospectives and Conclusions*, 43; and posthumously in Igor Stravinsky, *Themes and Conclusions*, ed. Robert Craft (London: Faber & Faber, 1972), 106. Stravinsky's other complaint that day about "wrong *tempi*" in Bernstein's performance of *The Rite of Spring* is noted by both Craft, *Chronicle*, 436 (30 June 1966); and Lillian Libman, *And Music at the Close: Stravinsky's Last Years. A Personal Memoir* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1972), 268.

206. Raymond Ericson, "Music: Stravinsky Series Opened by Philharmonic / Influence of Composer in U.S. Explored," *New York Times*, 1 July 1966, 43.

207. *Stravinsky in America* (New York: BMG Classics, 1997), CD track 1, and booklet, 7.

208. Craft, *Stravinsky, Chronicle of a Friendship*, 394, which suggests Craft's preparation for Stravinsky's recording.

209. *American Stravinsky: The Composer*, vol. 4 (Ocean, NJ: Music Masters Classics, 1993), CD track 2, and booklet, 4.

210. Bernard Holland, *New York Times*, 11 Mar. 2001, 32.

211. See, among other sources, *San Francisco Chronicle*, 24, 28, and 29 Apr. 2006, C4, C3, and A1, respectively.

212. Eric Walter White, *Stravinsky: The Composer and his Works*, 2nd rev. ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), 614, app. C, no. 73.

213. John Shepard, "The Stravinsky Nachlass," *Notes: Music Library Association* 40 (June 1984): 730, 750.

214. See Taruskin, *Stravinsky and the Russian Traditions*, vol. 2, 1142–43 n. C.1; and Craft, "The Relevance and Problems of Biography," *The New York Review of Books* (1973); repr. in Craft, *Prejudices in Disguise* (New York: Knopf, 1974), 274–76; shortened in Craft, *Stravinsky: Glimpses of a Life*, 279–80.

215. Craft, "The Stravinsky Nachlass in New York and Basel," in Stravinsky, *Selected Correspondence*, vol. 3 (New York: Knopf, 1985), 514, app. D.

216. *Pictures and Documents*, 648n55.

217. Joseph, "Stravinsky Manuscripts Held by the Library of Congress and the Pierpont Morgan Library," *Journal of Musicology* 1 (1982): 336, nos. 37–38. No. 37 is the present appendix's no. 2, but no. 38, "chorus and piano version, July 4, 1941, with corrections," perhaps conflates nos. 5 and 6, there being neither corrections nor a date at the end of no. 5, but both in no. 6. Stravinsky gave no. 5 to LC on 22 Dec. 1964, but not to the "Federal Works Agency"; no. 6 *was* given to the Federal Works Agency,

parent of the WPA from 1 July 1939, though whether by Stravinsky himself remains unknown; see n. 42 above; and McDonald, *Federal Relief Administration*, 135, 2nd footnote.

218. See n. 14 above, *Scrapbook*, 12–13, nos. 16–19; and the discussion in n. 14.

219. These are *Strawinsky. Nachlass. Bild*, 155, no. 6; Hans Jörg Jans and Lukas Handschin, *Igor Strawinsky: Musikmanuskripte* (Winterthur, CH: Amadeus Press, 1989), 46 (now updated at PSS in preparation for a new edition); and *Settling New Scores* (above, n. 14).

220. See n. 39 above, *Catalog of Copyright Entries*, 1491, no. 37277.

221. Walsh, *Stravinsky II*, 133.

222. Taruskin, *Stravinsky and the Russian Traditions*, 2:1317; and Don Traut, "Bach's Tetrachords and Stravinsky's Blocks: The Sketches for the 'Grand Chorale,'" in *Abstracts of Papers Read at the American Musicological Society and the Society for Music Theory, 2–5 Nov. 2006* (Los Angeles, CA: AMS, 2006), 62–63.

223. Andersson, handwritten diary, 1941, 27 (S–A priv. coll.); see, for example, *Bubushkin*, 52, pl. 53; and Slim, *Annotated Catalogue*, no. 100, with illustration. Equally indicative are the large stretches in his piano arrangement of the "chorale," in *Symphonies* (1920).

224. Stravinsky and Craft, *Memories and Commentaries* (1960), 94; and see n. 26 above.

225. *American Stravinsky*, CD track 27, booklet, 6–7; see facsimiles of manuscript in Olga Maynard, "Balanchine and Stravinsky," *Dance Magazine* 46, no. 6 (June 1972): 58; *Bubushkin*, 137, pl. 104; and "Balanchine and Stravinsky," *Muzikal'naia Akademiia* [Moscow] 4 (1992): 190.

226. This, despite some apparent second thoughts for all four voices in the first strain, shown by pencil additions in the first 25-cent edition of the piano-vocal score (LC) as well as additions to the choral basses in the FDR autograph (LC); see App., nos. 5e and 6, respectively.

227. McPhee, "Records and Scores," 125, presumably refers to rehearsal nos. 1–3 of the third movement.

228. Nicolas Slonimsky, *Music Since 1900*, 4th ed. (New York: Scribner's Sons, 1971), 729; "running afoul" also occurs in the 1944 *New York Times* and *Herald Tribune* accounts, cited above, nn. 175 and 187, possibly Slonimsky's source in 1971. In any event, his supposed "cool-headed account" (Walsh, *Stravinsky II*, 606n42), was not first-hand, as no mention of the Boston incident occurred in Slonimsky's 1949 edition.

229. "Shortly after Pearl Harbor . . . on his [Stravinsky's] way back to Hollywood after a tour in the east . . . [recounted] at Grand Central Station": Nicolas Nabokov, "1949 [*sic*] Christmas with Stravinsky [21–26 Dec. 1947]," in Merle Armitage, *Igor Stravinsky*, ed. Edwin Corle (New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1949), 141; repr. Nabokov, *Old Friends & New Music* (London, 1951), 199. Nabokov's date cannot be correct. After Pearl Harbor, Stravinsky was only in St. Louis and San Francisco, not returning to New York until March 1943, departing that May for Hollywood.

230. Stravinsky and Craft, *Memories and Commentaries*, 93. Andriessen and Schönberger, in *Apollonian Clockwork*, 22, Ex. 1, identify it as mm. 8/3–10/2, the actual major seventh chord itself, however, not appearing until m. 10/1–2.

231. See, among other authorities, Albert Schweitzer, *J. S. Bach*, trans. Ernest Newman, 2 vols. (London: A. & C. Black, 1949), 1: 405–6.

232. See Stravinsky and Craft, *Memories and Commentaries* (1960), 93; and (2002), 234, respectively

233. Clarence R. Decker and Mary Bell Decker, *A Place of Light: The Story of a University [Kansas City, MO] Presidency* (New York: Hermitage House, 1954), 233.

234. Letter to Stravinsky, 4 Sept. 1943 (PSS).

235. Letter, manuscript, and photograph are in the Klaus Mann Collection, University of Missouri at Kansas City, Archives. Marilyn Burlingame, Senior Manuscript Specialist, very kindly sent me photocopies of these items. Mann's letter also substantiates cordial relations between his father and Stravinsky, for further about which see Thomas Mann, *Tagebücher*, 1940–43, ed. Peter de Mendelssohn, vol. 5 (Frankfurt, DE: S. Fischer, 1982), 564–65, 570, 618; *Bubushkin*, 28 Aug. 1943, 128n16; and Stravinsky and Craft, *Expositions and Developments*, 66–68, repr. in *Memories and Commentaries* (2002), 224–25. For photographer McQuoid and another exemplar of his same photograph, signed and dated "1941," see Slim, *Annotated Catalogue*, 225.

236. Slim, *Annotated Catalogue*, 15.

237. Letter to Stravinsky, 11 Oct. 1943 (PSS).

238. See R. Wayne Shoaf, "A Preliminary Inventory of Correspondence to and from Arnold Schoenberg," *Journal of the Arnold Schoenberg Institute* 18–19 (1995–96): 367, 11 Oct. 1943. Mann's letter is in the Special Collections Library, Harlan Hatcher Graduate Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. Peggy Daub, head, and Kathryn L. Beam, curator, Humanities Collection, kindly sent me a photocopy of it.

239. Yuzefovich, "Chronicle," 812–14, letters 71–74.

240. Stravinsky mailed his "October" dedication (version B) for Mercury's facsimile to Feist and was correcting proofs for this arrangement during the middle weeks of November 1941; see Stravinsky, letters of 7 and 21 Nov. 1941, and Feist, letter of 18 Nov. 1941 (PSS).

241. Yuzefovich, "Chronicle," 794, letter 44 (10 Feb. 1942).

242. *Scrapbook*, 13.

243. *American Stravinsky*, CD track 2, booklet, 4.

244. Stravinsky and Craft, *Memories and Commentaries* (2002), 234.

245. Differences between the same incidents as reported in the two editions of *Memories and Commentaries* are troubling. Craft gave most details about the 1941 premiere correctly in *Scrapbook*, 13 no. 19, and in *Pictures and Documents*, 368 and 555–56 ("Sapiro" is, however, incorrect there). Quite apart from whether Stravinsky ever expressed such a preference, numerous chronological and factual details in the 2002 book about the 1941 Los Angeles and the 1944 Boston premieres are incorrect.

246. *American Stravinsky*, CD booklet, 4.

247. "Stravinsky Bares Aversion to Canned Music on Radio," *Washington Times-Herald*, 7 Jan. 1941: "I don't care for the radio except for news and lectures" (newspaper clipping lacking page no.; PSS); "Stravinsky, Here to Conduct, Likes His

Music in Person," *Washington Post*, 7 Jan. 1941, 28: "Radio all right for some programs but not for symphony"; and "Radio is fine for war news, but it's terrible for music."

248. See *Bubushkin*, 124 (for $500), and 168, 27 Nov. 1953: "photograph of Igor and me for Stromberg Carlson"; and Walsh, *Stravinsky II*, 131.

249. Svejda, *History*, 397.

250. For original sources about this training, see Taruskin, *Stravinsky and the Russian Traditions I*, 100 and Walsh, *Stravinsky I*, 57–59.

251. See, for example, *Pictures and Documents*, 197 (15 Jan. 1924); and Stravinsky's comparisons of Bach and Handel in *Expositions and Developments*, 90–92.

252. For the date of the anthem, see Filby and Howard, *Star-Spangled Books*, 126–27, item S 1.

253. Walsh, *Stravinsky II*, 168.

254. Stravinsky and Craft, *Memories and Commentaries* (1960), 80.

255. Walsh, *Stravinsky II*, 168.

256. Stravinsky, *Selected Correspondence*, 3:319, also refers to a "remarkable publication of Byrd" that Stravinsky had seen in London that October (1937).

257. Reported by H. O. Osgood, "Stravinsky Conducts an Interview and a Concert," *Musical Courier* 90, no. 3 (15 Jan. 1925): 7.

258. Alfred Frankenstein, "Stravinsky in Beverly Hills," *Modern Music* 19 (Mar.–Apr. 1942): 179; repr., Carol Oja, ed., *Stravinsky in Modern Music (1924–1942)* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1982). Frankenstein quotes from Babitz's program notes for the Janssen Symphony Orchestra of 8 Feb. 1942 (PSS).

259. Walsh, *Stravinsky II*, 9–10.

260. Elliott Arnold, "Strawinsky Calls Swing American Folk Music," *New York World-Telegram*, 15 Jan. 1941, repr. *San Francisco News*, 3 Jan. 1942, 9; see also *Pictures and Documents*, 644n28; and Walsh, *Stravinsky II*, 124, 601n3 (with an incorrect date for the New York interview).

261. For another example, see Stravinsky's *ex post facto* program notes for the so-called "Victory" Symphony in Three Movements (1945), discussed in Walsh, *Stravinsky II*, 138, 180–81; and esp. in Craft, "Discoveries in Stravinsky's Sketches," in *The Moment of Existence: Music, Literature, and the Arts 1990–1995* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1996), 272 and 276.

262. Walsh, *Stravinsky II*, 45–46; a different date and translation is in *Pictures and Documents*, 662n6.

263. Frankenstein, "Just Where Is Stravinsky?" *San Francisco Chronicle*, 22 Mar. 1937, 11.

264. See Walsh, *Stravinsky I*, 520–22, and *II*, 43–44, 51–52, 584n14, and 592n42; *Pictures and Documents*, 324, 335, 551–52, and 662n8; and Taruskin, "Stravinsky and the Subhuman," in *Defining Russia Musically: Historical and Hermeneutical Essays* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997), 450–54.

265. Christopher Hibbert, *Benito Mussolini: The Rise and Fall of Il Duce*, rev. ed. (Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin, 1965), 95–98.

266. Slim, *Annotated Catalogue*, 200–04; *Pictures and Documents*, 555; and Walsh, *Stravinsky II*, 51.

267. See Taruskin, "Stravinsky and the Subhuman," 454–58, esp. n. 103, documenting prewar and even postwar anti-Semitism.

268. Walsh, *Stravinsky II*, 232.

269. Fried, "Stravinsky Fears," 36; shortened and differently punctuated in *Pictures and Documents*, 353.

270. *Pictures and Documents*, 352.

271. *Pictures and Documents*, 555.

272. Same letter in Stravinsky, *Selected Correspondence*, 1:441, dated as 16 July is also in 3:273, dated as 14 July.

273. *Bubushkin*, 10 Apr. 1941.

274. Ricci, *Rieti*, 406.

275. Letter of 29 July 1941, cited in *Pictures and Documents*, 556. Stravinsky, *Selected Correspondence*, 1:239–41, muddles the contents of letters of 19 and 29 July, clarified in Walsh, *Stravinsky II*, 605n10.

276. Walsh, *Stravinsky II*, 167.

277. Slim, "Unknown Words and Music," 307–8, and 315, pl. 3.

278. *Who's Who in California 1942–43*, ed. Russell Holmes Fletcher (Los Angeles, CA: Who's Who Publications Co., 1943), 469.

279. *Bubushkin*, 5 Nov. 1940 and 7 Nov. 1944, respectively.

280. *Washington Post*, 22 Apr. 1941, 15; and *New York Times*, 21 Apr. 1941, 18 (both marked newspaper clippings in PSS lack page nos.).

281. Walsh, *Stravinsky II*, 188–89, cites the Russian-born Alexei Haieff (1914–94) then in Cambridge, Mass.; see also the abbreviated account (though lacking its photograph) in *Pictures and Documents*, 351–52; and of Harvard students in a composition class, 21 Nov. 1939, with Kall as translator, in *Christian Science Monitor*, 22 Nov. 1939, 12.

282. For both Stravinskys, the McQuoids, and their three children, see Slim, *Annotated Catalogue*, 10–11, items 67–68, 70–75, and commentaries; and Slim, "Unknown Words and Music," 311 nn. 46–47, and 318–19. For a (slightly cropped) photograph of the vivacious Mrs. McQuoid flanked by Vera and Edwin McQuoid taken mid-June 1940 by Stravinsky at the Los Angeles Farmers' Market, see *Bubushkin*, 113, pl. 90. He also inscribed a copy of Mercury's piano-vocal edition of the anthem to Elliot Forbes and his "beautiful wife" in 1942, and still another one to Dagmar Godowsky (1897–1975).

283. See, for example, the photograph taken by Eric Skipsey in Vancouver, Canada, on 5 Oct. 1952, praised by Stravinsky on 25 June 1953 (PSS), cited in Slim, *Annotated Catalogue*, 275–276, no. 92, and partially reproduced on its cover.

284. Letter to Feist on Chateau Marmont stationery, 20 Apr. 1941 (PSS); on Mrs. McQuoid's four-hand playing with Stravinsky in 1940, see Slim, "Stravinsky's *Scherzo à la Russe*," 519.

285. Andersson, handwritten diary, 1941, 9, 12, and 34 respectively (S–A priv. coll.).

286. Photograph, 23.4×17.8 cm., and Andersson, handwritten diary, 1941, 44 (S–A priv. coll.). No trace of the other thirty-nine photographs has been found.

287. On these "Stars" in Hollywood, see Walsh, *Stravinsky II*, 118, 128, 166; about Robinson, see Slim, *Annotated Catalogue*, 154–60, no. 40.

288. Walsh, *Stravinsky II*, 242; on Hanns Eisler in 1947 and the House Committee on Un-American Activities, see Walsh, *Stravinsky II*, 212–13.

289. *Bubushkin*, 22–23 June 1941.

290. See, for example, *Bubushkin*, 103–4, 21 Nov. 1939, and 8–9 Apr. 1940; and Walsh, *Stravinsky II*, 115.

291. Fried, *San Francisco Examiner*, 7 Jan. 1942, 26; and *San Francisco Chronicle*, 7 Jan. 1942, 1.

292. *Bubushkin*, 124.

293. Andersson, handwritten diary, 1941, 56, 8 Sept. (S–A priv. coll.).

294. Thomas Mann, *Die Briefe Thomas Manns, Regesten und Register*, ed. Yvonne Schmidlin et al. (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1980), 2:740, no. 43/195.

295. Thomas Mann, *Briefe, 1937–1947*, ed. Erika Mann, vol. 2 (Frankfurt, DE: Fischer, 1963), 303 (emphasis Mann's); and *Letters of Thomas Mann (1889–1955)*, trans. Richard and Clara Winston (New York: Knopf, 1971), 416.

296. *Bubushkin*, 25 Apr. 1942 and 21 May 1942, respectively; and Walsh, *Stravinsky II*, 180.

297. *Bubushkin*, 19 July and 5 Sept. 1942, respectively.

298. *Bubushkin*, 17 Mar. 1943, and Taruskin, *Stravinsky and the Russian Traditions*, 2:1624, respectively.

299. Alexander Stephan, *Im Visier des FBI. Deutsche Exilschriftsteller in den Akten amerikanischer Geheimdienste* (Stuttgart, DE: Metzler, 1995), 155–74; and *"Ruhe gibt es nicht, bis zum Schluss": Klaus Mann (1906–1949)*, ed. Uwe Naumann (Hamburg, DE: Rowohlt, 1999), 262–79.

300. Only a few single males, some male couples, and lesbians are mentioned as friends of the Stravinskys, for example, in *Bubushkin*, 122, 1 May; 1 and 6 Nov. 1941; and covertly in its notes; more explicitly in Craft, *Chronicle of a Friendship*, 35; and openly in Craft, *An Improbable Life: Memoirs* (Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, 2002), 118–20, 133–37, and 142. See also Walsh, *Stravinsky II*, 128, 245–46, 254, 328, and 620n7.

301. White, *Stravinsky*, 616, no. 82b.

302. *Bubushkin*, 8 May and 15–16 Aug. 1945, respectively

303. See Stravinsky and Craft, *Expositions and Developments*, pl. 10, facing 73, and less fully in *Bubushkin*, 27, pl. 20.

304. Slim, *Annotated Catalogue*, 129–31, no. 31.

305. Walsh, *Stravinsky I*, 407.

306. See *Pictures and Documents*, 528, Stravinsky letter of 29 July 1925; and Slim, *Annotated Catalogue*, 131–35, no. 32, letter of 21 Aug. 1925.

307. Walsh, *Stravinsky II*, 10–11 (Kall's phrase is in English, his letter chiefly in Russian).

308. *San Francisco Chronicle*, 12 Feb. 1935, 1.

309. Walsh, *Stravinsky II*, 8.

310. Walsh, *Stravinsky II*, 4.

311. Walsh, *Stravinsky II*, 61. The astute Isabel Morse Jones, in "Composer to Conduct 'Petrouchka' Ballet," *Los Angeles Times*, 7 Mar. 1937, pt. 3, 5, hinted about these negotiations the day before Stravinsky arrived in Los Angeles.

312. See Fried, "Stravinsky Fears Blow," 36, referring to Frankenstein's "Just Where Is Stravinsky?" (1937), 11; however, see also Fried, "Stravinsky Likes Idea of Writing for Movies," *San Francisco Examiner*, 22 Mar. 1937, 8.

313. Walsh, *Stravinsky II*, 120. Disney paid him $6,000 for the *Rite*, netting him $3,850; see Andersson, handwritten diary, 1941, 15 (S–A priv. coll.); *Pictures and Documents*, 364, reports only the gross sum.

314. "Stravinsky, Here to Conduct," *Washington Post*, 7 Jan. 1941, 28. Film negotiations with Louis B. Mayer in June–July 1942 again came to naught; see *Bubushkin*, 13 June and 7–8 July 1942.

315. Walsh, *Stravinsky II*, 131, overlooks Craft's statement in "Stravinsky, A Centenary View," *New York Review of Books* 29 (10 June 1982), about the composer's income, 1940–44, from royalties on U.S. record sales. Repr. *Present Perspectives*, 225–26n7; and *Glimpses*, 18n5.

316. Letters to Feist of 14 Aug. and 25 Sept. 1941; and to Stravinsky of 28 Aug. and 19 Sept. 1941 (PSS).

317. *Bubushkin*, 124 (incorrectly totaled as $11,163.01).

318. For example, he told Andersson on 18 April that he and Vera would have a dental bill of $1,000; see Andersson, handwritten diary, 1941, 6 (S–A priv. coll.).

319. Accounts half-yearly with Mercury Music Corporation, 1941–58 (PSS).

320. Letter to Feist, 5 Mar. 1944 (PSS).

321. Letter to Feist, 21 Oct. 1941, and undated draft of night letter (PSS).

322. Letter to Feist, 7 Nov. 1941 (PSS).

323. Undated telegram to Stravinsky, c.10 Nov. 1941 (PSS).

324. *Time*, 22 Dec. 1941, 56; quoted in Slim, *Annotated Catalogue*, 229.

325. See letters to Stravinsky from Giovanni Bruno, 27 Feb. 1942; to Feist from B[eata] B[olm], 7 Mar. 1942; and to Stravinsky from Feist, 10 Mar. 1942 (PSS).

326. Letter to Stravinsky, mid-Feb. 1942 (PSS).

327. Stravinsky, Cash Account, Mar. 1942: "500 / 500 / 500" (PSS).

328. Letter to Feist, 5 Mar. 1944 (PSS). Mercury, however, had advertised *Tango*; see *Musical Courier* 123 (15 Apr. 1941): 30.

329. *Musical Courier* 123 (1 Feb. 1941): 133; quoted in Slim, *Annotated Catalogue*, 231.

330. Letter to Stravinsky, 19 Sept. 1941 (PSS).

331. Leonard M. Libbey, "Yankee Blood Boils at Stravinsky's Act," *Boston Sunday Globe*, 23 Jan. 1944, 17.

332. "No Official Version Exists," *Boston Sunday Globe*, 23 Jan. 1944, 3; see also Svejda, *History*, 400 and 425–26n131.

333. See *Washington Times-Herald*, 6 Jan. 1941; quoted in *Igor and Vera Stravinsky*, 98, no. 164.

334. Ray C. B. Brown, "Judge Not Too Quickly, Critic Warns," *Washington Post*, 5 Jan. 1941, pt. 6, 7. The report appears directly below Stravinsky's photograph and next to an announcement of his arrival to conduct the National Symphony. As early as 1915, Carl van Vechten, in *Music After the Great War* (New York: G. Schirmer, 1915), 115–16, held that Stravinsky's "use of dissonance is an art in itself . . . is invention itself."

335. André Rigaud, "M. Igor Stravinsky nous parle de la musique de *Pulcinella*," *Comoedia illustré* (15 May 1920): 1, trans. Walsh, in *Stravinsky I*, 312; partially quoted from Walsh in Mary E. Davis, *Classic Chic: Music, Fashion, and Modernism* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2006), 175, but with her incorrect reference, 273n71, to an earlier (different) interview.

336. Walsh, *Stravinsky II*, 339. See the *Münchner Telegramm Zeitung und Sport-Telegraf* (2 Feb. 1933), trans. in *Igor and Vera Stravinsky*, 22, as "The audience always wants to be accustomed to something first," but in Craft, "Stravinsky: A Centenary View," *New York Review of Books* 29 (10 June 1982), as "Audiences want the familiar, that to which they are accustomed." Repr. in Craft, *Present Perspectives*, 220, and his *Glimpses*, 8. The original German is unavailable to me.

337. Mary E. Davis, "Stravinsky in *Vogue*: Neoclassicism and the Fashion Press," *Abstracts of Papers Read at the American Musicological Society and the Society for Music Theory, 2–5 Nov. 2006* (Los Angeles, CA: AMS, 2006), 160.

338. "Music Notes," *Vogue*, 1 Jan. 1916, 68, quoted in Davis, *Classic Chic*, 172, and 272n64. See esp. Carol J. Oja, *Making Music Modern: New York in the 1920s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 448n17, citing Emilie Frances Bauer, "Ultra-Modern Concerto Disgusts New York Audience," *Musical Leader* 49 (12 Feb. 1925): 152; and Oja, *Making Music Modern*, 190n22, citing Henry Cowell's New Music Society of California that issued a flyer in 1925 mentioning Stravinsky among "composers of so-called ultra-modern tendencies"; and *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 29 Mar. 1925, 2, citing *Petrouchka* as "ultra-modern music," and this very page illustrated in *Igor and Vera Stravinsky*, 63, pl. 73.

339. *Correspondance Ansermet-Strawinsky 1914–1967*, 3 vols., ed. Claude Tappolet (Geneva: Georg, 1990–92), 1, 21–22, no. 192, with slightly differing translations in Stravinsky, *Selected Correspondence*, 1:180; and Walsh, *Stravinsky I*, 362. Stravinsky was perhaps recalling Baron Adolphe de Meyer, in "The Ballet Russe—Then and Now," *Vanity Fair* (Jan. 1917), 69, stating that he was "in the very front rank of modern musicians," as quoted in Davis, *Classic Chic*, 172 and 272n62.

340. Osgood, "Stravinsky Conducts an Interview," 7.

341. "New York Concerts—Stravinsky," *Musical Courier* 90, no. 6 (5 Feb. 1925): 14; see also Virgil Thomson, "How Modern Music Gets That Way—Some Notes on Stravinsky, Schoenberg, and Satie as Representative Moderns," *Vanity Fair* 24, no. 2 (Apr. 1925), 46 and 102.

342. Leonard Stein, "Schoenberg and 'Kleine Modernsky,'" *Confronting Stravinsky*, 322 (my translation from the German). White, *Stravinsky*, 296 n.1, locates S. [*sic*] Roerig's text translated into German in a Berlin periodical (1927), the date thus consistent with Schoenberg's remarks in 1932 on its clipping. Apropos "modernism," Stravinsky also stated: "C'est un mot compromisé. . . . The modernists set out to shock the bourgeoisie, and they only succeeded in pleasing the Bolsheviki. . . . My music is . . . only the music of today." See "Igor Stravinsky Not a 'Modernist,'" *New York Times*, 6 Jan. 1925, 23. Further, see Osgood, "Stravinsky Conducts an Interview," 7; and Walsh, *Stravinsky I*, 400.

343. Unidentified Chicago newspaper clipping, 21 Feb. 1925 (PSS), quoted in Walsh, *Stravinsky I*, 407.

344. Alexander Fried, "Stravinsky's Music Needs an Orchestra," *San Francisco Examiner*, 14 Feb. 1935, 9.

345. See Valéry Dufour, "La Poétique Musicale de Stravinsky: Un manuscrit inédit de Souvtchinsky," *Revue de musicologie* 89, no. 2 (2003): 381; and her "Strawinsky vers Souvtchinsky: Thème et variations sur la *Poétique musicale*," *Mitteilungen der Paul Sacher Stiftung* 17 (Mar. 2004): 22.

346. See Stravinsky, *Selected Correspondence*, 2:514; and Stravinsky, *Poetics of Music in the Form of Six Lessons*, trans. Arthur Knodel and Ingolf Dahl (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1947), 81, 83.

347. See Slim, *Annotated Catalogue*, 262, which notes that Stravinsky utilized some of Kall's translations in 1944–45; see also Slim, "Unknown Words and Music," 309.

348. See Marie Hicks Davidson, "Stravinsky in San Francisco Rehearsal" and her "Symphony Season Reopens Jan. 9," *San Francisco Call-Bulletin*, 13 Dec. 1939, 4P, and 2 Jan. 1942, 11, respectively.

349. See Dorothy Riley, "Minneapolis Equals Paris in Merchandise, She [Vera Stravinsky] Claims," *Minneapolis Star Journal*, 20 Dec. 1940, in *Scrapbook*, 11, no. 15; and Arnold, "Strawinsky Calls Swing American Folk Music."

350. *Script* 26 (8 Nov. 1941): 28.

351. *Script* 26 (25 Oct. 1941): 28–29.

352. Sample, typed letter, c.1986, to Lebrecht (S–A priv. coll.).

353. Libbey, "Yankee Blood Boils."

354. Taruskin, *Stravinsky and the Russian Traditions* I, 956.

355. See Stravinsky, *Poetics of Music*, 82–85, 96; and Stravinsky, *Selected Correspondence*, 2:514.

356. *Pictures and Documents*, 643–44n19.

357. Georg August Griessinger, *Joseph Haydn: Eighteenth-Century Gentleman and Genius (Biographische Notizen über Joseph Haydn* [1809]), trans. Vernon Gotwals

(Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1963), 61. Daniel Heartz kindly brought this passage to my attention.

358. Andersson, handwritten diary, 1941, 1 and 13, respectively (S–A priv. coll.).

359. *Pictures and Documents*, 384 (1 July 1949).

360. Stravinsky and Craft, *Memories and Commentaries* (1960), 107.

361. Morton, "Stravinsky at Home," 343–44.

362. Ernest Ansermet and J.-Claude Piguet, *Entretiens sur la Musique* (Neuchâtel: Baconnière, 1963), 90.

363. *Pictures and Documents*, 248, which also supplies place and date for Stravinsky's remark to Ansermet: New York, 11 Jan. 1956.

364. Ernest Ansermet, *Les fondements de la musique dans la conscience humaine*, 2 vols. (Neuchâtel, CH: Baconnière, 1961), 2:266. Leonard W. Johnson kindly assisted in translating Ansermet's slightly ambiguous text.

365. Andriessen and Schönberger, *Apollonian Clockwork*, 28–29. No evidence is adduced for the authors' contention that Stravinsky's 1919 harmonization of "La Marseillaise" was made to depict that anthem's performance by a village musician.

366. See Stravinsky and Craft, *Themes and Episodes* (1966), 153–54; and the posthumous Stravinsky, *Themes and Conclusions*, 229.

367. Stravinsky and Craft, *Expositions and Developments*, 46–47.

368. See Taruskin, *Stravinsky and the Russian Traditions*, 1: 99.

369. Nicolai Rimsky-Korsakov, *Practical Manual of Harmony*, Joseph Achron, 12, 4th ed. (New York: Fischer, 1943), iii. Achron (1886–1943), a student in the St. Petersburg Conservatory until 1904, consistently translates the Russian word for "chorale" as "choral." When writing in English, Stravinsky also occasionally lapses into "choral"; for example, in Mercury's facsimile preface (see above, version B), in the Balanchine birthday tune he set in 1946 (see facsimile cited n. 225 above), and in 1961 when writing to T. S. Eliot (*Pictures and Documents*, 542). His "une musique de choral" in *Chroniques* (1935), 2, 11, is correct of course, though mistranslated as "choral piece" in his *Autobiography* (1936), 90.

370. Théodore Strawinsky, *Le Message d'Igor Strawinsky* (Lausanne, CH: Librarie F. Rouge, 1948), 107–8; different trans. in White, *Stravinsky*, 109. See also reports by Nicolas Nabokov and Samuel Dushkin in Armitage, *Stravinsky*, ed. Corle (1949), 146 and 184; and esp. by Maurice Perrin, "Stravinsky dans une classe de composition," in *Feuilles musicales et Revue suisse du disque* 3 (Dec. 1951): 212, trans. "Stravinsky in a Composition Class," *The Score* 20 (June 1957): 45.

371. See Walter Piston, "Stravinsky's Rediscoveries," *Dance Index* 6 (1947): 256–57. Stravinsky's remark also appears in Minna Ledermann, ed., *Stravinsky in the Theatre* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1975), 130; and Pasler, *Confronting Stravinsky*, xvii.

372. *Pictures and Documents*, 363 (my emphases). Craft, in *Chronicle of a Friendship*, 273, gives more of the preceding text. The full text, in the *Melbourne Sun*, is unavailable to me.

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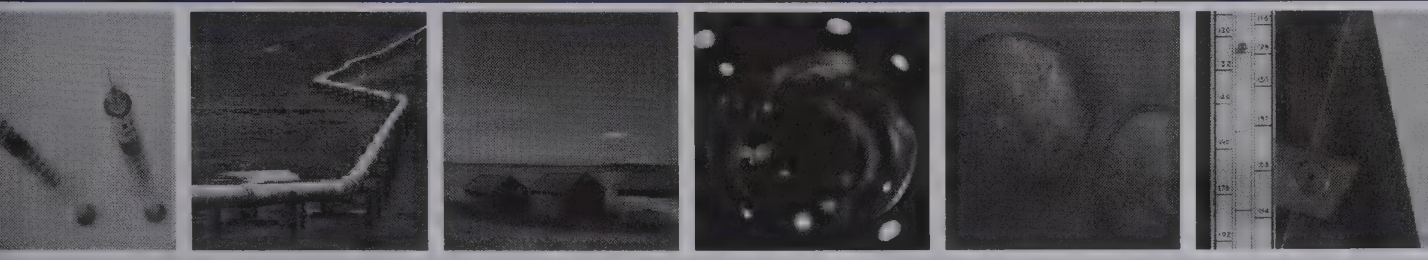

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Preface

There is nothing quite as beautiful as a crisp fall day in Chapel Hill, North Carolina. At that time of year, McCorkle Place, the idyllic lawn of the University of North Carolina, welcomes the visitor with a cool and still splendor, its vibrant green foliage and historic brick buildings encouraging the most nostalgic and pleasurable of false American memories. The morning of 14 October 2006 was just such an exquisite day, the quadrangle bustling with an unusual amount of activity as musicologists, ethnomusicologists, theorists, and performers made their way to Hyde Hall, home of the Institute for the Arts and Humanities, to attend a symposium on "Music, Race, and Identity." They brought with them energy, excitement, intellectual engagement, curiosity, and openness to dialogue. The essays in this volume were inspired by that special event, and by the discussions it generated.

Many people at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill contributed to the creation of this volume. First and foremost, I would like to thank Annegret Fauser, whose enthusiasm for music scholarship knows no bounds, and whose skill as an organizer is unparalleled in our field. Annegret is a powerhouse, who can transform dust into achievement with the touch of her magic wand, and in whose presence every chat about the weather becomes compelling intellectual dialogue. She is the force behind both the symposium at Chapel Hill and this volume, and she deserves tremendous praise and relentless accolades for her achievement.

I also want to express my deep and sincere gratitude to Jann Pasler for her contribution to this volume. All of us were tremendously excited when we found out Jann Pasler would be in residence at the National Humanities Center in 2006–2007 and would be able to participate in our fall symposium. Many of us look up to Jann as a scholar and mentor, and value deeply her vast intellect and extraordinary work on French culture. Her presence at the symposium was electric and inspired us all. We are so lucky that she is part of this project.

By a similar stroke of good fortune, Ron Radano agreed to write our introduction. During a visit to Chapel Hill in winter 2007, we all

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had a chance to dialogue with Ron, and to engage in fascinating debate with him about issues of music and identity. He is the leading scholar in this area of intellectual inquiry, and we are very grateful to him for articulating its importance in his eloquent contribution.

A very special thank you goes to the graduate students, and to the entire faculty in the Department of Music at UNC. It was a particular honor to work with scholars as engaged and compelling as David Garcia, Mark Katz, and Jocelyn Neal, and to dialogue with them in such a generous and open manner about their contributions to this volume. I also want to thank Mark Evan Bonds, Jon Finson, Anne MacNeil, John Nádas, Severine Neff, and Felix Wörner for their vivid intellectual contributions to the October symposium. Mark Evan Bonds led a gracious and fascinating discussion on the issues raised in this volume, encouraging the probing questions raised here; Jon Finson, Anne MacNeil, John Nádas, and Severine Neff brought the conference to the highest intellectual level with their perspicuous commentary and experienced reflections. The graduate students, as always, were an utter intellectual joy, guiding us all with their dedication, insight, critical acuity, and knowledge.

We also want to express our gratitude to Leon Botstein and Christopher Gibbs, for encouraging this project and welcoming it at the *Music Quarterly*, and Irene Zedlacher for her support as the journal's managing editor.

Finally, I would like to thank Tim Carter, chair of the Department of Music at UNC-Chapel Hill, whose welcoming smile is familiar to anybody who has spent time there, and who works indefatigably for the good of the department and music scholarship writ large, and to enable events and publications like this one. It is my hope that this volume reflects some of the excitement and promise of the symposium on music and identity that he and his extraordinary faculty created at the University of North Carolina, and of the open intellectual dialogue they foster and encourage there.

Tamara Levitz
Athens, Georgia
August 2007

Let me add, for my part, that I consider the October conference to have been one of those near-perfect moments in musical scholarship, when I was reminded unequivocally why I had chosen as my profession the study of music and its cultural and political history. I hope that the

readers of this journal will find some of the vividness of our intellectual debates reflected in these contributions, which were sparked by the presence in North Carolina of two extraordinary visitors: Jann Pasler at the National Humanities Center, and Tamara Levitz as Visiting Research Professor at the Department of Music, UNC-Chapel Hill, for the academic year 2006–2007. Their research interests encouraged intense dialogue with colleagues across disciplines, and within various areas of current musical inquiry.

We at the department of music appreciated and enjoyed the precious gift these visiting scholars gave us by intellectually enriching our university community during those months. Tamara Levitz's contributions to the conference specifically, and to the overall scholarly life of the department, were inspiring and challenging, opening new horizons, whether in musicological papers and discussions, or simply while spinning ideas over a glass of wine at our favorite French restaurants. I am very grateful, indeed.

That such discussions led to a conference was due not only to the vibrancy of our intellectual exchange but also to the generous support of the Department of Music, the Senior Associate Dean of the Arts and Humanities, and the Institute for the Arts and Humanities at UNC-Chapel Hill.

Annegret Fauser
Chapel Hill
August 2007

Introduction

Ronald Radano

The revolution in social and cultural theory has dramatically affected our thinking about the character of subjectivity, the making of social groups, and the processes of historical change. Given the magnitude of these interpretive shifts, it is of little surprise that they have also made a sizable impact on contemporary musicological projects. While the fields of historical musicology, ethnomusicology, and music theory still give considerable currency to aestheticist and formalist commitments, many scholars have embraced theory's challenge in order to explore music's place within the complex networks of relations constituting the social. At this particular turn, the musicologies seem to be asking less about the details of the already canonized and more about material issues that affect musical practice and experience. Increasingly, our interests have been drawn not to matters of repertory or "the history of music" but to concerns of social consequence—to the ways in which music inhabits and generates significance and meaning. This epistemological change has helped to reorient our very thinking about music's place in the world. For many cultural musicologists, musical power both accrues from and informs the social situations constituting musical expression, even if music's informing discourses continue to advance myths of an exceptional, supralinguistic auditory realm.

Undertaking a materially grounded, social-historical "cultural musicology" may seem at times daunting, for it requires us to look both within and beyond form in order to consider how the sonic gesture inhabits the countless circuits of the social and aligns within the interstices of the modern. Music's signifying capacities conspicuously involve the social world, and music's peculiar and perhaps unique ability to condense manifold social referents while holding precise signification at bay has been said to explain its unusual powers of making meaning.[1] Sorting out these musical-discursive relations is complicated enough; it becomes doubly so when taking into account the institutional and ideological apparatuses identifying the nondiscursive spheres of the social that enter into and inform music's signifying capacities. If music occupies a

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multilayered semiotic network of communication, it also exists within a series of regulating structures—technological, economic, political, ideological—that help to shape performance and listening as social acts. As such, a musical encounter inevitably exceeds the bounded immediacies of place and the seemingly private phenomenologies we may cherish. Local productions within domestic and public spaces—from the neighborhood bar to the elite concert hall to the "world" between an iPod's earphones—link with a dense circuitry of ideas and action that deeply and profoundly inform local experience. The blues and jazz recordings on my favorite jukebox in Madison, for example, are part of an interplay of language and image enabled by technologies of musical reproduction and the circulation of commodities that condition music's very conception. The performances I've enjoyed by the New York Philharmonic speak not only to the particulars of that city's concert culture but also to a snarl of ideas at once contemporary and historical, "musical" and "nonmusical," and reaching ultimately to a legacy of involvements in the making of Euro-Western civility. In the modern, the circuits of consumer society place everything on the grid, and when on the grid, the local and the specifically musical always extend beyond our particular circumstances, even if we imagine them as somehow autonomous and deeply personal.

As challenging as these complexities may seem, they are nonetheless the stuff of music's history and music's presence. And they are the materiality that draws our attention to music's capacities and social power. Cultural musicology's challenge to prevailing aestheticist concerns shifts attention from that which we like to that which matters musically in the formation of social and personal experience. The present cultural turn promises a new kind of musicological inquiry that gives center stage to these crucial issues of musical significance. It is a critically oriented, socially and historically grounded scholarship that operates less in the service of perpetuating standards of taste than in the comprehension of why music and taste are important in the first place.

The essays assembled for this special issue speak both individually and as a group to musicology's cultural turn. Representing the three major fields of music studies, they join together to give voice to approaches long operative in the discipline but that are now experiencing a new level of influence against the normative studies of repertory and histories of music. Wide-ranging in methodological procedure, genre, and area of focus, the essays share a common commitment to examining the social force of musical practices as they coalesce within the communities of musicians and listeners of the modern. At once historical and ethnographic, U.S.-based and transnationally situated in

the betweenness of the Americas and Europe, these studies together offer a portrait of the social significance and consequences of musical production, distribution, and reception over the past 150 years of life in the West. Rather than a "sociology of music"—a frequently pejorative label for studies deemed ancillary to the music itself—these essays offer inquiries into the poetics of the musically social: into the ways in which the social occupies musical experience and, conversely, how musical creation and listening inform the feel and affect of social being. In this way, they explore what Pierre Bourdieu calls, in his relationally intricate and multidimensional social theory, habitus: the complex processes by which agents articulate dynamic social forces as they negotiate through and affect those forces in individually creative ways.[2] From the concept of the habitus arise clues regarding the force of musicality in the modern experience.

The essays in this volume present a modern story, a discussion of music's entry into the broad networks of communication and access that have repeatedly implicated the auditory within the various stagings of nineteenth- and twentieth-century social formation. The increased availability of musical practices via new technologies of production and distribution has generated a diversity of previously unrecognized genres and styles, typically affiliated with popular culture, that have become attached to nation-based ethnicities and racially marked subcultures articulating modern group formation. In the contemporary lexicon, these markers come together under the familiar rubric of identity, understood conventionally as the conscious modes of self-conception that enable a practical perception of self-coherence amid the vastly more unstable complex of unconscious forces, psychological, economic, and otherwise. A term introduced into contemporary social thought in the mid-twentieth century, "identity" gradually became a convenient shorthand for referring to the far more complicated character of selfhood and to the new kinds of groupings that informed contemporary categories of difference.[3] If the term "identity" risks naturalizing and oversimplifying the constitution of self and group—as if one could step into an identity as one would a set of clothing—it also foregrounds within a familiar rhetoric formations of social coherence, including those involving musical creation and experience. As such, by focusing on music's connections to identity, we can consider, once again, the forms beyond musical form: the logics according to which agents (musicians, listeners, institutions, and other participants in musical encounters) negotiate the social and discursive spheres they inhabit.

One of the dominant themes orienting this set of essays is the constraining power of institutions and ideologies in the creation and

reception of musical genres, practices, and works. There is, indeed, a kind of insistence present here, one stressing the ways in which such social forces, seemingly exterior to the musical, align within music's semiotic fields and, as a consequence, come to be communicated musically. In the articles by Tamara Levitz and David Garcia, for example, we encounter such processes as they relate to the politics of racial representation. The authors demonstrate how a key figuration in modernist aesthetics, the notion of the primitive, came to exceed its historically bounded reference to "the Negro" in order to take a primary role in the formation of musical taste and experience on the cosmopolitan stages of mid-twentieth-century France and the Americas. What was once a discrete marker within the economics of slavery would assume a dynamic and arguably more culturally assertive form in the constitution of transnational modernities writ large, stretching across various locales from Paris to Havana to New York and Mexico City. The power of these discourses to inhabit and cross into various cultural situations, from the Musée du quai Branly in Levitz's analysis to a transnational performance circuit in Garcia's, betrays the inadequacy of conventional demarcations of high culture and low, art and popular. Such analytical categories are perhaps of limited use in a world where the racial and the primitive repeatedly intervene through representational discourses that articulate performances, recordings, and listening experience.

The contradictions that race produces in the modern—marking an exclusive difference that is simultaneously claimed by the many within the new systems of purchase characterizing consumer society—also lie behind the troubling confusion of meanings that Jocelyn Neal explores in her study of blacks in country music. Neal's advocacy of site-specific analyses of racial specification represents a welcome effort to cut through the monolithic portrayals that reflexively align whiteness and country and that cast the involvements of African Americans as inconsistencies or "exceptions" to the rule. As Barbara Fields argued in a classic essay, such inconsistencies appear that way because they run up against a greater contradiction that underlies the ideological construction of race.[4] Cast as exceptions, they reinforce commitments to the color line, even as those exceptions take countless forms, from a bebop repertory built upon the song-form prototypes of Tin Pan Alley to various complexities of taste and experience, emblematic, for example, in the "I Love Elvis" bumper sticker I recently spotted on a car in the Twin Cities, driven by a young African American woman in full hip-hop regalia.

Offering a valuable background to these explorations is Jann Pasler's detailed analysis of the interplay of musical and racial figurations in the making of nineteenth-century conceptions of French subjectivity.

Inspired by contemporary social theorists such as Etienne Balibar, Pasler examines the social situation of French music within a gossamer net of interrelated discourses of race, nation, and empire, demonstrating how musical understanding was intimately bound up with the ideological apparatuses of the modern French nation-state. Representations of French music, she observes, were inextricably linked to French anxiety about the order of social identity at a time when France was actively extending its empire and contending with the consequences of European immigrations from the South and East to its homeland. Pairing some of the key texts of French racial theory with musical discussions from the time, Pasler reveals how the classic, musical indices of French culture—clarity, harmony, elegance, etc.—assumed racial specification, serving to affirm the integrity of French culture at the same time that composers, critics, and collectors grappled with the effect of the many conspicuous versions of difference upon the sanctity of French forms. As we read Pasler's thoughtful analysis, we begin to recognize how the ideas of the racial underwent a kind of auditory translation or mediation. In the transcribed and harmonized *chansons populaires* and in art works such as Saint-Saëns's *Suite Algérienne*, sound projected the consequences of colonialism, revealing the contradictions inherent to the reclamation of Frenchness amid the new formations of hybridity that the concept of race itself produced.

Circulation and mediation inevitably lead to other articulations of music and the social, as examined in the two remaining essays. If technologies of reproduction circulate racial ideas, so do they advance gender codes, which is the subject of Mark Katz's study of club DJs. What interests Katz is not only the affiliations of music and gender categories but also the ways in which the performative technologies themselves align with contemporary notions of American masculinity, and particularly with the image of the nerd who locates distinction and affirmation in his work as a DJ. Annegret Fauser explores the matter of mediation relationally in a study of American national identity. She compellingly argues that Aaron Copland's composerly self-conception emerged as a consequence of a transnational connection, a cultural circuit that located national identification in French stereotypes of the American, much in the same way that the Nigerian pop singer Fela Anikulapo-Kuti discovered his Africanness by visiting Los Angeles during a critical phase in the Black Power movement.[5] One could imagine an elaboration of Fauser's argument by working from Andreas Huyssen's critical reflection on the protective force of a masculine-identified modernism against the onslaught of a feminized and (by implication, at least) racialized mass culture.[6] It is symptomatic

of the unstable attachments and movements of sound and idea that we find a later "Coplandesque" style reminiscent of the *Lincoln Portrait* signifying patriotism, whiteness, and masculine power in the theme music for a recent popular television show, *The West Wing*. In this alignment, Copland's biography—a gay, Jewish New Yorker—provocatively complicates the iconic power of the Myth of the Frontier—heterosexual, WASP, midwestern—setting up cultural contradictions that seem in their way distinctively American.

Read together, the essays in this volume offer new insights into the various institutional forces, discursive networks, and ideological apparatuses that have mapped onto the sound fields of modern music, and into the ways in which these mappings have produced a vast system of interconnection complicating easy demarcations of race, class, gender, and nation. Modern musical practices carry across these social categories, coalescing in ways specific to circumstance and moment. Indeed, the more we look, the more we find music at the center of things, not only in the cloistered domain of the concert hall but fully interconnected with the varieties of the social and reaching into the political economy of a globalized West. As a product of these fields and networks, the modern subject is very much a musical one, not because of some inherent talent but rather as a consequence of the social alignments that brought forth a music-dominated popular culture deeply linked to the making of individuals as properly domestic citizens. As Anne McClintock has brilliantly demonstrated, domestic-based cultural forms (such as music) historically have identified the constitutive boundaries of civility, expelling that which was foreign, abject to an exterior that simultaneously defined identity's limits and formed the basis of foreign attraction.[7] As music scholars, it is among our challenges to examine these socially bounded processes and to explore how music is involved in the advancement of and resistance to the macro sphere—how it aligns with the unrecognized (and often unconscious) dimensions explaining the social basis of subjectivity. These issues of a restorative practice bring the musical acutely into conversation with other fields of social and humanistic inquiry. They may well be the issues most convincingly representing cultural musicology for years to come.

Notes

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1. See, for example, Steven Feld, "Communication, Music, and Speech about Music," *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 16 (1984): 1–18, rev. version in Charles Keil and Steve Feld, *Music Grooves: Essays and Dialogues* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1994): 77–95; and Anthony Newcomb, "Sound and Feeling," *Critical Inquiry* 10 (1984): 614–43.

2. For a valuable introduction, see Pierre Bourdieu, "Social Space and Symbolic Power," *Sociological Theory* 7 (Spring 1989): 14–25; and Bourdieu and Loïc J. D. Wacquant, *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1992).

3. Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper, "Beyond 'Identity,'" *Theory and Society* 29 (2000): 1–47.

4. Barbara J. Fields, "Ideology and Race in American History," in *Region, Race, and Reconstruction: Essays in Honor of C. Vann Woodward*, ed. J. Morgan Kousser and James M. McPherson (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), 143–77.

5. Tejumola Olaniyan, *Arrest the Music! Fela and His Rebel Art and Politics* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2004), 29–34.

6. See, for example, Andreas Huyssen, "Mass Culture as Woman: Modernism's Other," in *After the Great Divide: Modernism, Mass Culture, Postmodernism* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1986), 44–64.

7. Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York: Routledge, 1995).

Theorizing Race in Nineteenth-Century France: Music as Emblem of Identity

Jann Pasler

Long before the postmodern and postcolonial preoccupation with hybridization, the impact of migrations and urban expansion, as well as the notion of Western culture as a product of the colonized and the colonizers, related concerns permeated notions of race and national identity in nineteenth-century France. Within French debates about race lay a deep-seated anxiety about the racialized Self as much as the racialized Other. While the French have wanted to believe in the Revolutionary notion of the Republic as "one and indivisible,"[1] they have had to come to grips with a history characterized not by homogeneous coherence, but by invasions, conflict, and accommodation. Celts, Gauls, Romans, Franks, Southerners, and Northerners, the people and the nobility, colonized peoples and *émigrés*, each of these has formed part of the fabric of identity developed over the centuries, and yet each is the subject of intense ongoing controversy. Some French in the nineteenth century, particularly republicans, saw these cultural collisions as nourishing, inducing progress; others, especially those nostalgic for the Ancien Régime, insisted on certain continuities as responsible for "the genius of the race." Historians struggled with the transnational nature of peoples like the Celts who, living in northern Europe and southern Germany as well as France, raised questions about the relationship between race, culture, and nation.[2] Also difficult, colonial theorists had to acknowledge that colonialism, at least theoretically, necessarily involves reciprocal influences.[3] Underlying these concerns, nineteenth-century French intellectuals sought to understand how their nation emerged from successive confrontations of Self and Other, difference and similarity, and how its hybrid people unsettled these binary oppositions over time through both resistance and assimilation.

In the context of emerging nationalism, then, race was not only an imperialist construct and a product of colonial consciousness. The French were deeply concerned with who they were vis-à-vis their

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European neighbors, especially Germany. With the near-impossibility of agreeing on any one identity and the French notion of civilization as necessarily involving flux and transformation as a result of contact with the Other,[4] race had to be able to signify more than the essentialist category defined by distinct skin color or other physical characteristics, that is, a diverse people of "mixed" blood. At home, when racial categories were used to reflect on the Self, a site of lofty ideals but fractured by the clash of ongoing class and political differences, race and racial beliefs sometimes became a signifier of class or political ideal. To the extent that race suggested something shared, it could serve as a foundation for national identity; however, because its meaning varied depending on the purpose that it served, the nation itself is revealed as an ever-contested construction. The need to understand both what was distinct in French identity as well as what differentiated the West from the non-West grew particularly compelling after the Franco-Prussian war and the Dreyfus Affair as well as the expansion of the French empire. By the fin de siècle, as many French grew anxious with plunging birthrates accompanied by growing crime, syphilis, alcoholism, and suicide, they feared impending racial degeneration and the dusk of French superiority.[5]

In this article, I deconstruct late-nineteenth-century discourse about race in France—how the French saw themselves—and suggest how music, in its ability to embody and recall the past, was understood to contribute to various racial myths embedded in French identity. Not only was this meant to counteract French pessimism and fuel French pride, it could be used to validate political positions as well as promote visions of the nation's future, even when these were mutually exclusive. To understand the complicated, contradictory, and multivalent interrelationships between music, race, and identity, we cannot focus on race, as other scholars have done, only in the dialectic with colonial Others or in the preoccupation with national identity at home, as if separate concerns.[6] Here, for the first time, I bring these debates together to show that one discussion conditions the other and that these racial notions are, in effect, interdependent. Furthermore, a careful decoding of the French term *race* as it applied to music unveils some of the complex intersections of *la patrie* and France d'Outre-Mer.

We examine, therefore, musicians' and musicologists' notions of race as signified in culture, but construed variously depending on racial beliefs. These include racial origins, hierarchies, migrations, hybridity (or what some called "mixing" or "fusion"), and purity.[7] Because it was thought to shed light on these, music reinforced a sense of connection to the world—the present to the past, the local to the global. It seemed to offer access to time before history and to place beyond the limits of

geography. Many resonated with Darwin, who believed that musical sounds could "awaken in us, albeit in a vague and indeterminate way, the strongest emotions resonant of a distant age."[8] Music thus empowered a notion of race as an imaginative projection beyond the known and the knowable, and yet like history—a construct with a purpose. This purpose, increasingly, was to document not only the distinction of French culture, but also the centrality of France within Western culture.

Race as Signifier of Culture

In nineteenth-century France, as Paul Broca explains it, race had two different meanings, the first particular, the second general. Whether it designated "individuals sufficiently resembling one another that . . . they have descended from common parents" or "the *ensemble* of all such individuals who . . . have to each other a greater morphological affinity than they have with the rest of mankind" (e.g., the determination of the individual by the group), race refers to a basic "family likeness" linked to skin color. Yet when it comes to actual races, he notes, "there is no race which can pretend to personify within itself the type to which it belongs." "Human types, like all other types, are merely abstractions. . . . There is in the human mind a tendency to personify abstractions." The notion of human types helped facilitate comparison, simplify partial description, and establish relative affinities or differences.[9] But, given the complexity of humanity, physical characteristics were never enough, especially when it came to the desire for hierarchies. So, for race to function as a way to determine "just how far the realm of identity extends and where the realm of difference begins," as Todorov puts it, race needed to signal far more than blood.[10] Building on the eighteenth-century theorist Buffon, who related skin color to ways of life, food, and climate, in the nineteenth-century, race came to be associated with what Gobineau called "blood, beliefs, habits, and language" and Broca "manners, language, history, and origin." From this comes the association of physical characteristics with cultural predispositions, including morals, behaviors, and notions of beauty—the intersection of aesthetics with ethics.[11]

Race, then, could refer to both the three (or five) principal human groups defined by skin color, as well as the various subgroups. Gobineau devoted particular attention to what he thought made the white race superior. He argued that the ten great civilizations derived from the initiative of the white race or contact with it. White people shared energy, intelligence, a notion of the useful "in a larger, more elevated, more courageous, more ideal sense" than in Asian countries, perseverance, an instinct for order, a pronounced taste for freedom, hostility

toward despotism, and belief in honor and civilization.[12] From his perspective, human behavior is determined by race and cannot be affected by education or environment. When speaking of race, Gobineau often uses blood, as in "the blood of the white races," as the carrier of heredity responsible for the cultural as well as physical characteristics of a race. But when discussing, for example, the Celts and the Greeks, who, even if they are both white, share neither "social culture, religion, nor blood," races can also be associated with "nations."[13]

At the same time as scientists were conducting anthropometric studies on natives from around the world, seeking scientific evidence for biological definitions of race, the notion of race as signifying culture (and not necessarily nation) became increasingly important, especially in the wake of the Franco-Prussian war. When Ernest Renan referred to the nation, he referred to it as having a "soul" like an individual, and the result of desires, instincts, suffering, and joys that a people might share "in spite of the diversity of race and language."[14] The example of Alsace, where the people spoke German but most wished to be part of France, meant that an alliance of races in the nation in France was not about coercive identity, as with the slaves in the United States, but rather a voluntary one, more like what we today call nationality. And yet race also connoted, generally speaking, what one could reasonably essentialize about a people, including what they as a group endured over time as a constitutive force. Both Renan and Taine saw as distinctive of the French race an aptitude for philosophy and science, a love of the beautiful and the sublime, and a capacity for political and military organization. Gustave Le Bon popularized the idea that the soul of a race is reflected in its beliefs and traditions—"the inheritance of all its ancestors"—and that the arts manifest the soul of a civilization, which, as a polygenist, he construed as fixed.[15] In contrast, for the sociologist Gabriel Tarde, race was the collective consciousness of a people, dependent on their memory of the past, but the "daughter and not the mother of its acquired characteristics." Disciples of Frédéric Le Play likewise saw race as "not a cause, but a consequence": "the roads that the peoples have followed" created the diversity of peoples.[16] In the nineteenth century, the term *race* circulated in several discourses, not just in biology or anthropology.

Such ideas informed a wide range of musical practices. When I recently asked a French scholar how he would translate "un musicien de la grande race," as Saint-Saëns was described, he proposed "a musician truly worthy of the name," or "a musician of the highest order." Until the early twentieth century, the word *race* could stand as a signifier of a people or a nation, even a means of classification, but not necessarily

one that referred to visual and measurable physical characteristics. Race might connote a connection to one's ancestors, but not necessarily through blood, skin, and hair color. It might be something to protect, something that engenders self-esteem. To the extent that "la grande race" refers to the French race—as if that were a unified, coherent notion—it suggests the existence of national characteristics in French music.

This notion of race indeed was what the French felt differentiated them as a nation, but they struggled with what constituted their "distinguishing features." Artistic practices contributed to defining these, in part because the instincts of a race were thought to affect the artistic progress of a nation.[17] But what constituted national style, of course, depended on how they were interpreted and the purposes to which they were put. Class played an important role. Members of the social and political elite in the Union Centrale des Arts Décoratifs in the 1880s considered elegance and grace as quintessentially French and the aristocratic French past as the best model for studying them. Debussy too, at the beginning of World War I, called for more attention to Rameau's music and its elegance, "the musical tradition of our race," to which the French had been "unfaithful for a century and a half."[18] Meanwhile, folklorists looked to old poetry and indigenous popular songs for clues about the common people, taste, and customs of earlier times. In these, they also discovered lightness, charm, and grace in naïve forms. To them, these songs suggested "moral values" of continuing relevance: "gaiety for those living in constant misery, idealism for those overcome by reality."[19] By offering models of "simplicity and clarity," they also offered composers a way to "preserve the individuality and genius of the French school."[20] Those focused on differentiating French culture from that of "certain Nordic races" pointed to vague notions of south versus north, sun versus fog, clarity versus mystery. To combat the powerful influence of Wagner's music—what Debussy called "an unacceptable formula for our race," they encouraged cultivation of "clarity, elegance, and sincerity of expression" in French music as qualities "inherent to the race."[21] Calling on the language of colonialism, Alfred Bruneau expressed the view of many when he wrote, "Our music must change just like the rest, provided it remains French and applies to the particular genius of our race the international conquests from which it has both the right and the duty to benefit."[22]

Advocates of "racial qualities" often saw in them regenerative powers. In recalling the past, French artists sought not only to reinscribe their commonality with their ancestors (the definition of which depended on one's political and social allegiances), but also to renew

their art.[23] In the decorative arts, the focus on elegance and grace led to a rococo linear style inspired by eighteenth-century French idioms, in opposition to Romantic or impressionist orientations. Composers from Saint-Saëns and d'Indy to Debussy and Ravel incorporated folksongs both as indexical signs to their regions of origin and as sources of naïve simplicity and grace. As one writer put it just before the opening of the 1889 Exhibition, "In the arts as in nature, when one arrives at a period of exhaustion, one feels the need to turn back to primitive things which carry regenerative virtues that neither talent nor work can replace. The artist finds in the primitive conceptions of human intelligence great poetic forces, naiveté and simplicity." With a term otherwise used to describe colonialist appropriations, he exhorts, "Let's turn back to the past and see if, in old music, we will not find elements susceptible of being developed, *débarbarisés*, rendered worthy of the majestic edifice called modern music."[24]

Racial Hierarchies

If stereotypical racial thinking could be understood as empowering a shared cultural identity within France, one that French artists could use to promote their distinction in the world of ever-growing international competition, it was also employed to promote a hierarchy of cultures, important to any nation claiming superiority. At the heart of the matter was the question of whether people come from the same species or have multiple origins. Most polygenists, such as Broca and Gobineau, believed in a separate origin for each human race, and thought that variations between human populations reflect racial characteristics.[25] Monarchists were attracted to these ideas because they seemed to validate historic aristocratic privileges, refuting the idea that man is everywhere equal. Monogenists, in contrast, believed that all human groups came from the same race and, as Rousseau proposed, were perfectible. Underlying this idealism was faith in universals and the desire to understand universal traits throughout the globe. Like Darwin, monogenists did not see a fundamental difference between a species and its variants, the *genus homo* and its various incarnations. They saw racial diversity as a result of migration and adaptation to shifting circumstances. Many were republicans who ardently believed in the potential of the environment to influence people and the ability of people, through education and reason, to adapt and change. Whereas some polygenists bemoaned racial mixing as a harbinger of racial degeneration, monogenists considered racial change and transformation as inevitable and a potential source of strength.

As much as polygenists and monogenists may have differed over racial origins, they agreed on the presence of racial hierarchies—"great" and "inferior" races, some of which may have disappeared, leaving little trace, or lost their force over time.[26] Even monogenists tended to undervalue cultures that remained static and individuals who resisted assimilation. When the discourse turned beyond France, at stake in these hierarchies was the expansion of the French empire. Prime Minister Jules Ferry saw it as his government's duty and responsibility to civilize "inferior races" as a way to maintain his country's status as a great nation. Like Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, he believed that "the people who colonize the most are the leading people; if they aren't today, they will be tomorrow."[27] Science could make arguments supporting colonial expansion, but never resolve them. Music in some ways was particularly powerful for its suggestive, indeterminate nature. For example, the languid qualities of Arab music, associated with nomadic Arabs, may have evoked to French listeners the charm of a race that some French anthropologists felt had "run its course" and, compared with European civilization, was "moribund."[28] Such notions were used to justify not only a French presence in North Africa, but also, as I discuss below, a future "fusion of the races" there.

Although Renan saw history alone as capable of judging which races were incomplete or defective, music too—a product of civilization and a symbolic practice—was used to support racial theories. It did this in three ways: through its relationship to language, its purported embodiment of temperament and intelligence, as well as its reinforcement of white superiority theories. Elsewhere I have discussed musical instruments as a tool for classifying people, and Matthew Head has pointed to the "anxious vigilance over categories and boundaries when dealing with alterity" as one of the "European strategies of surveillance."[29] I have also shown how the French considered their indigenous folksong (*chansons populaires*) as dialects, used them to argue for racial similarities and differences within the country, and argued through them over the nature of French identity.[30] Here I focus on what French scholars' interpretations of musical scales and instruments contributed to the discourse on race and how polygenism and monogenism shaped both their questions and their musical conclusions.

In an 1867 lecture before the Société d'Anthropologie (with Broca present), and later in his multivolume *Histoire de la musique*, the Belgian François-Joseph Fétis, highly respected in France, proposed that musical systems could shed light on racial origins and reinforce the notion of distinct races.[31] In studying ancient musical instruments and images of them on old monuments, he concentrated on the number and kind

of notes that could be performed as clues to the nature of their musical scales and the relative sophistication of their culture. From the dimensions and number of strings and divisions of the octave on Egyptian harps and the Persian tanbura, he inferred that the musical scales of the Assyrians and the Egyptians were the same—thereby, agreeing with Renan, that "the origin of the Semitic race was Aryan." Although anthropologists had noted significant differences in the language and spirit of Aryan and Semitic people, Fétis suggested that perhaps music evolved among these people before they formed language.[32] From early Sanskrit manuscripts suggesting twenty-two intervals to an octave and instruments permitting twenty-four quarter tones used by Persians, Turks, Arabs, Lydians, Assyrians, Egyptians, and Greeks (in their enharmonic genre), he concluded that Aryans shared a pronounced taste for multiple small intervals. They also used the note *la* as the fundamental of their scales and divided these scales into two parts, one of quarter tones (for "enharmonic music"), the other of semitones (for "chromatic music"). Fétis interpreted this as a result of the "nervous sensibility of ancient Aryans who needed a multitude of intonations . . . and a great quantity of nuances to express the passionate movements of the soul." That contemporary Hindus had twenty-two *scrutis* and Arabs divided their tones into thirds rather than fourths he saw as "slight modifications produced over time." Music of the "yellow race," in contrast, suggested "no point of contact" in the tonality, character, or form of their music. Asians use *fa* as their fundamental, and their scales are based on five notes without any semitones.[33] Although he made no explicit value judgments in that first lecture, underlying Fétis's writing is a belief in a strict racial determinism resembling that of Gobineau, for whom "the hierarchy in languages corresponds rigorously to the hierarchy of races," a polygenist foregone conclusion.[34]

Nineteenth-century music historians espousing monogenist notions about racial origins likewise studied musical scales and instruments of various people around the world. In his extensive "ethnography," Johannes Weber, like Fétis, focused on instruments thought to be indigenous.[35] In contrast to Fétis, he found in them a kind of musical universalism, or support for monogenism, by concentrating on the diatonic notes of scales rather than their subdivisions. Taking Indian music as his primary example, and comparing the cents of ancient and modern Hindu scale tones with those of the Western scale as noted by Western acousticians, he observed that the differences are never more than a comma.[36] Chinese scales, furthermore, he described as "equivalent to our major scale" but with the "suppression of semitones."[37] Ancient Arab songs, and some modern ones, are also diatonic, but with a minor

seventh.[38] To explain microtonal differences, he noted that singers sometimes sing out of tune or, in Asia, have difficulty with producing semitones and that, in the case of excessive ornamentation as in Arab music, the culture was in a period of "musical degradation." A monogenist predisposition thus could lead to as many imaginative projections about music in conjunction with race and as much dismissive judgment as a polygenist one.

A second concern centered on the relationship between music and human intelligence or character. Just as Gobineau asserted that "the state of a language corresponds to the intellectual state of the group that speaks," Fétis claimed that hearing music of a people makes it easy to judge their intelligence as well as their morals, passions, and other dispositions.[39] This concept arose from the polygenist notion that in every civilization, race more than milieu or anything else determines the individuality and character of the people, even if civilizations change over time. As evidence for "organs of intelligence" that seem "defective" or "less satisfying," Fétis pointed to traditions whose music was long based on a small number of notes, in part a function of the number of notes their instruments could play. Cannibals, with "no more than three notes at their disposition," were seen as the least musical.[40] The melodic forms of Tahitian music had very little variety because the flutes accompanying them had only two or three holes. Weber concurred that "savage" peoples tend to have very short, repetitive melodies. This, he added, could also be said of some Arab music and that of European peasants. But to Weber, more important evidence of a people's "moral and intellectual education" was the presence of a "tonal system." While music driven by "instinct" characterized the "savage" races, music with a tonal system (even if without any sense of harmony, such as Indian music) showed a developed capacity for reason and a sense of organization, thereby belonging to people with civilization. This would have supported related assertions about race by Renan and later Le Bon.[41] As Weber put it, "everywhere things follow a logical and uniform course: first is singing, then instruments made to imitate or repeat melodies; at a more advanced stage of civilization come rules to tune instruments, a tonal system."[42]

Weber was interested in the relative progress of cultures. Although he heard much non-Western music as "an incoherent mixture of sounds that agreeably titillated ears without much musicality," he searched for instances of music that went beyond monody, whether simple or complex. In Ashanti music he found intervals of a third, though he considered this very unusual.[43] Acknowledging that, at its origin, musical polyphony in the West was a "succession of intervals or combinations

of sounds that today would seem ear-splitting," he recognized that "it took many years for harmony to develop." This gave him sympathy for the rudimentary musical polyphony outside the West, albeit a polyphony of timbres rather than melodies. (His notion of music as originally timbre and rhythm would have resonated with French audiences and composers, particularly Debussy.) But because most French musicians saw harmony as the most advanced musical accomplishment, inevitably musical progress got confused with race as well as culture. The absence of harmony reinforced prejudices about "inferior" races, defined in part by their lack of susceptibility to musical progress as defined in Western terms.[44] As the music historian and composer Bourgault-Ducoudray put it, harmony was the "conquest of the white race." Many agreed with Gobineau and Renan that progress, or the ability to develop progressively over time, was characteristic of the Aryan race and the result of other races' contact with it.[45]

Julien Tiersot, a musicologist and ethnographer, had a more complicated notion of the meaning of harmony in the West and related its use in France to class differences. In France "the development of harmonic music established an absolute difference between song, which remained the domain of peasants, and *la musique savante*, reserved for elevated or enlightened classes."[46] Later, critiquing the Eurocentrism expressed above, he even saw harmony as "such a need in the modern spirit" that it could be a liability, leading one to be "repelled" by any music without it.[47] When he went around taking notes on various non-Western musics at the 1889 and 1900 Exhibitions, he looked particularly for the presence of harmony. While admitting that Easterners understand harmony very differently, he compared one of the Javanese chords to a ninth as one might hear in *Tristan* and says one piece gave the impression of being in D minor throughout. However, he doubted the Javanese had "any rules concerning the combination of simultaneous sounds." In listening to music from black Africa and Oceania, he found particularly significant lessons. The simultaneous playing of two Senegalese balafons during the Exhibition, not in unison, suggested a kind of harmony; however, Tiersot concluded that the musicians were not guided by preexisting principles. These harmonies, he surmises, most likely resulted from "improvisation," "chance," or "an intuitive understanding among the two musicians," as if these would not involve conscious choices. Yet, when the Pahouin singers from the Congo, the Kanak from New Caledonia, and the Tahitians produced harmonies from their simultaneous voices, he surmised that harmony, "which we like to consider as the conquest of the modern genius," has much older traditions outside the West, has existed independently of the ancient art

of Greece and Rome, and "seems to have stayed stable since its origins."[48] Although Westerners at first were "reduced to the practice of homophonic singing, vocal harmonies probably existed in the practices of distant races for a long time." Tiersot saw these conclusions as a "real discovery" with important implications for the history of music. Harmony, he noted, is "not the exclusive product of complex mental work, but, to the contrary, something natural to mankind, even savages or primitive people; its rights in the realm of Art are equal to those of melody."[49] In other words, harmony was a musical universal, shared and commonly embraced by all humans—a major contribution to the theory of monogenism.

Cultural definitions of race, however, could undermine presumably fixed racial hierarchies. Indeed when it came to outside influences on a people's culture, such as Arab influences on Persian music or French influences on Tahitian music, theorists worried about the impact of these on racial identity.[50] Music and musical practices might be means by which people recognize certain identities, but they also document how identities can be transformed, whether through migrations, invasions, or simply contact between peoples. As Broca pointed out to Fétis after his 1867 lecture, because "the ethnic connections between scales are perfectly analogous to linguistic connections," music changes under foreign influences just as language does.[51] Some, anxious over the potential loss of connection to one's ancestors, feared that "mixing" (with all that entailed) risked "neutralizing" the "original character" of the race.[52] Others—Orientalists, many of them—idealized intercultural contact as an opportunity to inherit the riches of the other. David Spurr calls this the "doctrine of the colonizer's natural inheritance."[53] The example of France gave hope to some that mixing could also result in a propitious fusion.

Migration and Racial "Mixing"

Throughout the nineteenth century, historians, race theorists, anthropologists, and ethnographers, seeking to understand the origins of the races, studied human migration around the globe: the invasions, the battles, the colonizations, the "traces" they left behind, and the impact they had on one another, particularly that of white people on others. Because the French believed that people carry their racial predispositions with them, migration implied the migration of races, not just tribes or nations.[54] Gobineau defined two types of "migration," "voluntary" and "unexpected," associating the former with strong people and the latter with weaker ones.[55] What interested them was not only who went

where when, but also what characteristics a people maintained despite these disruptions, and which it lost.

To understand intercultural contact and the impact of migrations, some looked to music, although this was also apt to stimulate imaginative mythologies. The most extreme claim came from Gobineau, who looked askance at the common effect of migration, racial "mixture [*mélange*]," yet believed that the arts and the "artistic genius" arose from "marriage between whites and blacks." Gobineau saw Greek civilization as the result of contact between Aryan and Semitic peoples, the latter having earlier undergone contact with blacks. If whites were superior from the perspective of intelligence, they were also inferior in their sensuality and the intensity of their sensations. Mixing the two formed a race "infinitely more gifted with imagination and sensibility alongside great intelligence." From the combination of sensuality and spirituality, passion and rationality, emotion and intelligence emerged the arts. Other than Viollet-le-Duc, it is not clear that anyone ever took this seriously.[56] However, with increasing contact with the rest of the world came both self-consciousness about each people's cultural relativity and a preoccupation with racial "mixing." Some, such as Renan, saw this as the "regeneration of the inferior or degenerate races by the superior races," and this "as part of the Providential order."[57] Put another way, when in contact, the stronger races were seen as necessarily absorbing the weaker ones. Such discourse was important to colonialists who sought to extend their impact on the world. When the French first arrived in Senegal in the mid-nineteenth century, they promoted racial intermarriage as a way of assuring not only assimilation, but also stable and long-term influence on the culture.

Music historians of the period focused on the movement of music and musical instruments from one culture to another that documents these migrations. Yet this was so prevalent that they had a hard time differentiating the indigenous from the imported. And while race theorists tended to assume that when a people submits to another one, it submits to their influence, music scholars such as Weber acknowledged that the phenomenon of influence was more complex. Although Persians were considered a superior civilization when Arabs occupied Persia, Persian music showed the impact of Arab music, albeit less than did the music in Egypt and Turkey, whose people resisted the Arabs less. Moreover, at least from a French perspective, Arab influence purportedly had a negative effect in Persia, dragging the culture and its music down rather than elevating them.[58] Musical instruments were perhaps the easiest way to document intercultural contact. But the presence of similar instruments over a vast geographical area, like the

balafon throughout West Africa and certain instruments in North Vietnam and China, raised the possibility of reciprocal influences. The omnipresence of instruments like the drum, harp, and flute, found in cultures from northern Europe to China and Africa, likewise defied any teleological notion of influence and seemed to support monogenist notions of universal taste.[59]

Perhaps because Tahiti became a colony in 1880, or because Polynesians were considered a race mixed from *les noirs et les jaunes*—Gobineau called them "*races tertiaires*," or "*races quartenaires*"[60]—Fétis, Weber, and Tiersot each address changes in Tahitian music after the arrival of Europeans. However, a skeptical anthropologist after Fétis's lecture pointed out that contemporary Tahitians perform "the same music as us and take the greatest pleasure in our orchestral music." This led him to conclude that "one should not judge the musical aptitude of a people by the notes of their scale."[61] Indeed, with the presumption of French superiority dominating these inquiries, and publications full of unsubstantiated claims, the notion of race, whether polygenist or monogenist, had limited usefulness in explaining musical differences beyond the West.

Back in France, although folksong collectors searched among the country's *chansons populaires* for melodic "types," Tiersot concluded that melodies too are "essentially mobile, fluid, malleable, infinitely delicate, and susceptible to be transformed under the most diverse influences."[62] This supported monogenist beliefs about the human race. As with human types, musical types are an abstraction, their absolute fixity a fiction. Even within one country, people adapt them to different dialects and accents from one region to another. Tiersot found numerous examples of songs popular in one region that originated in another one, sometimes taking on a new character. "Transformation, metamorphosis," he concluded, is the rule rather than the exception.[63] Calling on the mechanism of racial transformation in analyzing the effects of regional differences on musical production, Tiersot explained song variants as the results of "musical acclimatization." To acclimatize an individual or race of whatever species meant to remove it from its place of origin and imprint on its organization modifications that rendered it able to exist and perpetuate its species under these new conditions.[64]

In his *Notes d'ethnographie musicale*, Tiersot goes further, giving an example that suggests how migrating people and music can complicate the notion of influence and any assumption of indigenous authenticity. At the 1900 Universal Exhibition in Paris, he encountered an Arab musician playing a tune that resembled a bourrée from the center of France. Nearby, Tiersot heard a group of musicians from that part of the

country who, all day long during the Exhibition, played their regional repertoire. Tiersot deduced that the Arab must have borrowed from what he had just heard. "But let's imagine that this Arab took his Bourbonnais air back to Algeria," he continues, "and later there was a European who heard it and noted it down—what a strange idea he would have of Arab music!"[65]

The idea that music documents racial migration and racial transformation was particularly important when it came to understanding how Aryan identity itself was "constituted through diaspora."[66] Comparing folksong from not only Greece and Brittany but also Ireland and Russia and encountering "identical" aspects from one end of Europe to another, including the presence of the Hypodorian and Hypophrygian scales, led Bourgault-Ducoudray to a sweeping conclusion: this music confirms the hypothesis of shared origins of the Aryan peoples and an "Aryan unity" among peoples of the Aryan diaspora, by which he means the "Indo-European group."[67] For Bourgault-Ducoudray this meant that French composers should not feel constrained to the major and minor scales, but free to use all the Greek modes as a "heritage common to all Aryans" since before their various branches dispersed. Common roots then meant that not only did this tradition also belong to the French, they could borrow from it without risking loss of identity.

Characteristic of the Aryan diaspora, from Gobineau's perspective, was a certain imperialist orientation—"The civilizing tendencies of this elite race pushes it to constantly mix with the other peoples"—which inevitably began with conquest.[68] Colonialists such as Lanessan took this one step further, proclaiming, "The world will one day belong to the race that will have spread most widely over its surface."[69] Where the expansion in the numbers of white people was particularly important to the French was in North Africa. At the end of the century, unlike earlier, the French government, pushed by Jacques Bertillon, the statistician preoccupied with declining French birthrates, did all it could to encourage French men and women to move to Algeria. After the Franco-Prussian war, ten thousand French from Alsace and Lorraine were given land to settle there, and between 1872 and 1892 the population grew from 130,000 to 270,000 civilians.[70]

But in Algeria, colonizers also encountered a "race" of indigenous people with blond hair who "greatly resemble our peasants in the Massif centrale."[71] Long ago, so French ethnographers explained, these Kabyles (Berbers) had fled to the Algerian mountains to escape Arab invaders. The French back home saw them as a "sister population" in that, other than with their Islamic religion, they espoused a way of life resembling the French one. Their sedentary, farming culture preserved in the

mountains had given them a sense of private property, a quasi-democratic organization with civil laws, and the practice of monogamy, whereas Arabs were understood as essentially nomadic, feudal, and polygamous. The distinctions of race thus transmuted into distinctions of history and culture to promote positive qualities of Kabyles, as opposed to negative qualities associated with Arabs. Kabyles, furthermore, seemed hardworking and hospitable, enamored of "absolute equality, individual liberty, and the protection of minorities"—French republican values. Some French, beginning with Alexis de Tocqueville, saw them as a kind of noble savage who might be receptive to French civilization and benefit from the contact. If the Arab race had "run its course" and the Kabyles (Berbers) had "ceased to develop many centuries ago," the latter seemed nonetheless "perfectible."[72] Others considered these mountain peoples descendents of the Celts, the Aryans, or at least a people with the same ancestors. Like the Celts, early Kabyles too were thought to be committed to freedom and equality. Emile Masqueray, who ran the Ecole Supérieure de Lettres in Alger from 1872 to 1894 and produced the only scholarly work on the Kabyles in those years, compared Kabyle villages to the primitive villages of both classical Rome and Greece as well as Auvergne and Savoy in France. He was convinced that studying these "small republics" would shed light on the "institutional origins of Western civilization."[73] This interest in Kabyles defies the notion that only the Western subject was valorized in French discussions about race.

Music was brought in to support this idea of common racial origins. Salvador Daniel, a composer who had lived in Algeria since 1853, was an enthusiast for ancient Greek music. Noting similarities between Arab and Greek instruments and Arab and Greek modes, he assumed that Arab and Kabyle music was influenced by the Greek music that Roman invaders brought with their civilization.[74] However, after transcribing several versions of songs and finding the same mode and character, he went further. Fascinated with the warrior music the Kabyles performed in their resistance to the French military, much of it using a scale that resembled the Greek Phrygian, he became convinced that the Kabyles were descendents of the ancient Greeks. He contended that since (1) Kabyle songs often used the Phrygian mode as Plutarch described it; (2) Kabyle songs in this mode were usually accompanied by the flute, according to Plutarch also as in ancient Greece; and (3) certain religious customs of contemporary Kabyles were "reproductions" of the sacred rites of the Phrygian Cabires, then the Kabyles were descendents of the "the great family of the Pélasges, first inhabitants of Phrygia and fathers of the cabiric caste."[75] Gobineau had identified

the Pélasges as the "primitive inhabitants" of France, "Celtic or Slave in origin."[76] Moreover, the presence of the Phrygian mode in French *chansons populaires* and cabiric-like sacrifices among the Celtic Gauls suggested that the Celtic family belonged to the Greek Pélasges. This would imply that the French and the Kabyles had similar ancestors.[77] Common origins would also justify French colonialism.

French Racial Hybridity

Why some French might have assumed that the Kabyles would be capable of assimilation, even desire it, can be explained in part by their own history. From Michelet to Deleuze and Guattari, many French have seen themselves as a mixed race, the descendent of many peoples, as were the Greeks with whom they compared themselves.[78] The original Gauls were colonized by Romans from the south, then invaded by Franks from the north. Historians usually tended to view these arrivals in a positive light. Schoolchildren were taught that Romans civilized "rude Gauls" and Franks rejuvenated "decadent Gallo-Romans." France, the "fruit of conquest," emerged from the successful assimilation and integration of outsiders and the various influences they brought.[79]

When the Société d'Anthropologie was formed in 1860, the first paper delivered to them by its founder, Paul Broca, was on the ethnology of France. Broca wished to use the example of the French to take on Gobineau, who had claimed that "*fusions*" necessarily corrupt and degrade the qualities of the pure races, and that people "degenerate in proportion to the mixtures they submit to and the quality of these mixtures."[80] Gobineau had ended his *Essai* with the observation that the white race was slowly disappearing and only currently represented by "*hybrides*," "degradations of the first mixed societies."[81] Broca proposed instead that, in the case of the French, mixing had caused no loss of fertility, vigor, or intelligence: "Far from decaying, in accordance with the theory of Gobineau, far from presenting a decreasing fecundity, according to some other authors, this hybrid nation grows every day in intelligence, prosperity, and numbers."[82] In his *Mémoire sur hybridité et sur la distinction des espèces animales* (1858–59) and *Mémoire sur les phénomènes d'hybridité dans le genre humain* (1859–60) (which influenced Darwin), he had argued that since crossbreeding was possible among different animal species (such as a rabbit and a hare), producing "*métis*" or "hybrids," racial variety in humans too was not due to climate or chance. The French exemplify "eugenesic hybridity," a people "formed by the intermixture [*croisement*] of two or more races" that is "indefinitely prolific." Because this was the result "not of one

invasion, but of a constant and abundant immigration . . . the fusion of the ethnological elements gives rise to a hybrid population in which the number of individuals of a pure race is constantly diminishing." In more than ninety-five percent of the French, he observed, one could recognize the "characters of mixed races," that is, "the more or less marked and dominant impress of the Celts, Kimris, Romans, and Germans." He also concluded, "the greater part of Western Europe is inhabited by mixed races." Where he differs with monogenists, who believed that all human crossbreeds are prolific, Broca suggests that some mixing among distant races can be unproductive.[83]

Reflecting general interest in how people and their cultures interact, in 1861, as in 1814, the Académie des Beaux-Arts chose *Atala* as the libretto for the Prix de Rome competition. As literary scholars have pointed out, this story, rendered famous in Chateaubriand's 1801 novella written after he visited America, concerns "both the limits and promises of cultural mixture" between Atala, an American Indian princess fathered by a Spanish general and raised as a Christian, and Chactas, a Natchez raised by this same general.[84] Chateaubriand uses characters who both consider themselves mixed, Atala pagan and Christian, and Chactas Indian and European, to challenge the notion that primitive and civilized societies are ethical opposites.[85] Conservatoire director Théodore Dubois wrote the winning cantata in 1861, praised for its clarity. Later, as the subject grew more politicized, three women composed more substantial works on the subject, Rita Strohl an orchestral suite, *Atala et Réné* (1887), the Viscountess de Grandval a *poème lyrique* in 1888, and Juliette Folville an opera in 1892.

Although the forming of something hybrid tends to involve antagonism, resistance, and subjugation, and vastly different theories have arisen to explain how and why this may have worked in France, the key seems to be the concept of assimilation. Renan associated this with the "great races, the Aryans and Semites," who, he believed, were "destined to assimilate all others," even if this meant "extermination" of "inferior" or so-called "half-races."[86] Many have pointed to the pronounced capacity for assimilation among the French, associating it with their "natural curiosity" and "openness" to culture and education. At the end of the nineteenth century, the sociologist Alfred Fouillé used a musical metaphor to describe how, because of this, over time these different peoples, each with their own set of assets and liabilities, came into "a rare and precious harmony." Careful to point out what each race contributed to the mixture, Fouillé suggested how the French escaped physical and environmental determinism by becoming like a perfect chord with the Celts, Mediterraneans, and Germans as their "tonic,

mediant, and dominant," their mental as well as physical attributes in "balance and equilibrium."[87] As such, his contemporaries could see themselves as "representing Europe in terms of race and character as well as climate," the greatest representative of Western civilization.[88] Such an idea spoke to French ambitions about their place in Europe and was meant to bolster their sense of superiority amid the fin-de-siècle panic over possible degeneration.

French musicians and music historians likewise considered the capacity for assimilation, along with the spirit of eclecticism, as characteristic of "the artistic tastes of our race." The historian and concert organizer Henry Lavoix *fils* began his 1891 history of French music with a reference to traces the Celts, Gauls, Romans, Franks, and Germans left behind in French music, particularly their instruments.[89] The aesthetician, pianist, and pedagogue Antoine Marmontel pointed to the French passion for the music of other countries, especially Italy and Germany, and the tendency of French musicians to "combine schools and styles without renouncing their own originality."[90] Meyerbeer and Lully were embraced as French by what they contributed to French culture.[91] From the French perspective, "acclimatization" made possible assimilation. Some hoped it might lead to innovation.[92]

Transcribers of French *chansons populaires* showed through their arrangements how acclimatization of a melody might work. Collectors and scholars occasionally changed an interval to make a dominant cadence and inevitably added harmony and other accoutrements of Western art song, including instrumental introductions, interludes, and codas, to make them accessible to sophisticated urban audiences. Julien Tiersot "dressed them with the clothes of harmony" so that in "transporting them into a context so different from their natural context" they would not be too "*dépaysé* [like fish out of water]" and could be admitted "into a world that would not accept them in their bare simplicity." That Tiersot listed himself on concert programs as the author of the *chansons populaires* he published showed that he recognized their status as musical hybrids.[93] In transcribing *chansons populaires* from Greece and Brittany, Bourgault-Ducoudray also added harmony, but one based on the melody's mode. His goal was to show that modes were compatible with modern music and could be explored and incorporated for the sake of French musical progress, a kind of musical colonization.[94]

Acclimatization in music was perceived to have tangible benefits, but also predictable limitations. From it composers formed new sounds and achieved original effects even if borrowed melodies and their accompaniments at first seemed incompatible. But those who borrowed

from the vast repertoire of indigenous song were often content to acclimatize exotic modes or exotic tunes to suit Western purposes without acknowledging their presence. For example, whether Bizet was inspired by Arabic, Greek, or Phrygian music or unconscious of the connection, Lacome found the mode *asbein*, "le mode du diable" with its tritone, sung by Carmen in his opera.[95] Some thought it was enough of a *tour de force* to accompany borrowed melodies with a "rational succession of chords." In seeking themes "to bend under their laws and force to enter into the framework of their compositions," they proceeded like colonialists.[96]

In "Rhapsodie mauresque" from his *Suite Algérienne*, Saint-Saëns showed what can be accomplished through hybridity even if this rendered a work difficult to understand. The second half incorporates Arabic melodies, at first in the woodwinds and percussion, then echoed (and assimilated) by the strings. After juxtaposing timbres, themes, and temperaments, the last third of the work insistently superimposes two meters and two tonalities, the triple-meter theme in A over the static duple-meter accompaniment in D. As Ralph Locke has pointed out, this "contrasting sequence of moods and meters" refers to those of North African *nuba* ensembles;[97] it also suggests how Arab and Western musical practices can coexist and even collaborate. As if to foreground his Western skills, the composer accompanies an Arab theme with itself moving in contrary direction in a way that recalls Western counterpoint. Elsewhere, overt modal differences between an Arab theme and its accompaniment "give the illusion of a melody without accompaniment." This metric and tonal "indecision" and "uncertainty," together with the "compromise" underlying the "rational succession of the chords"[98]— a kind of "in-between" or "zone of intersection" that results in "unresolved and unresolvable hybridity"[99]—is a kind of metaphor for the uneasy and imbalanced cultural coexistence under colonialism. Because acclimatization ignores the effects of displacement and disjunction on objects themselves and their meaning, borrowed exotic melodies often lose their most distinctive characteristics when combined with Western musical procedures. One critic threw his hands up at the possibility of true assimilation: "European music, Oriental music, these are two distinct, often opposed organisms, in any case as far one from the other as Aryan languages are from Semitic ones."[100] Making possible new uses of music inevitably entailed removing meaning—tradition and history—ascribed by previous users and replacing this with new meaning. In this sense, musical borrowings reduced varieties of difference to the category of difference, sometimes collapsing into the binarism of Self–Other. To the extent that new uses fixed the

borrowed object, its commodification could derail music's capacity to signify in meaningful ways.

Faced with the distance and difference of foreign cultures, music, therefore, could suggest what transcended cultural constraints. But it could also express the limits of assimilation and unveil unforeseen consequences of hybridity. French intellectuals were particularly concerned that the latter might lead to a potential loss of vitality, such as Gobineau feared with racial mixing. The question of whether France had become a "great degenerate," or was merely suffering from the "moral and social crisis common to all modern nations," preoccupied them.[101] The monogenist historian Henri Martin, in his study of the ancient Gauls, had pointed to a connection between social and material progress and "moral weakening" that had led earlier to the race's "decadence" and vulnerability to foreign conquest.[102] But some, and not just polygenists, questioned whether racial hybridity itself was a prelude to racial degeneration, a catastrophic loss of the character most identified with a race.[103] The monogenist biologist and anthropologist Armand de Quatrefages understood acclimatization as the victory of milieu over an organism that "bends to its requirements" [the milieu's], adapting in ways that could jeopardize the organism's integrity. He also acknowledged that this never takes place without a more or less violent struggle that leads to loss for both individuals and generations.[104] Debussy described this in music, criticizing the influence of the Belgian César Franck's "sentimental rigor" on Ernest Chausson's "natural talents of elegance and clarity":

> To think that the particular qualities of the genius of a race can be transmitted to another race without harm is an error that has often perverted our music because with unsuspecting enthusiasm we adopt formulas in which nothing French can appear. It would be better to confront these with our own, to see what lacks in us, and to try to recover it without changing anything in the rhythm of our thought. In this way we will enrich our heritage.[105]

In his review of the Opéra's controversial decision to mount Wagner's *Lohengrin* in 1891, Jules Ruelle, a critic and translator of operatic libretti, went further, claiming that humanity has nothing to gain from a "universal mixture. . . . The conquest of which we dream—absolute fusion—will be the ruin or the impoverishment of one of the great forces of humanity."[106] While many thought the time had come for French composers to "break away from the influence of foreign styles," some, however, rejected the notion of French culture in decline. Marmontel explained that the tutelage of French composers by their

neighbors was no longer necessary because "we are now energetic, lively, and original enough by ourselves."[107]

If at home fear was directed at an increase in European immigrants and the social instability that might follow, in Algeria some dreamed of a new "fusion" of European races.[108] Anthropologists who worked on Algeria believed, like Broca, that when hybridity results from "proximate species" as opposed to distant ones, "unions between allied races are fertile."[109] Those who thought that the Arabs could never be assimilated, in part because of their religion, looked to the Spanish, Italian, and Maltese living in Algeria to join the French in forming a "new Mediterranean race," a vigorous and virile product of the intermingling of Europeans and locals willing to embrace France.[110] Given a high birthrate among these Latin peoples, Paul Bert thought they might one day dominate Algeria.[111] Noting the Roman ruins in North Africa, Louis Bertrand, a native of Lorraine who taught at the Algiers lycée, saw the region as originally part of a Latin Mediterranean diaspora. Reyer's opera *Salammbô* had drawn his attention to racial mixing in North Africa, and works of Fromentin suggested the continued existence of a "fundamental Mediterranean being."[112] Music, along with trade and commerce, was central in this project to create a settler community distinct from the Arabs. As elsewhere outside the West, opera attendance provided elites and those of European descent with a context for performing their difference from indigenous people.[113] Moreover, in 1878 an Italian musician organized Algiers's first classical music society. Although at first it featured more Italian and German than French music,[114] performing and listening to Western classical music provided settlers with a sense of the culture they shared, its assumed superiority, and an ongoing connection to the world beyond North Africa. Racial hybridity among whites from related cultures thus justified the French presence in North Africa. If culture and civilization were seen as primary determinants and signifiers of this new Mediterranean race, it could exclude indigenous people, including the Kabyles, especially after 1900, when the new colonial policy of association replaced assimilation. Ironically what inspired the vitality of these new "Algerians" was the Muslim "whose sole aim was to endure."[115]

Racial Resistance

Along with this consensus on the hybrid nature of the French people came ambivalence, especially when it came to mixing with indigenous people in the colonies. Young calls this "an ambivalent axis of desire and aversion." Many agreed with Broca that if mixing closely related

varieties can have advantages, among distantly related races it can threaten to erase the distinctions of difference.[116] Renan believed that to feel like a nation, the French needed to forget their past. Others set their sights on a more distant past, seeking evidence of racial persistence to instill in the French people a sense of unity. No matter what education, racial mixture, or degeneration might bring, they suggested, race leaves its trace, like the Greek modes in French *chansons populaires*. Tiersot called this the "charming debris of our race's primitive art."[117]

Persistence resulted from resistance, or concerted opposition to domination, assimilation, and loss of identity. Daniel associated the use of the Phrygian mode in Kabyle warrior songs with not only their strength and ferocity, but also their pride in "always having remained free," that is, until French colonialism. The French admired the Kabyles for their resistance, "obeying neither the Arab nor the Turk,"[118] especially since their unwillingness to go along with the Arabs ultimately led to French victory. Indeed, in Indochina as well as Algeria, it was an explicit tactic of the French military to valorize the resistance of indigenous minorities to previous invaders as a way of building an alliance with them against those in power. After the French loss to the Prussians in 1871, the Persian resistance to Arab occupation, noted by Weber in their music,[119] offered a model to the French for how a people could maintain their culture and identity even under foreign occupation.

The most important example of resistance for the French in their own history was that of primitive Gauls to the Romans, ever appealing even today through the Asterix comics series. Both Amédée Thierry's *Histoire des Gaulois* and Henri Martin's *Histoire de France* considered the Gauls the race from which most French descended. As these widely read historians put it, "their spirit is always in us, their vices and virtues preserved in the heart of the French people."[120] Renowned for their taste for adventure, their bravery, and their impetuous, intelligent spirit, the ancient Gauls were celebrated as conquerors who dominated Europe as far as Greece. They reputedly belonged to the great Indo-European family that came from Arie (Turkestan), "white and blond" Aryans who were divided into several independent people. Tiersot considered military songs the Gauls' "first monuments." Such ancestors, according to written documents, had the habit of going into battle singing. When their armies marched, "their melodious accents chased away the fury of the souls." Roman writers attested to the "bloody songs" that accompanied the Gauls' first invasion of the Roman republic.[121] Through the strength of these ancestors, historians could portray as essential to the French the Gallic warrior spirit. This spirit allowed the Gauls to keep their identity despite invasion and later occupation by the

Romans and the Franks. Race, in this sense, refers to a "moral type" as described above, a kind of "psychic continuity"[122] that underlies conflict, even with stronger others, and whatever assimilation and integration may take place in peacetime. This ability to resist complete domination, in spite of defeat, was crucial to those who wished to revive French pride after 1871 and kindle the desire to return to war.

In the wake of the Franco-Prussian war, writers, playwrights, painters, sculptors, and composers embraced the Gallic warrior wholeheartedly so as to inspire patriotism and nourish French confidence in their military might.[123] With powerful images of bravery, their images of idealized heroes, like Vercingetorix, represented French strength and resilience as a people, emblems of the Gallic spirit unchanged over time. These were meant to help the French come together to face a common enemy. In 1882 Charles Lenepveu, a Conservatoire professor, wrote *Velléda*, an opera about war between the Gauls and the Romans based on a scene from Chateaubriand's *Les Martyrs*. Through the voice of the Gauls, it expresses French desire for revenge against the Prussians. For the Prix-de-Rome competitions in 1881, 1883, and 1888, the Académie des Beaux-Arts chose libretti about militaristic patriotism, *Geneviève*, *Le Gladiateur*, and *Velléda*, and in 1892, *Amadis*. Gobineau had just published in 1887 a 20,000-verse poem about the famous Gallic knight Amadis. In this posthumous text, Amadis, a blond and blue-eyed Breton, fellow chevalier and friend of Parceval (Parsifal), stood for the "individual man." He, Oriane, and their companions were portrayed as quintessential examples (*le type*) of the white race, representing the "perfection of mankind."[124] Shortly thereafter (c. 1895), France's leading opera composer Jules Massenet wrote a "legendary opera" on Amadis in four acts, with a text by Jules Claretie. Also set in Brittany amid Druid monuments, it features the blond, blue-eyed hero and his brother, both born unknowingly to a queen, both in love with the same woman. Like Gobineau's book 1 of his *Amadis*, it revolves around chivalry, love, and war.[125]

Among fin-de-siècle composers, Augusta Holmès was perhaps most attracted to the Gauls even though she was born Irish. Her first major work, *Lutèce*, composed in hopes of wining the City of Paris prize in 1878, was set during Gallic wars with the Romans. Holmès wrote both music and words of this dramatic symphony. After bugle-like sounds announce the departure of the troops, a narrator addresses the audience directly, making explicit an analogy between past and present: "You men who are listening to me, sons of ancient Gaul, dream of lost days of the distant past! . . . You, in whom still burns the proud blood of the ancestors . . . listen to them, live and die like them." After dawn rises

over the Seine, the Gallic warrior and his wife declare their love. But instead of trying to seduce him to stay behind, she happily gives up her husband and future sons, "white and strong with blond beards." At the climax of part one, in an *allegro feroce* full of tritones, she exclaims, "Don't come back until you are wounded . . . kill, kill, kill." With harsh dissonances (D/E-flat) and musical metaphors for sword attacks, battle music follows. Finally, after the defeat of "a hundred against a thousand" and Gaul left "in the impure arms of the foreigner," the Gallic woman, accompanied by rolled chords in the harps and strings, sings exuberantly and with dotted rhythms, as if she can imagine the future of France: "The blood of heroes rejuvenates . . . saves cities . . . fertilizes devastated fields. . . . From the blood of heroes and the mothers of even more audacious sons, the most beautiful country (*cité*) will be born." These themes recur in many of Holmès's songs, particularly during the 1890s, including "La Guerrière" (a woman warrior with blond hair), "Ne nous oubliez pas" (as if sung from the dead), and "Marche gauloise." As with *Lutèce*, the message of these songs is clear: the "sons of the Gauls" must march again, taking up arms this time against the Germans. The role of music was to infuse virility and "hatred in their hearts."

The nineteenth-century quest for French origins, however, did not end with the Gauls. The archaeologist Alexandre Bertrand, disagreeing with Henri Martin and others, argued that the Celts were not a "branch" of the Gallic people, but were a distinct race that preceded the Gauls.[126] Ancient Greeks had noted Celtic presence as far as southern Germany and at the source of the Danube well before the "blonds" arrived, called by the Greeks Galates (a warrior people from Asia Minor) and by the Romans Gauls.[127] Tiersot, backing up this claim, notes that the Breton Celts sang certain warrior songs when making "incursions into the territory of their neighbors who submitted to the Franks, that is, the Gauls."[128] Pointing to the dolmen megaliths in Brittany as remnants of the earliest civilization in France and to their funeral rites, Bertrand also used archaeological evidence to suggest that the Celts were not descendants of Aryans, but of another race that arrived before them, perhaps in the Bronze Age. That, like many people of Mediterranean descent, the Celts had dark hair and eyes at the very least complicated the question of the Aryan physical type.[129] Withdrawing to the northwest coast (Brittany) and the mountainous center of the country (Auvergne) as the Romans focused on the towns and cities, the Celts were able to firmly and successfully resist both the Romans and the Germans far more than the Gauls who eventually assimilated them. Celtic language, culture, and music remained distinct, some of it up to the nineteenth century.[130] The Celts' power was

believed to come from their strong attachment to druidism, led by priests and bards, a culture as compelling as that of the Greeks. Celtic bards used songs to "calm as well as enflame their warrior passions." Some, including Edouard Schuré, went so far as to see the Celtic tradition, above all, as responsible for the French character. As Schuré put it, "the Celtic soul is the deep interior soul of France." A similar sentiment motivated the composer Vincent d'Indy to write an opera, *Fervaal*, which Steven Huebner calls "an allegory about the founding of France out of the Celtic spirit." One reviewer considered Fervaal as "a Celtic hero glorifying the French race."[131] Fouillé saw the Celts' refuge in the mountains as a source of the French attachment to their soil and their families and an explanation for their conservatism.[132]

How these theories about national origins played out, however, suggests that more was at stake here than race. The Celts were thought of as a people at the heart of France not known for assimilation, but rather for their own distinctive culture untouched by Greek influences. Gobineau underlines this "resistance to being assimilated by other Aryan languages" when it came to "the Celtic dialects." Celtic songs, as he saw it, "displayed the body of knowledge acquired by their race and conserved cosmological, theological, as well as historical traditions."[133] Resisting assimilation was significant to those who opposed democracy and the republic, not viewed as indigenous to France.

For republicans, Gallic strength and resistance connoted class strength and resistance within France and economic protectionism within Europe. Historians associated the Gauls with the third estate, the people, together with their fraternal, federative, proto-democratic institutions, as opposed to the Franks, whose aristocrats brought monarchy to France and established Christianity there.[134] Fustel de Coulanges, a staunch republican professor of history at the Sorbonne, saw the conflict over racial origins as concealing the ongoing class conflict in France. It is "born of class antagonism and it grows with that antagonism."[135] In school manuals, republicans replaced Clovis, the first French monarch, with Vercingetorix, a Gallic man of the people who stood up to Caesar. Some republicans went further. With her frequent depiction of idealized French men and women as white and blond, Holmès shared with Paul Déroulède and the Ligue des Patriotes not only a cult of glory, respect for military heroism, and commitment to revenge against Prussia, but also a kind of proto-racism. Déroulède attracted many members to the Ligue des Patriotes by pointing to the menace presented by German industry, calling for boycotts of German-made products, and objecting to the "peaceful invasion" of a half million German workers in the mid-1880s. This far-right, anti-immigrant republicanism fueled a popular

nationalism that momentarily brought to power General Boulanger who, with his blond beard and charismatic nature, seemed the idol many were seeking.

If models of political resistance fascinated and emboldened the French people, musical resistance too had its allure. Carried over time through the oral tradition, the notes of a folksong were thought to be the remnants of resistance to outside influences and the impact of urban civilization, pointing to a time before layers of assimilation and hybridization. Music historians, following the same logic as other historians of France, searched for the French racial origins in the mountainous center of the country. There, where the early French were thought to have taken refuge from invaders, Tiersot found music of a "more primitive and less civilized character" believed to be the oldest French music as well as the "pure and most complete" version of certain French *chansons populaires*.[136]

Whereas Tiersot, a republican, sought musical traditions in the French provinces that could promote French unity, Bourgault-Ducoudray and d'Indy, even as they built on some of Tiersot's findings, had other agendas. Both also studied various versions of *chansons populaires*, particularly those associated with the ancient Celts, but focused specifically on their modes. With intuitions similar to those of Salvador Daniel, and echoing Tiersot who found some of the "purest" Hypodorian in French Alpine songs, Bourgault-Ducoudray concluded that many of the *chansons populaires* in the French mountains and in Brittany were based on Greek modes. In the north, for example, where the "race is more serious and more reflective," he found many songs in Hypodorian, associated with the "serene virility and nobility" of Apollo.[137] Like Tiersot, Bourgault-Ducoudray also pointed to the presence of certain distinct rhythms that resembled those of ancient Greece, especially in the "Bacchu-ber," a warrior dance with swords popular in the French mountains. This choral dance used pyrrhic metrical patterns in conjunction with the Hypodorian mode. Tiersot notes, significantly, that the piece was unique: he never found these rhythms in other "*mélodies populaires* or liturgical chant based on an analogous tonality." While Tiersot does not take this as definitive proof that the dance had Greek origins, he notes that his research did not produce any evidence to the contrary.[138] However, Bourgault-Ducourday saw in these modes and rhythms a compelling argument for the persistence of Greek influence on this repertoire rather than that of the Catholic Church, especially since liturgical modes, the Western medieval modes used in church music, had lost their rhythmic character.[139] This presence allowed him to argue for the secular origins of French music,

a conclusion that would have been important to republicans, many of whom were anticlerical.

"Primitive" music (music without tonal harmony) appealed to d'Indy, an anti-republican Catholic aristocrat, because it harkened back to the Middle Ages, thereby predating the Republic and its notions of French civilization as a product of assimilation.[140] From his perspective, *chansons populaires* were a music without the trace of politics or any historical consciousness. Like Tiersot and Bourgault-Ducoudray, d'Indy assumed that he would find the oldest French music preserved in the mountains. He focused on collecting, studying, and publishing songs from near his ancestors' birthplace in France's oldest mountains, including "Chansons de mai," often considered Celtic. There, because certain songs seemed to borrow elements directly from chant, he argued that the modes in this music were those of plainchant. According to his analysis, "La Pernette," reputedly one of the country's oldest songs, resembled a Gregorian alleluia. This would suggest that the origins of French music lie in religious rather than secular music. Moreover, this repertoire could help listeners reconnect with religious faith. After 1900, anti-republican provincials turned to the *chansons populaires* as a way to resist invasion by a more contemporary enemy, the Parisian romance, and helped turn the genre into a symbol of regional identity.[141]

The French construed resistance, therefore, not just among the weak resisting the strong or the invaded standing up to the invaders, but also among the elite and the privileged feeling disenfranchised by republican egalitarianism. After nostalgic monarchists lost their last hope of returning to power in 1889, the myth of Celtic purity and the example of Celtic resistance inspired them to stand up to republican culture as a form of social and political resistance. Music became for these elites a means of ensuring the continuity of their values, aristocratic values based on distinctions rather than commonality, distance rather than mass accessibility, the pure instead of the hybrid. Modernist ideals took root in such a terrain, leading to a neoclassical revival.

Racial Purity

Underlying the notion of resistance was the hope that something essential about a race could be or might have been preserved. For Broca, racial purity, an imagined essence associated with race, was only an abstract idea, because people inevitably mixed. In his work on the Celts, Broca had tried to refute the myth of a pure race; he saw anthropology as the "study of the human group." But for Gobineau and others, the "absolute and true purity of race" is responsible for the "resemblances

among its individuals." Gobineau tied racial purity to not only origins, but also blood. He was concerned about the percentage of "pure," i.e., non-mixed, blood in a person or race, fearing racial degeneration and its deleterious impact on nations.[142] Gobineau, a count whose family remained loyal to the Bourbons, detested democracy and mourned the demise of the French aristocracy, as if its inbreeding had preserved something essential.[143] When republicans came into power in the late 1870s, he wrote books 2 and 3 of *Amadis*, the first on the decadence of modern society, the second on its "definitive degeneration and disappearance," metaphors for his fears about the end of Western civilization. Here, Amadis was the last hero to "succumb to the always increasingly large crowd of crossbreeds (*foule métisse*)." At the end, in a section title borrowed from Wagner ("The Dusk of the Gods"), his soul, claiming immortality on the battlefield, rises to the heavens.[144]

The idea that the nature of one's "soul" (and therefore one's art) depends on the purity of one's blood, as Gobineau and Le Bon suggested, was a conceptually attractive, although highly questionable, corollary. In music, blood in conjunction with racial purity came up frequently in referring to the vitality of *chansons populaires*, as if an injection of these songs might infuse new spirit, and a specifically French spirit, into French music. With elements that were "purely preserved everywhere," such as opening formulas, folksongs far from urban centers fueled nostalgia for an idealized fixed identity among the French, one that preexisted their hybridity. In this context, blood was believed to be capable of carrying culture along with cultural predispositions. As Tiersot put it, "numerous generations will keep on repeating it," for this music is "in the blood of the race."[145] Faced with two kinds of folksong in Brittany, one in gallot, a dialect influenced by French, the other in Breton, Bourgault-Ducoudray, using similar language, criticized the former and the melodies using the gallot for being "half-blood," not having "the character of a pure race." He preferred the latter, with its melodies that left a more "strange impression," considering these "pure-blood."[146] Ironically, given his interest in simplicity and clarity in the genre, it was strangeness that seemed the most authentic, the most "pure."

Often in French musical discourse, however, the word "pure," with all its connotations, referred to intonation and a certain kind of tone quality. In describing the oldest folksongs in the French mountains, Tiersot speaks of their "pure inflexions," notes prolonged by an echo.[147] At the same time, he also notes that the "popular instinct" was drawn to "irregularities," enjoying the "unexpected" in a melody.[148] In French ethnographies of non-Western music, however, these concepts served

to underline racial hierarchies. For Weber, people whose music employs "very irregular intonations" are necessarily "the most uneducated and savage nations." Some blamed this on deficiencies in the auditory acuity of primitive people, although in Frank Bruner's 1904 study some blacks had better hearing than whites.[149] The presence of a "certain feeling for intonation" in Senegalese balafon music leads Tiersot to point to "a certain progress over the rhythmic practices of people for whom the drum is all music." The breaking point for both Weber and Tiersot seems to be the extent to which music is melodic, not just a succession (or simultaneity) of timbres. "Pure" intonation, or highly refined sound used to produce melodies, he reserves for highly refined civilizations, especially that of Western Europe. When in Greek theoretical treatises Weber finds "chroni," "nuances of intonation consisting of inaccurate sounds," he dismisses them as merely momentary "aberrations" before a return to the diatonic scale; likewise for quarter tones in this music, which he attributes to Arab influence.

While virtuosity and timbral variety in instrumental music were esteemed as the highest ideal of European music, a result of Europeans' continual "search for the new,"[150] singers of French opera in the late nineteenth century strove for a certain purity of timbre. In this sense, the "pure" in art was opposed to that which involved technical complexity. Alluding to the essence of sound, it functioned as an aural analogue to "pure water," the "source" with its "quiet murmuring" at which Gerald and Lakmé declared their love and the rain that Mélisande's voice felt like to Pelléas in their duo. This quality enabled "true expression," which Marmontel considered "the most important characteristic of French music."[151] Besides the "déclamation épurée" of Marguerite's first appearance in Gounod's *Faust*, the best example of this is in Ambroise Thomas's *Mignon*. The contrasting musical styles of Mignon and Philine, simple versus highly ornamented, embody their different characters, the sweet and innocent versus the seductive and manipulative. The pure was an ideal performance of the simple. Mignon's clear, simple melodies facilitated concentration on timbre, and the production of a pure timbre encouraged transparency between singer and character, drawing listeners in and encouraging a deep connection with Mignon. Reviewers saw this as a product of the composer's "science rentrée," or his considerable knowledge and skill used to produce the appearance of simple grace.[152] Singers of such music, perhaps responding to audience desire, were obsessed with reducing variance in vocal sound production, all presence of the particular, or what Roland Barthes has called "the grain of the voice," even if voices and instruments need that "grain" to be recognizable. In an important sense, seeking a pure sound

meant transcending the limitations of identity. The word "pure" does not call for eliminating foreign influences on musical style, invoke national origins, or instantiate an essentialist perspective. French music, after all, was generally recognized as the product of assimilating German and Italian elements. Indeed, that vocal purity and melodic simplicity were so highly valorized by a people who saw themselves as the most hybrid in Europe is an intriguing irony. Rather, I would suggest, "pure" refers to a quality that rises above nation and national differences within the West, beyond the particularities as expressed in Western languages, even as this very ambition to universality coded it as specifically Western. *Mignon* could be performed in many languages and by singers with diverse accents and from widely varying backgrounds, and they were consistently praised to the extent that they could produce a pure sound.[153] Understood and valued across Europe at the fin de siècle, this kind of refined sound, devoid of the distinctions of individual voice and national language, defined for them Western music at its finest.[154]

As such, pure intonation was a musical analogue for whiteness, signifying a desire to grapple with Western identity at its most fundamental. Both involved the perception of an absence of color, a quality functioning as and valued for being unmarked rather than marked. As such, both were products of Eurocentrism, analogues for what Westerners saw themselves as sharing while inhibiting appreciation of highly complex timbral musicality outside the West, such as in North Indian dhrupad or Japanese bunraku singing. Just as the concept of racial purity may have connoted a quality shared among white Europeans, although, as Renan pointed out, racial purity did not exist among Europeans—everyone was mixed[155]—it was an ideal more than an attainable reality, a "perfection" that could only be approximated. Joined to "noble," "pure" connoted transcendence from material and mundane concerns, a taste for elevated ideas, or the refined world of the upper classes. When the City of Paris created a prize for the "purest and most abstract form" of music, they did not mean music without text or story—the competition was for a dramatic symphony. Rather, composers were told to address "feelings of the highest order,"[156] words the Frenchman used to translate "la grande race" in reference to Saint-Saëns. When Ernest Reyer wrote of the need to "refine (*épurer*) public taste," he was calling for a higher goal than entertainment, something elevated and noble.[157] Praise for having a pure style or creating a pure design in music had similar connotations. Given its association with the music of Mozart and Mendelssohn, this would have suggested that a composer's music was on a par with the achievements of German classicism. Some associated this yearning to go beyond material reality with

advanced civilization, its abstraction and attempt to contemplate what Mallarmé called the "au-delà" distinguishing it from "primitive" musics.[158] Indeed, Renan characterized a race's distinction from the "inferior races" by its ability to strive for an ideal, its "transcendental capacities signifying the nobility of man."[159] Ultimately, then, pure whiteness and pure intonation, however abstract the concepts, were unifying strategies among Western Europeans, particularly important amid ongoing conflicts that could explode into war, and ways of ensuring Westerners' perception of their superiority as they entered into colonial relationships with more and more of the world's peoples.

Idealism and Identity

We've seen that different racial beliefs had a great impact on how the French saw themselves as well as others, especially their diverse past and their hopes for the future. Whereas polygenists wanted to blame racial mixing for the impending decline of French mores at the fin de siècle, monogenists saw benefits in the racial hybridity that was France, the new Rome, the product of assimilating ancient Greek and Roman traditions through the Gauls and German traditions through the Franks. For them, this combination, this amalgam of characteristics, was perceived as part of their strength as a people. At some point, however, their hyper-awareness of their own hybridity perhaps inhibited the French from understanding what it means when colonized peoples have no interest in assimilation. They may have assumed they understood the processes needed to integrate another people, but, largely Eurocentric, as we've seen in their conclusions about non-Western music, they remained unable or unwilling to understand non-Western difference in its own terms. Because they failed to rise to the challenges of an expanded French nation, prejudice and discrimination remained, even among those who believed in "liberty, equality, and fraternity."

When the term *race* appeared in reference to the French as if a homogenous entity, it was in some ways a term of desire as well as self-delusion, clouded with implications related to French politics, class, and national identity. Both republicans and monarchists seized on the notion of music as a sign and symbol of race because, to them both, it idealized a certain identity associated with their ancestors, whether revolutionaries or aristocratic monarchists, even if these were in some ways as distinct and diametrically opposed as the Gauls and the Franks. Race's stand-in, purity, could also simultaneously signify class. Purity permeated the discourse on a wide range of musics, musicians, and performance practices, often signaling high achievement and the distinction

associated with class. To the extent that French music and musical practices achieved purity in style or sound, such as in *Mignon*, they also helped the French address an identity based not on the particularities of language, but instead on its universal possibilities (from a Western perspective). When French musicians could "proclaim superiority in musical lyricism"[160] and French taste was appreciated as universal taste, the ultimate mark of its legitimacy, the French were rewarded with what underlay any search for national identity, that is, international recognition and respect. So many agendas related to the Self may help explain why studies examining non-Western music were full of highly subjective assumptions and conclusions.

Despite all the complexity and nuance the word had come to signify, particularly in studies of the French past, in time of war, race collapsed to blood and narrow definitions of national identity. Colonialists had already admitted the failure of assimilation in the colonies, and French leaders had retreated to the tactics of distanced association, borrowed from British colonialism. With the horrors of World War I came a retrenchment to old fears of invaders, occupation, and the inevitability of foreign influence along with abstract notions of racial purity as related to blood. As Debussy put it strongly and boldly in one of his last published essays, victory would bring a "necessary liberation" to the "French musical consciousness," returning to French artists "a sense of the purity and the nobility of the French blood."[161] Here, purity is the antithesis of the corrupt, a theme earlier associated with the medieval conflict between the Gallo-Romans and the Franks. If Fouillé, explicitly antiwar in the 1890s, accepted what each people had contributed over time to the French nation, he did not agree with Germans that their ancestors were "the great purifiers of Latin corruption."[162] However, amid renewed conflict, this idea of war as redeeming corruption returned. If war could remind the French of "all the virtues of our race," as Debussy ardently hoped, it was because it enhanced self-awareness. This could purify in the sense of cleansing them of their errors, ridding them of seductions that were false and influences that went against their nature. Debussy specifically called for French musicians to uproot the "weeds" in themselves and their culture and thereby rediscover their "liberty." "There are several ways to defeat the enemy," he continued. "Music is one of them; admirable and fertile."[163] Able to produce as well as embody identity, music's role, from the "Marseillaise" to that of Holmès and Debussy, was to fertilize the "devastated fields" of the French soul and thereby ensure French immortality.

While race as national identity had encouraged a sense of geopolitical unity among the French people, a connection beyond differences of class and politics, it also empowered a sense of strength and indomitability vis-à-vis others. At the same time, white Eurocentrism in discussions of origins, hierarchies, hybridity, and resistance shaped what the French wanted to understand or even could understand when it came to race beyond the nation. To grasp this and therefore how they acted as an imperial power, we need to understand what race meant to them at home. Racial hybridity, as conceived by anthropologists, was an observable fact, but the notion of mixing that would lessen or eradicate racial distinctions between distantly related races was unpredictable, frightening. After the war, the eventual migration to France of thousands from the colonies challenged the French attempt to recognize some kind of homogeneity among their people, beyond their citizenship. And in the colonies, assimilation remained an often unrealizable ideal for those sympathetic to the project, or a violent imposition of French values for those opposing it. In effect, it has long been far easier for the French to aim for plurality based on European whiteness and distinction within Western culture than to redress inequalities and abolish racism, particularly "racism without races."[164]

When the socialists came to power in the early 1980s, they reinvested in Third Republic ideals and targeted intervention to promote their agendas. They gave grants to support French rap and rai, and at the annual Fête de la musique on June 22, which they founded in 1982, such musicians were often given center stage, playing for huge crowds in front of the Assemblée Nationale and Les Invalides. The festival's founder Maurice Fleuret, composer and arts administrator, explained, "If we invite musicians to come play in the street, it is so that they celebrate their own existence and begin to know themselves and one another better, so that they fraternize with others."[165] Over the years, organizers have continued to invite "the musical practices of everyone without any hierarchy of genres," seeking to "foster self-knowledge and the formation of groups" as well as "revitalize society in crisis by helping to alleviate the identity crisis of victims of the new global economy." Through the participation of amateurs at all levels and the subway and train lines left running all night during the Fête—which allowed those living in the suburbs to participate in urban performances—they have hoped to "reconcile the imaginary and the political through musical performance." In recent years, especially as the festival has gone international in over 250 countries, their press releases describe music as having become "mosaic" and "the expression of musical and cultural crossbreeding [*métissages*]" without any pejorative

connotations.[166] Within France, the "musiques du mondes et traditions [world music and traditional music]" category has outstripped classical music and even jazz on these performances largely initiated and organized by amateurs, and mixed genres, or "fusion," often incorporating aspects of world music, are by far the most frequent. French officials thus have looked to music to bring together people of different backgrounds and ethnicities and suggest ways of negotiating their differences. The challenge of fully assimilating people into French society, however, has never been more daunting.

Notes

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I'm grateful to Annegret Fauser and Tamara Levitz for their perceptive, provocative, and very constructive comments on an earlier draft of this article.

1. Herrick Chapman and Laura Frader, "Introduction: Race in France," in their *Race in France: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on the Politics of Difference* (New York: Berghahn, 2004), 1–3.

2. More recently, Homi K. Bhabha, "The Postcolonial and the Postmodern," in *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994), addresses this concern, defining culture as a "strategy of survival." He notes: "The transnational dimension of cultural transformation—migration, diaspora, displacement, relocation—makes the process of cultural translation a complex form of signification. The natural[ized], unifying discourse of 'nation,' 'peoples,' or authentic 'folk' tradition, those embedded myths of culture's particularity, cannot be readily referenced. The great, though unsettling, advantage of this position is that it makes you increasingly aware of the construction of culture and the invention of tradition" (172).

3. Many nineteenth-century writers, such as Kipling, presented colonial encounters as consisting of "absolute" divisions between the colonized and colonizers; recent scholars, such as Edward Said, have focused on this "uneven exchange" (*Orientalism* [New York: Vintage, 1978], 12, and *Culture and Imperialism* [New York: Knopf, 1993], 134). Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, in *De la Colonisation chez les peuples modernes* (1874; Paris: Guillaumin, 1882), however, had a more nuanced view of this. He acknowledged that colonization involves an "exchange of influences, a reciprocity of services, and mutual dependence." This was a corollary to another point: while migrations (of savage peoples) are driven by instinct, colonialism (by civilized peoples) is characterized by conscious reflection (xi–xii). Discourse of inclusion, however, did not always translate into practices. On *métissage* [interracial unions] in French Indo-China, see Ann Laura Stoler, "Sexual

Affronts and Racial Frontiers: European Identities and the Cultural Politics of Exclusion in Colonial Southeast Asia," in *Hybridity and Its Discontents: Politics, Science, Culture*, ed. Avtar Brah and Annie Coombes (London and New York: Routledge, 2000), 21–55. On sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europe as a product of colonizers and colonized and how music played a role in these distinctions, see Olivia Bloechl, in *Native American Song at the Frontiers of Early Modern Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008). Michael Werner and Michel Espagne in *Transferts: Les relations interculturelles dans l'espace franco-allemand (XVIII^e et XIX^e siècle)*, ed. Werner and Espagne (Paris: Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1988), and Annegret Fauser in this volume use "cultural transfer" to describe cultural exchange as a reciprocal phenomenon both inter- and intra-culturally. I'm grateful to Olivia and Annegret for sharing their work in advance of publication.

4. *Civilization* differs from the term often given as the German equivalent, *culture*. While the latter is a product and suggests relative autonomy from the Other, the former is a process involving relative openness. Walter Mignolo discusses these differences drawn from Norbert Elias's *The Civilizing Process* (1937) in his "Globalization, Civilization Processes, and the Relocation of Languages and Cultures," in *Cultures of Globalization*, ed. Frederic Jameson and Masao Miyoshi (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1998), 32–34. He also notes that whereas civilization "can be carried and expanded all over the globe," culture is more rooted in space.

5. See, for example, Alfred Fouillé, "Dégénérescence? Le passé et le présent de notre race," *Revue des deux mondes* 131 (1895): 793–824 ; Robert Nye, *Crime, Madness, and Politics: The Medical Concept of National Decline* (Princeton, NJ : Princeton University Press, 1984); and Karen Offen, "Depopulation, Nationalism, and Feminism in Fin-de-Siècle France," *American Historical Review* 89, no. 3 (June 1984): 648–76.

6. See, most recently, Annegret Fauser, *Musical Encounters at the 1889 Paris World's Fair* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2005), 146–58; Ralph Locke's classic study, "Constructing the Oriental 'Other': Saint-Saëns's *Samson et Dalila*," *Cambridge Opera Journal* 3 (Nov. 1991): 261–302; and Jane Fulcher, *French Cultural Politics and Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), especially 193–94, where she assumes that any use of the term *race* should be understood in terms of the "rhetoric" associated with the Action Française.

7. Because such discourses can also be "driving forces in history, and not merely representations," as Tzvetan Todorov argues in *On Human Diversity: Nationalism, Racism, and Exoticism in French Thought*, trans. Catherine Porter (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), xiii, these concerns had larger implications that music helped to illuminate.

8. Camille Benoit, "La Musique et la philosophie moderne. I. (suite) Charles Darwin," *Revue et gazette musicale* (29 Feb. 1880): 67.

9. Paul Broca, *On the Phenomena of Hybridity in the Genus Homo*, ed. C. Carter Blake (London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts, 1864), 8–9, 12.

10. Todorov, *On Human Diversity*, 90, 102.

11. Todorov, *On Human Diversity*, 102–3; Gobineau, *Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines*, in *Oeuvres*, vol. 1 (1853; Paris: Gallimard, 1983), 813; Broca, *Hybridity in the Genus Homo*, 7.

12. Gobineau, *Essai*, 341, 347–48. Ernest Renan, in *Histoire générale et système comparé des langues sémitiques* (Paris: Michel Lévy, 1863), concurred, believing that the Indo-European and Semitic races "have in common, and are alone in possessing, the sovereign characteristic of beauty." They were "the civilized family" (490–91).

13. Gobineau, *Essai*, 793–94.

14. Renan elaborates this notion of the nation in his "Qu'est-qu'une nation?" (1882), reproduced in *Le Nationalisme français*, ed. Raoul Girardet (Paris: Seuil, 1983), 65–67. In his *La Réforme intellectuelle et morale*, ed. P. E. Charvet (1871; New York: Greenwood, 1968), he notes that Alsace was a "Celtic country" before being invaded by the German race (121). See also his *Histoire*, especially 500–505.

15. Gustave Le Bon, *The Psychology of Peoples* (1894; New York: Stechert, 1924), 37, 126. See also Hippolyte Taine, *Les Origines de la France contemporaine* (1876–96).

16. Gabriel Tarde, *Les Lois d'imitation* (Paris: Alcan, 1890), 21n1. See also Tarde and Edmund Demolins, cited in Pierre-André Taguieff, *The Force of Prejudice: Racism and Its Doubles*, trans. Hassan Melehy (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), 75.

17. Antoine Marmontel, *Eléments d'esthétique musicale et considération sur le beau dans les arts* (Paris: Heugel, 1884), 418.

18. Claude Debussy, in *L'Intransigeant* (11 Mar. 1915), reproduced in *Monsieur Croche et autres écrits*, ed. François Lesure (Paris: Gallimard, 1971), 260.

19. Gabriel Vicaire, "Nos Idées sur le traditionnisme," *Revue des traditions populaires* (25 July 1886): 189; "Les Chansons populaires au Cercle Saint-Simon," *Revue des traditions populaires* (26 Feb. 1887): 138.

20. L. A. Bourgault-Ducoudray, *Trente Mélodies populaires de Basse-Bretagne* (Paris: Lemoine, 1885), 16.

21. Albert Lavignac, *La Musique et les musiciens français* (Paris: Delagrave, 1895), 432; Debussy, *S.I.M.* (1 Nov. 1913), reproduced in *Monsieur Croche*, 241. Likewise, in order for French composers not to be "taken over" by German influences, the music critic Jean d'Udine advised, "We must reconcile the qualities of the Latin races and those of the North." See his review "Les Grands Concerts," *Courrier musical* (1 Jan. 1902).

22. In his "La jeune musique française," *Figaro musical* (Jan. 1892), Alfred Bruneau also encouraged French composers to do lyric drama, but *à la française*, that is, with clarity and logic (5). As Steven Huebner points out in "Naturalism and Supernaturalism in Alfred Bruneau's *Le Rêve*," *Cambridge Opera Journal* 11, no. 1 (Mar. 1999), Bruneau called his own collaboration with Zola a *drame lyrique* but wanted to depict "lived experience and celebrating its 'real life' and 'humanity'" (81). See also Steven Huebner, *French Opera at the Fin de Siècle: Wagnerism, Nationalism, and Style* (New York, 1999).

23. Borrowing from a postcolonial context and the hybridity characteristic of border cultures, in Bhabha's words from *The Location of Culture*, this would have meant to refigure the past "as a contingent 'in-between' space, that innovates and interrupts the performance of the present" (7).

24. E. Ratez, "Du Nouveau dans l'ancien," *L'Art musical* (31 Mar. 1889): 41.

25. For an excellent study of this perspective, see Michael A. Osborne, *Nature, the Exotic, and the Science of French Colonialism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994). As Tzvetan Todorov points out in *On Human Diversity*, if they preferred the term *race* to *species*, it was in order to "avoid offending Christian sensitivities for Christians maintain that all men belong to the same species" (107).

26. Renan, *Histoire*, 501–2.

27. Colonial theorists such as Leroy-Beaulieu, in *De la Colonisation*, defined France's self-image in terms of its influence in the world and saw colonialism as a matter of "life or death": the French must colonize or lose their position in Europe (viii–ix). See also Raoul Girardet, *L'Idée coloniale en France de 1871 à 1962* (Paris: Hachette, 1978), 28.

28. Topinard, in the *Bulletin de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris* (1881), discussed in Patricia M. E. Lorcin, *Imperial Identities: Stereotyping, Prejudice, and Race in Colonial Algeria* (London: Tauris, 1995), 157–58.

29. Jann Pasler, "The Utility of Musical Instruments in the Racial and Colonial Agendas of Late Nineteenth-Century France," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 129, no. 1 (Spring 2004): 28–30; Matthew Head, "Musicology on Safari: Orientalism and the Spectre of Postcolonial Theory," *Music Analysis* 22, no. i–ii (2003): 223. See also David Spurr, *The Rhetoric of Empire: Colonial Discourse in Journalism, Travel Writing, and Imperial Administration* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1993), chapter 4; and Bhabha, "The Other Question," in *The Location of Culture*, 66–84.

30. Jann Pasler, "Race and Nation: Musical Acclimatisation and the *Chansons Populaires* in Third Republic France," in *Western Music and Race*, ed. Julie Brown (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 147–67.

31. François-Joseph Fétis, *Histoire générale de la musique depuis les temps les plus anciens jusqu'à nos jours* (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1869). Fétis was a composer, conductor, music critic, and director of the Brussels Conservatory. He also collected many foreign musical instruments that later formed the basis for the Musical Instrument Museum in Brussels.

32. François-Joseph Fétis, "Sur un nouveau mode de classification des races humaines d'après leurs systèmes musicaux," *Bulletin de la Société d'Anthropologie* 2, no. 2 (1867): 137–38.

33. Fétis, "Sur un nouveau mode de classification des races humaines," 138, 140–41.

34. Gobineau, *Essai*, 339. In response to Fétis's lecture, Paul Broca agreed that because music was "one of the first manifestations of human emotions," music had much to teach about human origins (145).

35. Johannes Weber, "Ethnographie des instruments de musique," *Revue et gazette musicale* (16 Nov. 1879 through 29 Feb. 1880). This followed another series of his articles, "Les Types des instruments de musique," *Revue et gazette musicale* (27 Apr. 1879 through 25 May 1879). Weber was a musicologist and music critic who wrote for *Le Temps* (1861–95) and published books on aesthetics and music education in France.

36. Weber, "Ethnographie" (14 Dec. 1879): 401–2.

37. Weber, in "Ethnographie" (11 Jan. 1880), explained this absence of semitones as a result of the Chinese penchant for instrumental over vocal music (9).

38. Weber, "Ethnographie" (1 Feb. 1880): 33.

39. Gobineau, *Essai*, 337; F.-J. Fétis, *Biographie universelle des musiciens*, cited in Jean-Baptiste Weckerlin, *La Chanson populaire* (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1886), 188.

40. Cited in Fauser, *Musical Encounters*, 153.

41. Renan, *Histoire*, believed "inferior races" to be "absolutely incapable of organization and progress" (502). Le Bon, in *The Psychology of Peoples*, attributed to the "primitive and inferior" races a "greater or lesser incapacity to reason" (28).

42. Weber, "Ethnographie" (16 Nov. 1879): 372; and (14 Dec. 1879): 401.

43. Weber, "Ethnographie" (23 Nov. 1879): 377.

44. See note 41.

45. Looking to history, Gobineau, in *Essai*, argued "that all civilization ensued from the white race, that no society can exist without the cooperation of this race, and that a society is great and brilliant in proportion to how long it preserves the noble group that created it, that which belonged to the species' most illustrious branch" (344–45). The ethnologist Girard de Rialle, in *Mémoire sur l'Asie centrale: son histoire, ses populations* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1875), also believed that the Aryan race "epitomized all the progress of humanity" (7). Other music scholars of the period concurred. John Rowbotham began his three-volume study, *A History of Music* (London: Trübner, 1885–87), with the assertion: "The history of savage races is a history of arrested developments" (1).

46. Julien Tiersot, *Histoire de la chanson populaire en France* (Paris: Plon, 1889), 348. This book won the Prix Bordin from the Institut for the best comprehensive study of the genre in France.

47. Julien Tiersot, *Mélodies populaires des provinces de France* 3 (Paris: Heugel, 1911), 3.

48. Richard Wallaschek, in *Primitive Music* (1893; New York: Da Capo, 1970), too writes of finding harmony—singing in different parts, intervals, and with accompaniment—in several primitive cultures, including the Hottentots and Maoris. He thus concludes that it should not be considered the "invention of modern times" nor "confined to European races." Since "even uncivilized races know how to accompany a simple song by ear while some of the more civilised ones, such as the Chinese and other Oriental people, do not understand our harmony . . . the difference between people with and without harmonic music is not *a historical but a racial one*" (139–44). The contradictory nature of these statements seemed to have escaped Wallaschek.

49. Julien Tiersot, "Promenades musicales à l'Exposition," *Ménestrel* (6 Oct. 1889): 316, (13 Oct. 1889): 324–26, and (20 Oct. 1889): 332. Annegret Fauser, in *Musical Encounters* also underlines the importance of Tiersot's conclusions (251–52).

50. Most nineteenth-century French writers, however, were not ready to suggest that culture (even European culture) can influence nature (that is, the nature of races, especially those perceived to be inferior) to any significant degree. See Todorov, *On Human Diversity*, for the implications of this "inversion of perspective" (93).

51. Broca, discussant, following Fétis, "Sur un nouveau mode de classification des races humaines," 145.

52. Gobineau, *Essai*, 284.

53. Spurr, *The Rhetoric of Empire*, 34.

54. For example, the Aryans traveled westward from central Asia; the Celts moved eastward as far as Austria.

55. Gobineau, *Essai*, 277, 1060.

56. Gobineau, *Essai*, 242–47, 342–43, 478, 1362–63. As the editor, Jean Boissel, points out, when it came to the "incapacity" of blacks, Gobineau was repeating what others had written. Interestingly, however, Madame de Gobineau was a "créole" from Martinique (1239–41). Gobineau saw the Greeks as a mixture of Aryans, Semitic peoples, "Slavo-Celtic populations saturated with yellow elements," and "black Chamites" (665).

57. Renan, *La Réforme intellectuelle et morale* (1871), cited in Robert Young, *Colonialist Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture, and Race* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 68. The first author to use the word *miscegenation* in 1864 saw the United States as an example of how a people could increase their fertility and vigor and form a new super race through racial intermarriage (144).

58. Weber, "Ethnographie" (8 Feb. 1880): 42.

59. For an extended discussion of these issues, see my "The Utility of Musical Instruments."

60. Gobineau, *Essai*, 281–82.

61. M. Gaussin, discussant, following Fétis, "Sur un nouveau mode de classification des races humaines," 144.

62. Julien Tiersot, *Les Types mélodiques dans la chanson populaire française* (Paris: Sagot, 1894), 29–30.

63. Tiersot, *Les Types mélodiques*, 28.

64. Isidore Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire, *Acclimatation et domestication des animaux utiles* (Paris: Maison rustique, 1861). The French first began to experiment with trying to acclimatize species foreign to France in 1848. Declaring that only half the globe had been developed for useful exploitation, in 1855 Saint-Hilaire created a zoo (distinct from the Jardin des plantes) that specialized in acclimatization as well as the creation of racial hybrids: the Jardin zoologique d'acclimatation. See also Osborne, *Nature, the Exotic, and the Science of French Colonialism*.

65. Julien Tiersot, *Notes d'ethnographie musicale* (Paris: Fischbacher, 1905), 129–30.

66. Young, in *Colonial Desire*, links this to its history, which "equated migration with colonization" (178). See also Leroy-Beaulieu, in *De la Colonisation*, and note 3 above.

67. Bourgault-Ducouday, *Trente Mélodies*, 14–16, and "La Musique primitive conservée par les montagnes," *Annuaire du Club alpine française* (1884): 9. In *Trente Mélodies*, he offers an analogously racial hypothesis about the chromatic oriental scale as belonging to Arabs and people whom they've dominated. He found it in *musique populaire*

throughout Turkey, southern Russia, and southern Spain, but "never in countries where the Indo-European element has existed without mixture" (16n1).

68. Gobineau, *Essai*, 283.

69. Jean-Marie Antoine de Lanessan, *Principes de colonisation* (1897), cited in Todorov, *On Human Diversity*, 257.

70. Alfred Rambaud, *La France coloniale* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1895), 107–8.

71. Rambaud, *La France coloniale*, 70–71. As early as 1860 Paul Broca also wrote on blond Kabyles.

72. Leroy-Beaulieu, *De la Colonisation*, 404–5, and Lorcin, *Imperial Identities*, 23, 156–60.

73. Paul Bert, *Lettres de Kabylie* (Paris: Alphonse Lemerre, 1885), 34, and Lorcin, *Imperial Identities*, 189–90.

74. Salvador Daniel, *La Musique arabe* (Alger: Adolphe Jourdan, 1879), 20.

75. Paul Lacome, "Les Chants de la race cabirique ou gallique d'après Salvador Daniel," *Revue et gazette musicale* (5 Dec. 1888): 387. In "Notice sur la musique kabyle," appended to *La Musique arabe*, Daniel notes that, unlike Arab music, Kayble music contains no quarter tones or tones divided into thirds. He also located another mode in it that resembled the Greek Lydian without its second note (161–62). Later, in a footnote to a chapter on Arabic music in his *Notes d'ethnographie musicale*, Tiersot dismisses Daniel's work, particularly his transcriptions of Arab and Kablye songs, but is even more critical of Fétis's work on this repertoire (105–6, 112).

76. Gobineau, *Essai*, 791.

77. Daniel died before he could expand on these claims, although in late fall 1880 the composer-critic Paul Lacome published his notes posthumously, interspersed with critical commentary. See note 75. The timing could not have been better, with Jules Ferry coming to power that September. Despite the 1871 Kabyle insurrection that threw into question the project of Kabyle assimilation, Ferry, a friend of Masqueray, was ready to take it on. Believing, like Bert, that "the solution to the Arab problem is in the schools," the following year he created eight Kabyle schools, the success of which was later attributed to "innate Kabyle ability." See Bert, *Lettres de Kabylie*, 62; Lorcin, *Imperial Identities*, 190–91.

78. Jules Michelet, *Histoire de France* (Paris: Lacroix, 1876); Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, trans. Brian Massumi (1980; London: Athone, 1988). Henri Martin, in *Histoire de France* (1844; Paris: Furne, Jouvet, 1874), writes, "It is not chance that the blood of all the races of antiquity mixed in the Gallic blood, that the slow formation of the French people on the Gallic soil is placed at the center of Europe," which he attributes to Providence (ix). In *Etudes d'archéologie celtique* (Paris: Didier, 1872), Martin explicitly compared the Gauls to the Greeks from this perspective (18). Analogously, in music, Bourgault-Ducoudray, in his *Conférence sur la modalité dans la musique grecque* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1879), pointed out that the Western minor mode is a "hybrid" of the diatonic and the chromatic, just as were many Greek modes (47).

79. Eugen Weber, "Gauls versus Franks: Conflict and Nationalism," in *Nationhood and Nationalism in France*, ed. Robert Tombs (New York: HarperCollins, 1991), 15. Many of

the sources I cite here examined what each successive invader contributed to the French character. An excellent summary of the debates over when and with which people the history of France began can be found in Krzysztof Pomian, "Francs et Gaulois," in *Les Lieux de mémoire III. Les France I. Conflits et partages* (Paris: Gallimard, 1992), 41–105.

80. Gobineau, in his *Essai* (1853), too wrote about the "antagonisms and mixtures of hybrid forces" in various races. He had concluded that the white race was an "agglomeration métisse," with, nevertheless, "specific distinctive traits." But, as he saw it, "successive invasions, commerce, colonies, peace and war" had led to "disorder," as "the most distant and different races furnished their contingent of blood to the inhabitants of our great cities" (281–84, 345, 813).

81. Gobineau, *Essai*, 1163.

82. Broca, *Hybridity in the Genus Homo*, 21–22. See also Young, *Colonial Desire*, 18; Schiller, *Broca*, 137, 324.

83. Broca, *Hybridity in the Genus Homo*, 16–18, 25–28.

84. Both of the Prix de Rome libretti focus on Atala's rescue and liberation of Chactas, taken prisoner in an intertribal conflict. They fall in love but, even if he agrees to convert, she resists marriage because of her previous commitment "to die the wife of God."

85. If Chateaubriand begins his prologue by setting up a binary opposition between European and Indian cultures, it is to undermine this subsequently, as Claudia Moscovici argues, by showing how both characters "selectively incorporate and reject elements of both cultures." "Hybridity and Ethics in Chateaubriand's *Atala*," *Nineteenth-Century French Studies* 29, nos. 3–4 (2001): 197–216, especially note 29. Ultimately, as Todorov points out in *On Human Diversity*, "the proper opposition is not between us and the others, but between vice and virtue," that is, "the virtues of individual count for more than the countries to which they belong" (282–308, especially 290–91).

86. Renan, *Histoire*, 501–3.

87. Similarly, in *La Musique*, Lavignac defines the beautiful in music as "residing in the felicitous harmony of proportions" (441).

88. Fouillé, "Dégénérescence?" especially 800, 804, 812–13, and Martin, *Histoire de France*, ix.

89. Henri Lavoix *fils*, *La Musique française* (Paris: Picard, 1891), 15–16, 31–34.

90. Marmontel, *Eléments d'esthétique musicale*, 418–20.

91. As Kerry Murphy points out in "Race and Identity: Appraisals in France of Meyerbeer on his 1891 Centenary," *Nineteenth-Century Music Review* 1, no. 2 (2004), in 1865 one critic suggested that "France created his talent and revealed Meyerbeer to himself." In the 1890s, however, his Jewishness increasingly affected his reception. By 1921, Pierre Lasserre referred to him as a "cosmopolitan manipulator" far more than an "artist of blood and race" (33, 42).

92. For more on these concepts, see my *Music as Public Utility* (University of California, forthcoming).

93. Julien Tiersot, *Mélodies populaires des provinces de France* 1 (Paris: Heugel, 1888), 1; and 4 (1911), 3. See also my "Race and Nation," 156–58.

94. Bourgault-Ducoudray, *Conférence*, 47–48.

95. "Les Chants de la race cabirique ou gallique," 387.

96. Henri Quittard, "L'Orientalisme musical. Saint-Saëns orientaliste," *Revue musicale* (1 Mar. 1906), 113.

97. Locke considers the "Rhapsodie mauresque" the "most artistically successful evocation" of "non-Western music-making before Colin McPhee's gamelan-inspired *Tabuh-Tabuhan* (1936)." See his "Cutthroats and Casbah Dancers, Muezzins and Timeless Sands: Musical Images of the Middle East," *Nineteenth-Century Music* (Summer 1998): 41.

98. Quittard, "L'Orientalisme musical," 107, 111–12.

99. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 4.

100. Quittard, in "L'Orientalisme musical," notes that attempts to incorporate Oriental melodies end up in distortion, and this problem is "insurmountable" (108–9).

101. Fouillé, "Dégénérescence?" 793; Max Nordau, *Dégénérescence* (Paris: Alcan, 1894).

102. Martin, *Histoire de France*, 88–90, 132–33.

103. Such a concern perhaps brought Wagner and Gobineau together. The two met in 1876, and Wagner enthusiastically read Gobineau's work in 1880; Gobineau attended *The Ring* in 1881 and 1882. One of Wagner's disciples helped publish Gobineau's work posthumously in the 1890s, after which it became increasingly popular. Gobineau, *Oeuvres* 1, xv–xvi.

104. Armand de Quatrefages, "Acclimatation des animaux et des plantes," *Le Magasin pittoresque* (1883): 373–75. He was a professor of the anatomy and natural history of man.

105. Debussy, *S.I.M.* (15 Jan. 1913), reproduced in *Monsieur Croche*, 220.

106. Jules Ruelle, "*Lohengrin*," *Art Musical* (30 Sept. 1891).

107. Marmontel, *Eléments d'une esthétique musicale*, 425. Later Debussy likewise called for French composers to admire without imitating, to work "après," not "d'après," Wagner.

108. For Fouillé, in "Dégénérescence?" the "question of race was intimately tied to that of the population" (816). No mention of Jews or Jewish immigrants here suggests that they did not dominate discussions about race, as musicologists such as Jane Fulcher have recently inferred. Instead, echoing Debussy's feelings about the influence of Franck, noted above, Fouillé was disturbed by the influx of Belgians, above all, as they constituted more than half of all immigrants, followed by Italians (813, 813n1). The archaeologist Alexandre Bertrand, in *La Gaule avant les Gaulois d'après les monuments et les textes* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1884), distinguished the original Belgians from the Celts because their ancestors practiced different funeral rites (9). In music, this was all very ironic since Belgians such as Franck assimilated well into French culture and since Brussel's Théâtre de la Monnaie premiered many French operas at the fin de siècle.

109. Young, *Colonial Desire*, 18.

110. European descendents in Algeria became naturalized French in 1889. See Faidherbe and Topinard, "Instructions sur l'Anthropologie de l'Algérie," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Anthropologie de Paris*, 8 (1873), 603–59, discussed in Lorcin, *Imperial Identities*, 157, 196–97, 202, 209–10. In *De la Colonisation*, Leroy-Beaulieu also mentions other Europeans in Algeria as "useful auxiliaries" as well as those most capable of assimilating with the French (330–31, 336). This was based on the idea that racial mixing was inevitable and some mixed races were great ones.

111. Bert, *Lettres de Kabylie*, 6.

112. Lorcin, *Imperial Identities*, 200. Ernest Reyer's opera *Salammbô* premiered in Paris in 1892, focusing French attention as well on this.

113. In Cairo, where it would have been a "true miracle to see a turban" in local theaters, the audience for Verdi's *Aida* (1871) was also Europeans. See the review by F. Filippi, excerpted in Arthur Pougin, *Verdi* (Paris: Calmann Lévy, 1886), 227.

114. "Palestrina, Pergolese, Handel, Bach, Haydn, Beethoven, etc." were listed as their repertoire in *Revue et gazette musicale* (14 Apr. 1878): 116.

115. Lorcin, *Imperial Identities*, 205.

116. Young, *Colonial Desire*, 18–19.

117. Tiersot, *Mélodies populaires* 1, 1.

118. Daniel, *La Musique arabe*, 58.

119. Weber, "Ethnographie" (8 Feb. 1880): 41–42.

120. Amédée Thierry, *Histoire des Gaulois*, vol. 2 (Paris: Didier, 1859), 551–52; Martin, *Histoire de France*, 1.

121. Tiersot, *Histoire de la chanson populaire*, 170; Martin, *Histoire de France*, 60.

122. Pomian, "Francs et Gaulois," 75.

123. See, for example, Pierre Vaisse, "Les Gaulois dans la peinture officielle," in *Nos Ancêtres les Gaulois*, ed. Paul Viallaneix and Jean Ehrard (Clermont-Ferrand, 1982), 321, 324.

124. Comte de Gobineau, *Amadis*, poëme [sic] (Paris Plon, 1887), and M. H. T. (Marie de la Tour, his longtime mistress), "Preface," xx–xxii, xxxiii. The author wrote book 1 in 1868–69, publishing it in 1876; he wrote books 2 and 3 from 1878 to 1880.

125. Edouard Adénis's libretto for the 1892 Prix de Rome competition makes allusions to *Parsifal* in centering the narrative on the conflict between a magician who promises all worldly desires, including palaces and slaves, to possess the woman of his dreams, and Amadis, who resists his power, in this case to save his beloved.

126. Broca, in his study of the Celts, also believed the Celts preexisted the Gauls and tried to differentiate the French Celts from other Celts. In doing so, he came upon four categories of Celts: the historical Celts (whom Caesar found in some of Gaul) with their different customs and language; the linguistic Celts who, in Western Europe, continued to speak Celtic languages; the much older archaeological Celts, probably from closer to Asia, who brought the Bronze Age to Europe; and the cranial Celts, who had

a certain kind of skull. See Francis Schiller, *Paul Broca: Founder of French Anthropology* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), 144–48, and Martin, *Histoire de France*, 4–5.

127. Bertrand, *La Gaule avant les Gaulois*, 7–8, 14, 195–98, 203–4.

128. Tiersot, *Histoire de la chanson populaire*, 170.

129. See also Girard de Rialle, *Les Peuples de l'Asie et de l'Europe* (Paris: Germer Baillière, 1881), 104–5, 167–68. Gobineau, in *Essai*, also believed the Aryans were already distinct from the Celts before the former arrived in India (481).

130. See Bourgault-Ducoudray, "La Musique primitive," 4–5, 9; Tiersot, *Histoire de la chanson populaire*, 187; and Gaston Paris, *La Poésie au moyen age* (Paris: Hachette, 1885), 48.

131. Huebner, *French Opera*, 324–26.

132. Fouillé, "Dégénérescence?" 798.

133. Gobineau, *Essai*, 795; "Les dialects celtiques faisaient tant de résistance à se laisser assimiler aux langues arianes, que plusieurs érudits crurent même pouvoir les dire de source différente" (813).

134. On differences between the Gauls and the Franks, see Martin, *Histoire de France*, 133–35, 208–11.

135. His *Histoire des institutions politiques de l'ancienne France* first appeared in 1877, just as republicans were consolidating their power to take over the majority. In chapters 11–14, he argues against the Frankish "enslavement of the conquered Gauls." See Weber, "Gauls versus Franks," 12.

136. Tiersot, "Preface," in Vincent d'Indy and Julien Tiersot, *Chansons populaires du Vivarais et du Vercors* (Paris: Heugel, 1892), 2. As Martin Stokes has suggested in the Introduction to *Ethnicity, Identity, and Music*, ed. Martin Stokes (Providence, RI: Berg, 1994), the mythology of an authentic Celtic music continues to function as a "discursive trope of great persuasive power" (7).

137. In ancient Greece, he pointed out in his *Conférence*, philosophers believed that this mode inspired "a cult of strength and the feeling of duty" (21). Bourgault-Ducoudray, *Trente Mélodies* and "La Musique primitive," 4–5, 9.

138. Bourgault-Ducoudray, "La Musique primitive," 8; Julien Tiersot, *Chansons populaires recueillies dans les Alpes françaises* (Grenoble: Falque et Perrin, 1903), 500–501.

139. Bourgault-Ducoudray, "La Musique primitive," 5.

140. D'Indy included Palestrina and his generation as among the "primitives."

141. Vincent d'Indy, *Chansons populaires du Vivarais* (Paris: Durand, 1900), ii, 2, 15–17. I develop these arguments in "Race and Nation," 155–67. For more on early music's importance for d'Indy, see Catrina Flint de Médicis, "Nationalism and Early Music at the French Fin-de-Siècle: Three Case Studies," *Nineteenth-Century Music Review* 1, no. 2 (2004): 43–66, and my "Deconstructing d'Indy, or the Problem of a Composer's Reputation," *Nineteenth-Century Music* 30, no. 3 (Spring 2007): 252–54.

142. Gobineau devotes chapter 4 of his *Essai* to this question. He believed that when a race was too mixed, it would degenerate and find it impossible to harmonize, or tend toward a "necessary homogeneity," and to arrive at "a common logic, instincts, and common interests, the only reason for social ties" (345).

143. Gobineau, who inherited a fortune from his legitimist uncle, made his politics clear in *La Troisième République française et ce qu'elle vaut* (Strassburg: Trübner, 1907), published posthumously.

144. Republicans took over the Chambre des députés in 1876, and finally the Senate and the presidency in 1879. Gobineau, *Amadis*, 553–56, and M. H. T., "Preface," xxxviii. Léon Bloy saw *Amadis* as not only an attack on bourgeois and republicans, but also a kind of "Darwinism," with all people other than Amadis and his friends condemned to disappear. Léon Bloy, letter of 23 Sept. 1880 to Gobineau, cited in Jean Gaulmier, "Introduction" to Gobineau, *Oeuvres* 1, xxxi. Gobineau's *Essai* ends similarly with the admission that "the white species [*espèce*], considered abstractly, has disappeared from the face of the world" (1163). For the connection to Wagner, see note 103. Some Wagnerian scholars have also seen *Parsifal*, written from 1877–81, that is, at the same time as books 2 and 3 of *Amadis*, as concerning "racial purity" more than theological purity. See the discussion in Walter Frisch, *German Modernism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 29.

145. Tiersot, "Preface," 32, 39.

146. Bourgault-Ducoudray, *Trente Mélodies*, 11.

147. Tiersot, "Preface," 3.

148. Tiersot, *Chansons populaires recueillies dans les Alpes françaises*, xxv.

149. An American anthropologist who did comparative hearing tests on a wide range of peoples at the Louisiana Purchase Exhibition in 1904, Frank Bruner concurred with nineteenth-century explorers that whites were superior "over all other races both in the keenness and in the range of the hearing sense." In *The Hearing of Primitive Peoples* (New York: Science Press, 1908), he noted that his test results may have been attributable to the fact that interviewees had to interpret the stimuli presented to the ears and therefore some differences may have been attributable to "differences in mental alertness obtained among the different races." Interestingly, however, the greatest differences came between whites and Filipinos, with African negroes, some of them pygmies, very close to whites, and better than whites in their left-ear perceptions (107, 111–12).

150. Léon Pillaut, "Section II, Arts libéraux, 4: Musique," *Exposition internationale de 1889: Catalogue general officiel* (Lille: 1889), 74. See also Pasler, "The Utility of Musical Instruments," 36–37.

151. Marmontel, *Eléments d'esthétique musicale*, 421.

152. Review of the Rome premiere of *Mignon* in *Ménestrel* (3 Nov. 1872): 397. The notion of "science rentrée" comes from Ernest Reyer, cited in Marie-Hélène Coudroy-Saghaï and Hervé Lacombe, "*Faust* et *Mignon* face à la presse," in *Sillages musicologiques*, ed. Philippe Blay and Raphaëlle Legrand (Paris: Conservatoire National de Paris, 1997), 103.

153. Not only the Swede Christine Nilsson and the American Marie Van Zandt, but also the Canadian Emma Albani and the Viennese Pauline Lucca popularized *Mignon*

abroad. In Albani's Covent Garden performance, the reviewer heard "nothing more pure nor more perfect," her "Connais-tu le pays" performed with a "concentrated emotion immediately communicated to the audience." De Retz, "Saison de Londres," *Ménestrel* (5 July 1874): 244. See also reviews in *Ménestrel* (5 Oct. 1873): 358, and (8 Aug. 1880): 287.

154. For further discussion of these ideas, see my *Music as Public Utility*.

155. Renan, *La Réforme intellectuelle et morale*, 123–24.

156. In *Journal de musique*, see "Nouvelles de Partout" (4 Nov. 1876): 4, "Le Prix de 10,000 francs" (11 Nov. 1876): 1, and "Un rapport de M. de Chennevières" (25 Jan. 1879): 3–4.

157. Ernest Reyer, "Revue musicale," *Le Journal des débats* (27 Sept. 1873).

158. In contrast to this alliance of the pure with the abstract in Western classical music, Wallaschek, in *Primitive Music*, argued that the oldest music in primitive cultures was specifically not abstract nor a luxury, but rather "part of the necessities of life (war and hunting)" and "an organizing power for the masses, the tie which enables the tribe to act as one body" (294–95).

159. Renan, *Histoire générale des langues sémitiques*, 504.

160. *Ménestrel* (17 Mar. 1872): 123.

161. Debussy, *L'Intransigeant*, 259–60.

162. Taking on the eminent historian Fustel de Coulanges, Fouillé observed in "Dégénérescence?" that "The Franks and Germans neither regenerated nor truly transformed Gaul. They were as corrupt as the Romans, even more" (810).

163. Debussy, "Lettre-préface à 'Pour la musique française douze causeries' " (1917), reproduced in *Monsieur Croche*, 262.

164. Etienne Balibar, "Is there a 'Neo-Racism'?" in Balibar and Immanuel Wallerstein, *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities*, trans. Chris Turner (New York: Verso, 1992), writes of this as "a racism whose dominant theme is not biological heredity but the insurmountability of cultural differences, a racism which, at first sight, does not postulate the superiority of certain groups or peoples in relation to others but 'only' the harmfulness of abolishing frontiers, the incompatibility of lifestyles and traditions" (21).

165. Maurice Fleuret, Fête de la musique, video press conference (1 June 1982).

166. "25 années de Fête de la musique: un bref historique," *25e Fête de la musique: Dossier de presse* (Paris: Fnac, 2006), 3, 8.

Going Primitive to the Movements and Sounds of Mambo

David F. García

Around 1950 a new music and dance craze called the mambo caught the attention of musicians, dancers, journalists, filmmakers, intellectuals, and others throughout the Americas. Writing about the dance in a 1951 issue of *Dance Magazine*, American dance critics and teachers Don Byrnes and Alice Swanson stated, "It is now the responsibility of the teacher to standardize, discipline and properly present this thrilling dance to make it acceptable."[1] That same year *New York Daily News* journalist Jess Stearn published an article on mambo dancing as he had observed it being performed at the popular Palladium dance hall in midtown Manhattan; his article was titled "Touch of Jungle Madness: Denizens of Broadway Go Slightly Primitive under Spell of the Wild Sweaty Mambo."[2] A year earlier, in 1950, the Mexican film *Al son del mambo* [To the Sound of Mambo] premiered. Directed by Chano Urueta, this musical comedy featured a group of Mexican sojourners, including a composer, who travel to "primitive" or rural Cuba to escape their disillusionment with modern urban life. The composer aspires to harness the primal sounds of nature into a new kind of music, which he eventually creates in collaboration with "the king of the mambo" himself, Dámaso Pérez Prado. Finally, in contrast to Urueta's portrayal of mambo, the eminent Venezuelan psychiatrist Raúl Ramos Calles railed that the "mambo is no more or less a product of Yankee tourism that invades Cuba. . . . The mambo has no musical value."[3] Ramos Calles was one of many Latin American professionals, academics, and writers who rejected the mambo, considering it an insidious form of both black American vulgarity as well as North American cultural imperialism and, as such, a threat to the racial and cultural integrity of their nations.

In these various representations of the mambo, we can read three rhetorical devices that are commonly encountered in the interrelated discourses of evolutionism and primitivism of the mid-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The first device, characteristic of social and cultural evolutionary thought of the nineteenth century, is the positing

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of a "lack" of organization, discipline, and refinement in the music and dance. The fact that Latin dancers executed a variety of steps and privileged individual dance styles over standardized approaches to dancing seemed to frustrate professional dance teachers like Don Byrnes and Alice Swanson, who were non-Latin and wanted to teach or codify the next big dance fad. Cuban intellectuals similarly criticized mambo dancing for its "lack" of refinement as well as its eschewing of "appropriate" modes of comportment. The second device—founded in biological as well as social and cultural evolutionary discourses of the nineteenth century—is the othering of mambo music and dance racially, spatially, and temporally. It is particularly curious that many Latin American writers and intellectuals characterized this dance and musical form as a product of black American popular cultural forms, as well as of U.S. cultural imperialism. The third device, which distinguished the predominant conception of primitivism in the early twentieth century from its antecedents, is the framing of mambo music and dance as fundamentally primal and thus antithetical to modern urban life in the Americas. Accordingly, Mexican filmmaker Chano Urueta's narrative in *Al son del mambo* placed the origins of the mambo in "primitive" or rural Cuba.

In this essay I will explore the mambo's reception in New York City, Havana, and Mexico City in the late 1940s and early 1950s. I am particularly interested in showing how and explaining why commentators (musicians, dancers, filmmakers, intellectuals, and journalists) across the Americas deployed conventional aspects of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century evolutionist and primitivist discourses in their representations and critiques of mambo. The complexities of evolutionist and primitivist discourse cannot be underestimated, for its applications vary in specific historical, political, artistic, and geographic contexts. For the purposes of this article, I refer to evolutionism and primitivism as these concepts were formulated in Europe as part of the ideological foundations of nineteenth-century archaeology, cultural anthropology, and social evolutionist theories, all of which posited non-Western people and cultures as racially and morally inferior, hence "primitive," in comparison with European peoples and civilization.[4] I also refer to primitivism in its early and mid-twentieth-century manifestation in Latin America, in which its applications toward the region's internal Others spurred nativist rejections of the mambo, which was perceived to have emanated from African American popular cultural forms.[5]

Despite the mambo's rich and prevalent history throughout the Americas, historians of the mambo have limited their work to defining its Cuban origins, debating its musical essence, and identifying the Cuban musician who invented the music and its key characteristics.[6]

With too few exceptions, its reception across the Americas has been all but ignored, even though notions of primitivism and evolutionism as well as questions of national identity, racial othering, and sexuality seem to have been particularly important to its reception. As I will argue, North and Latin American musicians, dance critics, journalists, intellectuals, and filmmakers found in the discourses of primitivism and evolutionism effective ways to articulate their desires and anxieties concerning race, sexuality, and national identity. To theorize the mambo's resonance with these dominant desires and anxieties, I draw from Homi Bhabha's postcolonial and psychoanalytic approach to deconstructing the normativity in the valuing of one race, one system of sexual comportment, and one vision of national identity over others. Ultimately, I am interested in mambo's reception in Havana, New York City, and Mexico City not only to stress its transnational history but also to argue for a critical and transnational perspective on mambo that, in turn, will help us think about race in the Americas not in binary terms—United States versus Latin America—but rather in the flows and counterflows of colonial, racial, and nativist ideologies as enveloped within the discourses of primitivism and evolutionism, discourses that transcended national borders throughout the Americas and beyond.

Positing Primitivity in Mambo Dance

Like other transnational musical and dance styles, the mambo defies a simple definition. In the late 1930s and early 1940s, prior to its commercialization, mambo involved new ways of playing and dancing to Cuban *danzón* and *son* music, both of which had already been established in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, respectively.[7] Its musical characteristics included the use of short (typically two measures) and syncopated rhythmic patterns at specific sections of an arrangement, usually at the finale.[8] This section constituted the liveliest part, in which dancers executed their most animated movements. Most historians agree that Orestes López of the Cuban *charanga* Arcaño y sus Maravillas composed the first mambo in Havana in the mid- to late 1930s.[9] The first mambo that Arcaño's *charanga* actually recorded, however, was Israel "Cachao" López's "Rarezas" in 1940. This new style of music and dance followed the *danzón*'s conventional rondolike form, but with an added syncopated and cyclic finale. Director Antonio Arcaño explained that this new final section featured the *nuevo ritmo* or "new rhythm" that members Orestes, Cachao, and others innovated for Cuban dancers, who reciprocated with inventive dance steps.[10] By 1943 Cuban *conjunto* leader Arsenio Rodríguez began to record *son* music that

featured similar structural and rhythmic innovations. Rodríguez named his new final section *diablo* (devil) and similarly explained that this section was added to give dancers "a kick in the ass."[11] By 1944 Cuban arrangers René Hernández, Bebo Valdés, and Dámaso Pérez Prado began to implement syncopated figures in sections of their arrangements for the big bands of Julio Cueva, Casino de la Playa, and Hermanos Palau.[12]

The term *mambo* was not attributed to any one particular dance style at this time. Rather it was used to identify a new trend in the existing *danzón* dance choreography, while the dance styles associated with Arsenio Rodríguez's *conjunto* and the big bands were also known by the music's existing designations: *son montuno* and *guaracha*, respectively. Similarly, the recording industry did not use the term *mambo* in its marketing or labeling of these artists' records until 1945, at least five years after the mambo's key stylistic features had been formulated by Arcaño's *charanga*. Until then, Cuban musicians, as pianist and director René Touzet confirmed, were playing the music "with a mambo flavor, but we didn't call it mambo."[13]

The use of the term *mambo* took a similarly fluid trajectory in New York City. In 1946, as dancer Pedro Aguilar—better known as "Cuban Pete"—has noted, Latin dancers were dancing *danzón*, *son montuno*, *guaracha*, bolero, and rumba in dance halls such as the Grand Plaza and the Tropicana in the South Bronx and the Park Plaza in East Harlem.[14] Nevertheless, *guaracha* and rumba music as performed by Latin big bands began to include the new mambo section, which attracted the attention and excitement of Latin dancers. By 1947 and 1948 the popular press in Havana and New York City began to publish articles on an emerging "mambo revolution" in music and dance; band leaders began to claim the title "king of the mambo"; and recording companies began to use *mambo* to label their records.[15] Dance teachers also began to advertise mambo dance lessons in local newspapers.[16] Finally, New York's Spanish-language newspaper *El Diario de Nueva York* began to print ads referring to the Palladium Ballroom as the "cradle" or "home" of the mambo.

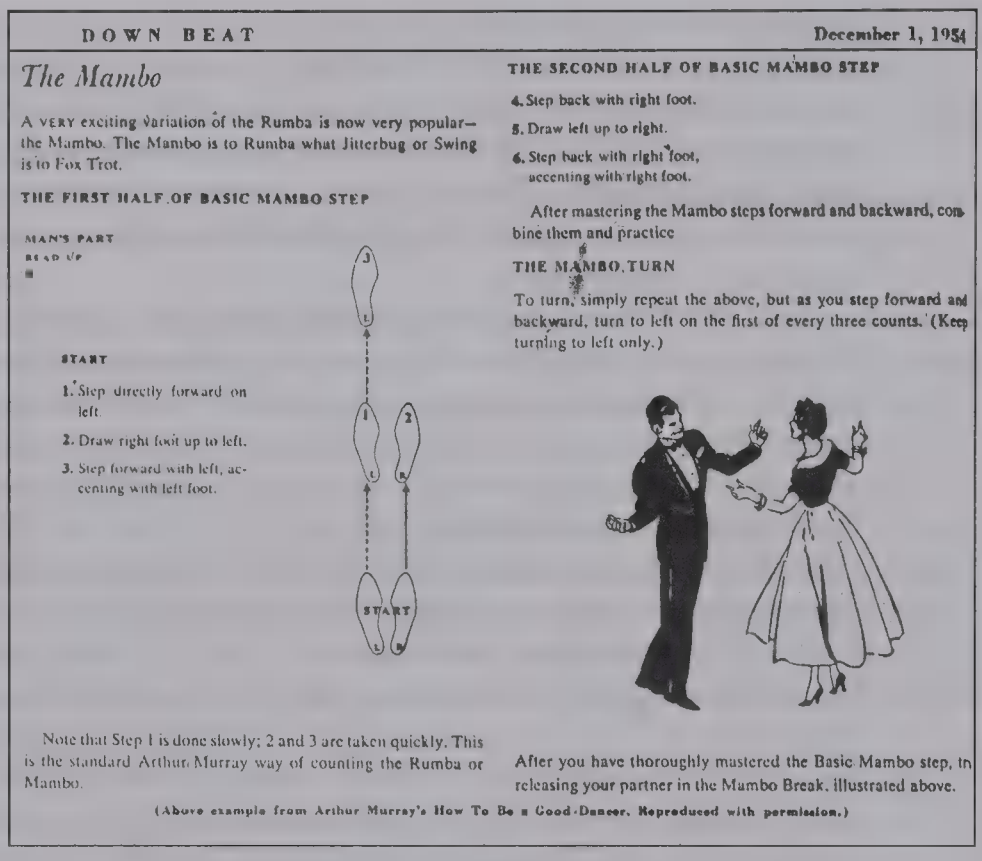
This coalescence of mambo music and dance with the recording, print media, and ballroom dance industries in New York City as well as Havana marked a significant stage in the history of mambo as a transnational popular culture phenomenon. While it had emerged as a local stylistic innovation in the performance of existing forms of Cuban music and dance, now it had also become an object of reification, fascination, and anxiety among socioeconomically and ethnically diverse observers and audiences throughout the Americas. Recording artists

began to use compositions and arrangements that were based entirely on the syncopated sections of the *danzón*, *son montuno*, and *guaracha* as popularized by Cuban *charangas*, *conjuntos*, and big bands, respectively, in Havana in the early 1940s. Nevertheless, while Latin dancers in New York City adjusted their dancing to these new mambo arrangements, they also maintained the distinct dance styles associated with *danzón*, *son*, and *guaracha*.

In addressing the commodification of mambo dancing in New York City, it is important to note how professional dance teachers and Cuban and Puerto Rican social dancers apprehended Latin dance music differently. The Cuban and Puerto Rican dancers with whom I have worked emphasize the individualized, extemporaneous, and communal aspects that defined and inspired their dancing in the 1940s and 1950s. These dancers—as well as many Cuban and Puerto Rican musicians—have consistently used the term *feeling*, as in "feeling the music," in describing not only the inner emotions that are involved in dancing mambo but also the embodiment of the sounds and rhythmic textures created by musical groups.[17] In Cuba, one musician (Antonio Arcaño) noted that during the *danzón*'s mambo section the dancer would "[yell, *create*] steps and [contort] his body *in plain communion with us* [the musicians of his charanga]."[18] Such descriptions of dancing emanated from an embodied experience, in which sound and movement were merged through the body.

Many professional dance teachers in the United States, however, characterized the results of this extemporaneously driven and embodied approach to dancing as "extreme," "undisciplined," and thus requiring standardization in order to present the dance as a sellable commodity for the social or ballroom dance market. As Byrnes and Swanson noted, "The potential dance market is enormous. If *mambo* is *intelligently* demonstrated without that 'extreme effect,' [then] it will intrigue students of social dancing [everywhere]."[19] Byrnes and Swanson thus commodified the dance not only by taming the body's movements but also by quantifying and standardizing a sequence of dance steps, as did many other professional ballroom dance teachers. Both strategies helped ballroom dance teachers to better teach and market mambo dancing to mainstream American society (see Figure 1).

Moreover, we might read their concern over demonstrating the mambo "intelligently" and "without that 'extreme effect'" as not only driven by their commercial aims but also emanating from notions of "primitive" cultures and racial difference as formulated in the evolutionist discourse of the nineteenth century. I am referring specifically to that brand of primitivism with which nineteenth-century European



DOWN BEAT December 1, 1954

The Mambo

A VERY exciting variation of the Rumba is now very popular—the Mambo. The Mambo is to Rumba what Jitterbug or Swing is to Fox Trot.

THE FIRST HALF OF BASIC MAMBO STEP

MAN'S PART

START

1. Step directly forward on left.
2. Draw right foot up to left.
3. Step forward with left, accenting with left foot.

Note that Step 1 is done slowly; 2 and 3 are taken quickly. This is the standard Arthur Murray way of counting the Rumba or Mambo.

THE SECOND HALF OF BASIC MAMBO STEP

4. Step back with right foot.
5. Draw left up to right.
6. Step back with right foot, accenting with right foot.

After mastering the Mambo steps forward and backward, combine them and practice

THE MAMBO TURN

To turn, simply repeat the above, but as you step forward and backward, turn to left on the first of every three counts. (Keep turning to left only.)

After you have thoroughly mastered the Basic Mambo step, try releasing your partner in the Mambo Break, illustrated above.

(Above example from Arthur Murray's How To Be a Good Dancer. Reproduced with permission.)

Figure 1. Mambo dance instructions such as these published in *Down Beat* (1 December 1954) appeared in numerous magazines in the United States throughout the 1950s.

archaeologists and anthropologists identified many contemporaneous non-Western peoples and their cultures as biological as well as cultural relics of modern Europeans' distant past.[20] From this perspective, European and Euro-American writers posited a "lack" of both sexual comportment and intelligence in modern "primitives," presenting their apparent deficiency in these cultural and biological areas either as signs of their retarded development in humanity's ascent to European civilization or as evidence of racial difference and the superiority of the white race.[21]

It was precisely these interrelated discourses of social evolutionism, "primitive" cultures, and white racial superiority from which Euro-American commentators of the mid-twentieth century continued to draw in describing the peculiarities and perceived dangers of mambo music and dancing.[22] In his article "Touch of Jungle Madness: Denizens of Broadway Go Slightly Primitive under Spell of the Wild Sweaty Mambo," Jess Stearn posited mambo's primitivity by identifying it as sexually uninhibited and African:

> It [mambo] *may turn* the Great White Way into a veritable Congoland before it is through.
>
> It is wild. It is grotesque. It is sexy. It is the mambo.
>
> The mambo, danced to a tom-tom beat, is as primitive as any African war dance—without paint, feathers or hors d'oeuvres prepared from white explorers.[23]

White North American entertainers similarly drew from social evolutionist discourse in casting Latin musicians and mambo music as relics of the remote or "primitive" human past. The mainstream pop band leader and arranger Percy Faith, who had become popular in part because of his Latin novelty recordings, attempted to explain the mambo's popularity: "I think people like to hear this music because it takes them back to the primitive—back to the very beginning when there was just drums. If you throw four or five Latin drummers into a piece, it's an exciting splash of primitive color."[24]

To further interpret the significance of these statements, I draw from Homi Bhabha's theorization of the racist stereotype as it functions in colonial discourse.[25] Bhabha explains that the stereotype has been the major discursive strategy not merely of colonialism as a political institution but specifically in legitimizing the need for the colonial intervention in the first place. In this way we may interpret dance teachers' characterization of mambo dancing as "undisciplined," "unintelligent," or uncivilized as a way of legitimizing their interventions in the dance and reinforcing their notion of a hierarchical or teleological order of dancing. What is especially important to Bhabha's theory is the stereotype's "condition of ambivalence," which, as he explains, gives the stereotype and ideas of racial and cultural superiority their currency and allows for their replication across cultures and time.[26] Here we can see that Stearn used the stereotypes of black music as "uncivilized," "primitive," and "intoxicating"—stereotypes that were introduced into the racial discourse of the United States in the nineteenth century—to convey this otherwise novel dance and musical form in terms familiar to his readers and audience. It did not matter that mambo had nothing to do with practices such as cannibalism, nor that it was not a relic of Europeans' and Euro-Americans' cultural past.

Why then the need or desire to employ such stereotypes to convey a Cuban and Latin dance form as "African" and "primitive" in the first place? To answer this question I turn to Bhabha's application of Freud's theory of fetishism.[27] Stereotypes, Bhabha argues, function not merely as modes of making peoples and cultures familiar that are otherwise different, but also as mechanisms to cope with that difference.

The recognition of racial difference produces anxiety and pleasure in the "colonist," who then displaces his or her anxiety and pleasure onto skin color, racial phenotype, or just simply the body of the Other.[28] Underlying this anxiety is the colonist's desire for racial and cultural purity or an undifferentiated origin. From this we might suggest that the sound of mambo music and the ways in which dancers used and moved their bodies to that sound reminded Stearn, Faith, and others of racial and cultural differences that threatened their fantasy of or desire for a culturally, moralistically, and racially homogeneous world.

It is especially revealing that Stearn focused his observations on white non-Latin women and attributed their enjoyment in dancing mambo to the music's "feverish intensity" and "contagiousness." With this in mind, we can sense the anxiety in Stearn's passages above, in which he cautions against the loss of the "Great White Way" (read the white race as well as Broadway) to "Congoland" (nonwhite "primitive" races) at the hands of the "wild," "grotesque," and "sexy" mambo.

Simultaneous to the disavowal of the equality or legitimacy of different races and cultures is the pleasure taken in mastering the Other; hence the commodification of mambo dancing by professional ballroom dance teachers. It is the stereotype's effectiveness, or what Bhabha calls "its regime of truth," that explains its prevalent use in the United States to articulate the anxiety and pleasure in and disavowal of recognizing racial and cultural difference. In short, mambo music and dancing simultaneously evoked in Euro-Americans intense desires for and anxieties concerning racial Others. Mambo's popularity in Latin America evoked similar anxieties and desires among Latin American intellectuals, artists, and audiences alike.

Racial Anxieties and Desiring the Primitive Other in Cuba and Mexico

Not unlike their North American counterparts, Cuban and Mexican intellectuals and artists were concerned with the mambo's apparent threat to their nations' cultural and racial integrity, as well as accepted notions of sexual comportment. Cuban writer Manuel Cuellar Vizcaíno reported the following from Havana in 1948: "The enemies of the mambo allege that with it the *danzón*'s elegance and grace disappears. . . . They claim that [mambo] came from the [North] Americans like an aggression on our *pure* national dance [*danzón*], introducing in it dull movements and gestures that have nothing to do with our customs."[29] One such enemy of mambo as danced by the Cuban youth was Cuban composer and music historian Odilio Urfé, who, also writing in 1948,

attributed the dance's vulgarity and crudeness to North American models: "The *danzón*'s contemporary choreography is a crude copy . . . of the dances of the North Americans. They have completely erased the elegance and comportment that Cuban dancers in other eras made popular, like unequivocal signs of good morals. The youth of today will say that it is what is popular today, what is modern, but [this dance] will never cease to be vulgar."[30]

Mexican critic Federico Ortiz Jr., writing in 1951, expressed similar sentiments, though he specified in racial terms what his Cuban contemporaries might have actually been referring to as mambo's "North American" influences: "The mambo . . . according to the opinions of some academics . . . is nothing more than a classic deformation of the songs of the old African tribes, which still exist [i.e., as modern "primitives"], foreign melodies that originated in North American jazz. . . . It is hoped that the entire Americas react against this particular [music] and support the popular music of their own people, thereby displacing the music that comes to us from outside."[31] Robert Farris Thompson has suggested that African American popular forms of dance were introduced to black Cuban dancers through the black films *Cabin in the Sky* and *Stormy Weather* in the early 1940s.[32] Whatever the source of what Urfé and Ortiz perceived as the mambo's North American influences, they and other Latin American critics clearly conveyed a sense of anxiety toward what they saw as North American music's and dance's corruptive nature, foreignness, and vulgarity, or simply its blackness (see Figure 2).

Such racial and nativist anxieties among Latin American intellectuals date back to at least the late nineteenth century, when Cuban poet and independence leader José Martí used the discourse of *mestizaje* (racial miscegenation) to exhort all Latin Americans, regardless of race, to resist the United States' expansionist policies. Mexican educator and essayist José Vasconcelos, working in the 1920s, similarly criticized what he considered as the cultural and spiritual decadence of the United States, and used his intense anti-imperialist and anti-U.S. sentiments to construct a positive image of Mexican national identity based on the ideals of *mestizaje*.[33] Clearly, Martí's and Vasconcelos's visions of Cuban and Mexican national identity, which relied heavily on the *mestizaje* ideal of a racially harmonious and homogeneous society and their distrust of the United States, continued to shape the thinking of many Latin American intellectuals through the early 1950s.

Following World War II, however, a group of Latin American novelists and other artists shaped a distinct cultural project known as magical realism, which sought to articulate Latin American reality

through the "primitive" myths and worldviews of Latin America's internal Others (i.e., Native American and Afro-Latin populations and cultures). Erik Camayd-Freixas has explored magical realism's formal and conventional aspects, including the unity of the individual, the collective, and the telluric, constituting the foundation of the "primitive's" worldview.[34]

In his film *Al son del mambo* (1950), Mexican screenplay writer and director Chano Urueta drew from this aspect of magical realism in dramatizing the mambo's creation as a product of humankind's unity with nature, all of which takes place within the broader context of

Figure 2. This image, published in the Cuban magazine *Bohemia* (30 May 1948), depicts Cuban youth dancing to Arcaño's *charanga* in Havana.

"primitive" Cuba. Urueta's narrative begins with the arrival of three Mexican sojourners to Havana, from where they then undertake a trip to rural Cuba in search of the most primal way of life. Along the way the party is filmed traveling in a horse-drawn cart down a dirt road, accompanied by a black Cuban trio singing "Angelitos negros" [Black Angels]. Originally composed as the poem "Píntame angelitos negros" [Paint Black Angels for Me] by Venezuelan poet and politician Andrés Eloy Blanco in 1946, "Angelitos negros" critiques the absence of black angels in paintings of heaven. As Theresa Delgadillo has pointed out, this critique can be extended to the exclusion of blacks from full participation in the nation, thereby contesting Latin America's myth of racial democracy and revealing its prevailing racial hierarchies within the ideology of *mestizaje*.[35] To further dramatize the song's message of the humanity of blacks, one of the Mexican travelers, played by the comedian Resortes, caresses a black boy who has joined the other travelers in the cart. Yet the black boy—as will be the case with almost all the black male musicians whom the Mexican travelers encounter upon their arrival in "primitive" Cuba—is not given a speaking role. This instance of the silenced black voice in *Al son del mambo* had also occurred in the adaptation of the poem to its song form, which, as Delgadillo notes, involved the erasure of Negra Juana, the poem's principal black character.[36]

Having arrived at their destination, a compound in "primitive" Cuba, the Mexican travelers are greeted by their Cuban hosts, including white Cuban actress Amalia Aguilar, who plays a sexually promiscuous mambo dancer. Her love interest, Roberto Dávila (played by Roberto Romaña), joins the other Mexican travelers in search of musical inspiration in nature. In one scene the frustrated composer is shown surreptitiously following the compound's resident musician, played by Dámaso Pérez Prado, as the latter transcribes the songs of birds. Thrilled over his discovery, the Mexican composer offers to assist Pérez Prado, who confesses that he does not know how to "organize" these sounds into music (see Figure 3). Their finished product is the mambo "José," which Pérez Prado actually composed and arranged himself and recorded for RCA Victor around 1949, not in Cuba but in Mexico City.

The scene in which Pérez Prado transcribes the sounds of birds evokes not only magical realism's assimilation of humanity and nature, but specifically Charles Darwin's theory of the origins of music. According to Darwin, music, beginning with vocal music, evolved from primitive man's ability to attract a mate with his mating call. Those characteristics of his voice that were attractive to the opposite sex would have been passed on to succeeding generations, a process Darwin called

"sexual selection." He identified this process in the evolution of not only humans but also the animal world, particularly birds.[37] Not surprisingly, the scene in which Dávila and Pérez Prado premiere their new mambo "José" showcases Amalia Aguilar, the Cuban mulatta actress Rita Montaner, and the Dolly Sisters (a popular mambo dance team), all dancing provocatively to the black musicians' mambo mating call, as it were.

Besides its magical realist and Darwinian narratives of the mambo's origins, this scene and the "Angelitos negros" scene convey key contradictions that Camayd-Freixas and others have identified in applications of primitivism and *mestizaje* toward defining national identity in Latin America and specifically in Mexico.[38] As Camayd-Freixas notes, Latin American painters and writers of the early twentieth century "turned their gazes home," seeking a "reformulation of identity starting from non-Western autochthony."[39] Yet many European misrepresentations inherent in primitivism—for instance, that contemporaneous folk cultures of nonwhite peoples were relics of a bygone era—were transmitted along with primitivism. Camayd-Freixas summarizes that "primitivism [in Latin America] often becomes a melancholic expression of disillusionment, a compensatory search for the ideal values lost to modernity, but also a sublimation of its very own unconfessed fetishism of [Western notions of] progress."[40] Similarly, Marco Polo Hernández Cuevas has shown that, from the 1920s through the 1960s, Mexican novelists, filmmakers, and intellectuals, beginning with José Vasconcelos, deployed the

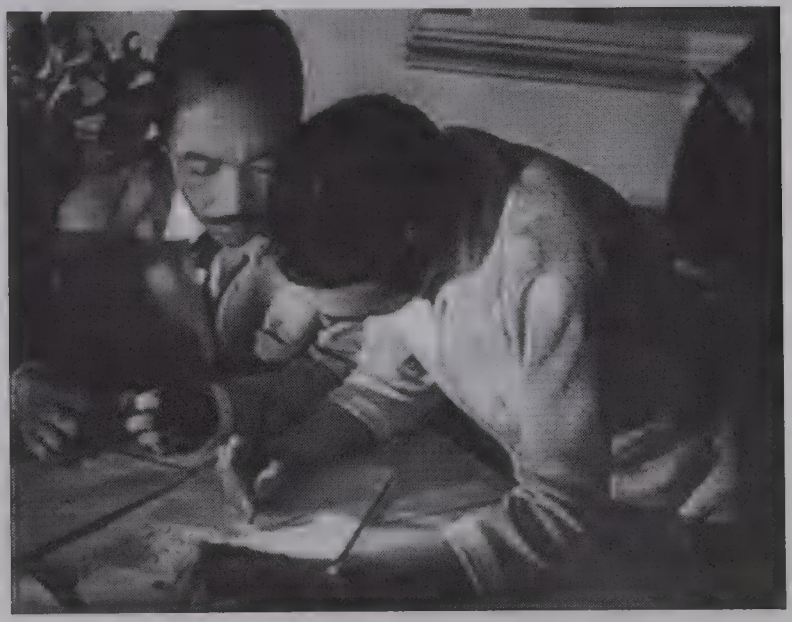


Figure 3. Movie still from *Al son del mambo* (1950).

ideology of *mestizaje* in ways that systematically erased or obfuscated the black African presence in Mexican society and culture.[41] Hernández Cuevas is particularly concerned with showing how black phobia and "the white aesthetic" (or Eurocentric views of beauty, civility, and progress) lay at the foundations of the *mestizaje* ideal in twentieth-century Mexico.

These ideological impasses so fundamental to the Latin American intellectual, political, and cultural climate of the twentieth century are especially evident in Urueta's film. For instance, the Mexican sojourners desire a primitive black Cuba not merely out of their dissatisfaction with Mexican modernity but also to paternalistically guide the former out of its arrested development toward their idealized form of social and cultural progress.[42] This paternalism, which was characteristic of the legitimizing forces of European colonialism, is signaled by Dávila's guidance of Pérez Prado through the latter's "lack" of knowledge (read arrested musical development) in arranging and orchestrating music, in order to realize his own primitivist desire to organize nature's sounds into a new kind of musical art that would be on a par with European symphonic masterpieces.[43] Another instance of colonialist and racist paternalism is signaled in Resortes's caresses of the black Cuban boy during the singing of "Angelitos negros." Ultimately, Urueta's portrayal of Mexicans both discovering the mambo and projecting their paternalism upon black Cubans signals his own anxiety over and disavowal of not only Mexico's own black population but also the significant presence in Mexico City of black Cubans, including Pérez Prado, who had a tremendous impact on popularizing mambo in Mexico in the late 1940s. As Hernández Cuevas notes:

> To speak of the possibility of a black experience and of a black identity in a country conceived of as a mestizo-nation-in-the-process-of-whitening, may have been considered tantamount to an act of dissidence. . . . [In Mexican cinema of the late 1940s and early 1950s] blacks are exotic, purely musical and passionate beings from a tropical paradigm (victimized servants, innocent children, or resigned friends) who are capable of unquestioning love and friendship for the "white" characters.[44]

Similarly, Lourdes Martínez-Echazábal has shown that the dominant conception of national identity in Cuba, Mexico, and, indeed, throughout Latin America through the first half of the twentieth century was based on the idea of *mestizaje*, which posited a monocultural and racially homogeneous national identity.[45] In advocating the ideology of *mestizaje*,

Latin American intellectuals neutralized their respective nations' culturally and racially pluralistic societies. Martínez-Echazábal argues that racial and cultural pluralism was "considered by many politically counterproductive in the face of Latin America's move toward refurbishing the nation-state."[46] No wonder Cuban and Mexican intellectuals and filmmakers such as Odilio Urfé, Chano Urueta, and Federico Ortiz Jr. expressed a sense of anxiety over the mambo's presence and popularity in Cuba and Mexico. In conceiving the mambo as black, yet not Cuban or Mexican, they denied both the presence and cultural vitality of their nations' black populations and thus the contributions of black Cuban as well as Mexican musicians and dancers to the mambo's development in Havana and Mexico City.

Displacing the Mambo in Space and Time: Conclusions

I began this essay by identifying three rhetorical devices from nineteenth- and early twentieth-century primitivist and evolutionist discourses that defined the representation and reception of mambo in the United States and Latin America. They are (1) the positing of a "lack" of intelligence, discipline, sexual comportment, and knowledge of organizing sounds in Latin and Afro-Latin mambo dancers and musicians; (2) the othering of the music, musicians, and dancers racially, spatially, and temporally; and (3) the imagining of the music's primal origins in nature. I have argued that these rhetorical devices served North and Latin American commentators as effective means through which to deal with the sounds and movements that emanated from the bodies of racial and cultural Others. In basing this argument on Bhabha's use of fetishism to theorize racist stereotypes, I suggest that these commentators' representations of mambo ultimately emanated from a shared sense of anxiety over and desire for racial and cultural Others whose sounds and bodily movements did not complement these commentators' concepts of a culturally and racially homogeneous nation. Because of the constructed temporal framework within which primitivist and evolutionist discourse operates, commentators in New York City, Havana, and Mexico City were enabled to displace these racial Others and their cultures as well as even themselves in space and time. Hence, we have pop musician Percy Faith's assertion that listening to Latin musicians playing mambo "takes [the listener] back to the primitive—back to the very beginning when there was just drums." We should interpret such assertions not merely as negligible acts of fantasy, but rather as rhetorically violent gestures whose power has enabled musicians, dancers, journalists, historians, anthropologists, archeologists, ethnomusicologists, colonialists, and the

colonized to deny others' temporal coevalness, cultural legitimacy, and racial equality.

In comparing the reception and representation of mambo in the United States, Cuba, and Mexico, we can observe how such racial and cultural anxieties, disavowals, and desires have supported a transnational history of race and racism in the Americas. For instance, the objects that journalist Jess Stearn displaced in time and space to a "primitive" and "veritable Congoland" were the sounds and movements that emanated from the Latin and Euro-American bodies of mambo musicians and dancers; and it was Stearn's desire to immunize the bodies of white non-Latin female dancers in particular from the contagiousness that was passed on by virtue of the mambo's sounds and movements. Cuban composer and music historian Odilio Urfé expressed a similar anxiety over the racially corruptive danger in "North" (read black) American sounds and bodily movements. Not unlike Stearn, Urfé desired to keep Cuba's youth and national dance form—both of which for Urfé and others had been sufficiently "whitened" racially, if not culturally—immune from the racially and culturally degenerating forces of "North" (read black) American popular culture.[47] And then there were the Mexicans Federico Ortiz Jr. and Chano Urueta, who displaced the mambo as "primitive" and not Mexican (i.e., black American for the former and black Cuban for the latter). While Ortiz, Urfé, Stearn, and others warned of the mambo's racial and cultural otherness, other North and Latin Americans adopted a colonialist paternalism in their interventions to realize the mambo's terpsichorean refinement and market potential, as well as its primal or "primitive" musical genius.

As Johannes Fabian notes, "primitive" is "the key term [or rhetorical device] of a temporalizing discourse," which allowed nineteenth-century sociologists and anthropologists to displace or distance non-Western peoples and cultures both spatially and temporally.[48] Here "primitive" is understood as an "allochronic device," that is, a device to deny, as Fabian puts it, *coevalness* among cultures and peoples.[49] This denial of coevalness as a device of temporally and spatially othering in anthropology evokes comparison with Bhabha's psychoanalytic interpretation of the simultaneous disavowal and recognition of racial difference in colonialist discourse. While Fabian stresses the generalization of naturalized or evolutionary time as the basis for anthropologists' denial of the coevalness of the Other, Bhabha emphasizes colonists' desire for a culturally, moralistically, and racially homogeneous world as the basis for both their anxiety over racial difference and the currency of racist stereotypes. As such, both evolutionary time and the superiority of white Eurocentric culture and value systems have served commentators

throughout the Americas as the normative frameworks through which they displaced mambo music and dancing in space and time.

Notes

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1. Don Byrnes and Alice Swanson, "Mambo: A Vest Pocket Analysis," *Dance Magazine*, October 1951, 36.

2. Jess Stearn, "Touch of Jungle Madness: Denizens of Broadway Go Slightly Primitive under Spell of the Wild Sweaty Mambo," *New York Daily News*, 6 May 1951.

3. Carlos Durante, "Pérez 'Prado' en La Picota: Nueve intelectuales opinan sobre los mambos del Cara de Foca," *El Nacional*, 24 February 1951.

4. See Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), and Peter Bowler, *The Invention of Progress: The Victorians and the Past* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990).

5. See Erik Camayd-Freixas, "Narrative Primitivism: Theory and Practice in Latin America," in *Primitivism and Identity in Latin America: Essays on Art, Literature, and Culture*, ed. Erik Camayd-Freixas and José Eduardo González (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2000).

6. See Leonardo Acosta, "¿Quién inventó el mambo?" in *El mambo*, ed. Radamés Giro (Havana: Editorial Letras Cubanas, 1993); Acosta, "Reajustes, aclaraciones y criterios sobre Dámaso Pérez Prado," in *El mambo*, ed. Radamés Giro (Havana: Editorial Letras Cubanas, 1993); Cristóbal Díaz Ayala, *Música cubana del areyto a la nueva trova*, 3rd ed. (San Juan: Editorial Cubanacan, 1993); Natalio Galán, *Cuba y sus sones* (Valencia: Artes Gráficos Soler, 1983); Radamés Giro, "Todo lo que usted quiso saber sobre el mambo," in *El mambo*, ed. Radamés Giro; Gustavo Pérez Firmat, *Life on the Hyphen: The Cuban-American Way* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1994); and Max Salazar, "Who Invented the Mambo?" *Latin Beat Magazine* 2, no. 8 (1992): 9–14.

7. The *charanga* type of ensemble typically performed *danzónes*, while the *sexteto*, *septeto*, and *conjunto* performed *sones*. The *charanga* ensemble consisted of flute, violins, double bass, piano, timbales, and güiro. The *sexteto*, *septeto*, and *conjunto* were trumpet-based ensembles with the addition of the *tres* (Cuban folk guitar), double bass, bongos, maracas, vocals, and, in the case of *conjuntos*, piano and conga drums.

8. For musical examples and analysis of these rhythms, please see David García, *Arsenio Rodríguez and the Transnational Flows of Latin Popular Music* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2006), 41–55.

9. In fact, historians have given various dates for the composition of "Mambo." Odilio Urfé, for example, claimed that it was composed as early as 1935. See Urfé, "Danzón,

mambo, y chachachá," *Revolución y Cultura* 77 (1979): 54–57. To complicate things more, Arcaño y sus Maravillas did not record "Mambo" until 1951. To my knowledge, this recording of "Mambo" is the earliest documented (either recorded or notated) source of this particular piece.

10. Ileana Boudet, "Arcaño y sus Maravillas," *Revolución y Cultura* 25 (1974): 35.

11. García, *Arsenio Rodríguez*, 50.

12. The Cuban big band's instrumentation combined American swing band instrumentation, including trumpets, trombones, and saxophone sections, with the Cuban *conjunto* rhythm section of double bass, piano, congas, and bongos.

13. Touzet left Havana for New York City in 1944. René Touzet, telephone interview by author, 6 March 2000.

14. Pedro Aguilar, interview by Henry Medina, 1983.

15. Manuel Cuellar Vizcaíno, "La revolución del mambo," *Bohemia*, 30 May 1948.

16. See *La Prensa*, 4 November 1949.

17. Elsewhere I have discussed the role of *son* dancers in the formation and embodiment of Arsenio Rodríguez's *son montuno* style. See García, *Arsenio Rodríguez*, 41–47.

18. Cuellar Vizcaíno, "La revolución del mambo," 97 (my emphases).

19. Byrnes and Swanson, "Mambo: A Vest Pocket Analysis," 29.

20. Bowler, *Invention of Progress*, 76–77.

21. Bowler, *Invention of Progress*, 35, 80, 106. Ronald Radano has shown that the denial of intelligence to African Americans to support notions of racial difference and white racial superiority had become a common trope in the United States by the mid-nineteenth century. See Radano, *Lying Up a Nation: Race and Black Music* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 146–48.

22. Racist perceptions of black rhythm as "infectious" and thus "threatening" to white propriety emerged in the United States in the late nineteenth century and spread throughout the popular consciousness. These notions of black rhythm developed out of early nineteenth-century travelogues of African music written by British explorers, which simultaneously caught the fascination and evoked the anxiety of white Americans. See Radano, *Lying Up a Nation*, 233–47.

23. Stearn, "Touch of Jungle Madness."

24. Leonard Feather, "Percy: No Faith in Phony Latins!" *Down Beat*, 19 November 1952, 12.

25. Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994). See chap. 3, "The Other Question: Stereotype, Discrimination and the Discourse of Colonialism."

26. Bhabha, *Location of Culture*, 94–96.

27. See *Location of Culture*, 106–8, in which Bhabha explains his application of Freud's theory of fetishism to read the use of racist stereotypes in colonial discourse as driven by the anxiety and desire experienced in the recognition/disavowal of sexual/racial difference.

28. Bhabha also bases much of his theory concerning race and colonial discourse on Frantz Fanon's own theoretical work in *Black Skin, White Masks* (New York: Grove Press, 1967).

29. Cuellar Vizcaíno, "La revolución del mambo," 21 (my emphasis).

30. Odilio Urfé, "La verdad sobre el mambo," *Inventario* 1, no. 3 (June 1948): 34–35.

31. Federico Ortiz Jr., "El mambo y su influencia malsana," *La opinión*, 8 July 1951, 7.

32. Robert Farris Thompson, "Teaching the People to Triumph over Time: Notes from the World of Mambo," in *Caribbean Dance from Abakuá to Zouk: How Movement Shapes Identity*, ed. Susanna Sloat (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2002), 338.

33. Amaryll Chanady, "Identity, Politics, and *Mestizaje*," in *Contemporary Latin American Cultural Studies*, ed. Stephen Hart and Richard Young (London: Arnold, 2003), 193–95.

34. Camayd-Freixas, "Narrative Primitivism," 111–15.

35. Theresa Delgadillo, "Singing 'Angelitos Negros': African Diaspora Meets *Mestizaje* in the Americas," *American Quarterly* 58 (June 2006): 407–30.

36. Delgadillo, "Singing 'Angelitos Negros,'" 409.

37. See Peter Kivy, "Charles Darwin on Music," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 12 (Spring 1959): 42–48.

38. Erik Camayd-Freixas, "Introduction: The Returning Gaze," in *Primitivism and Identity in Latin America*, ed. Camayd-Freixas and González (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2000).

39. Camayd-Freixas, "Introduction," xiii–xiv.

40. Camayd-Freixas, "Introduction," xviii.

41. Marco Polo Hernández Cuevas, *African Mexicans and the Discourse on Modern Nation* (Dallas, TX: University Press of America, 2004).

42. Bowler notes that, in the nineteenth century, European colonial powers appropriated the notions of social progress and evolution, as these were formulated by anthropologists and archaeologists, to legitimize their colonial expansions into the non-Western world. See Bowler, *Invention of Progress*, 29–39.

43. On the cart ride to primitive Cuba, Dávila shares with one of his cotravelers his desire to create a musical work of symphonic proportions and importance from the sounds of nature.

44. Hernández Cuevas, *African Mexicans*, 76.

45. Lourdes Martínez-Echazábal, "*Mestizaje* and the Discourse of National/Cultural Identity in Latin America, 1845–1959," *Latin American Perspectives* 25 (May 1998): 21–42.

46. Martínez-Echazábal, "*Mestizaje* and the Discourse of National/Cultural Identity," 38.

47. For critiques of Cuba's racial and national ideology, see Aline Helg, *Our Rightful Share: The Afro-Cuban Struggle for Equality, 1886–1912* (Chapel Hill: University of

North Carolina Press, 1995); Katherine Hagedorn, *Divine Utterances: The Performance of Afro-Cuban Santería* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001); and García, *Arsenio Rodríguez*, 12–31.

48. See Fabian, *Time and the Other*, 25, 82; and Bowler, *Invention of Progress*, 33, 87. In addition to primitive, Fabian lists *civilization*, *evolution*, *development*, *acculturation*, *modernization*, *savage*, *tribal*, and *traditional* as terms "whose conceptual content derives . . . from evolutionary Time" (17).

49. Fabian, *Time and the Other*, 38–39, 121.

Aaron Copland, Nadia Boulanger, and the Making of an "American" Composer

Annegret Fauser

Aaron Copland identified himself early on as a composer "anxious to write a work that would immediately be recognized as American in character."[1] Indeed, Copland's identity as an "American" composer has long been established as a common, unquestioned trope in both contemporary reception and scholarship. However problematic such a reductive characterization may be, it continues to hold a privileged position within the discourses on his music.[2] On the heels of this representation of Copland as national icon follows the question of its origins. The customary answer—given by Copland himself and repeated in almost all the secondary literature—points to Paris as the source of Copland's nationalism, especially his discovery of jazz as an "American"-sounding musical vernacular in the defamiliarized surroundings of 1920s France.[3] But whereas Copland's own depiction of Paris prominently featured Nadia Boulanger as the pivotal figure of his musical self-discovery, more recent accounts of Copland's Parisian experiences often drastically marginalize her role in favor of, for example, French writers such as André Gide, Copland's friends in Paris (especially Harold Clurman), his encounter with Les Six (most prominently Darius Milhaud) and their music, and Gertrude Stein.[4] Yet even at the age of fifty, Copland described his "introduction to Nadia Boulanger and her acceptance of [him] as a pupil" as the "most important musical event of his life."[5] Indeed—as Minna Lederman speculated—his methods of composing were established by the time he had left Paris: "I don't think anyone since the early student days with Boulanger has had any great effect on him."[6] My concern in this essay, however, is not whether or how Boulanger may have influenced Copland's compositional development (although clearly she did). Rather, I am interested in her role in the shaping and sustaining of Copland's concepts of national identity in music, and, in consequence, how both the musical and the discursive aspects of his

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self-representation as an "American" composer can be relocated within the broader context of transatlantic cultural politics of the 1920s and 1930s. Such a recontextualization offers perhaps a more nuanced understanding of Copland's self-fashioning as "American" within increasingly globalized cultural and political frameworks.[7]

The question of Copland's national identity as a composer also becomes a test case in exploring the vexed issue of identity in music. Research on the identity politics of national, regional, religious, and other communities has recently taken center stage in the wake of Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities*, a study described as "without doubt, one of the most influential books of the late twentieth century."[8] Furthermore, recent work on music in the Diaspora has offered a rich body of transnational perspectives examining the role of music in the formation, preservation, and transformation of national and ethnic identities.[9] As critical discourse in these fields has developed, the concepts of both "identity" and "Diaspora" have became more fluid, encompassing an ever "larger semantic domain that includes words like immigrant, expatriate, refugee, guestworker, exile community, overseas community, ethnic community. This is the vocabulary of transnationalism."[10] But Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper have pointed out that the notion that "identities are fluid, constructed and multiple" also bears dangers, especially when self-understandings "harden, congeal, and crystallize." They raise another problem that is particularly relevant to Copland's European experience, that of being defined as different by the external forces of a majority: "If [identity] is constructed, how can we understand the sometimes coercive force of external identifications?"[11] But while Brubaker and Cooper argue compellingly that the term "identity" has lost some of its usefulness in contemporary social analysis, the concept remains a valuable one in historical analysis, even though it may hover uncomfortably among issues of racial, national, and ethnic stereotyping with all its essentialist pitfalls, and between the dialectics of nationalism and transnationalism, not to mention facing possible charges of the intentional fallacy, even in an analysis of reception. As Aleida Assmann and Heidrun Friese point out in the introduction to their important essay collection, *Identitäten*, "the stagings of identity are understood both as being part of social and political practice and as a cultural text marked by different meanings, coded in historically different ways, and generating and activating different images."[12] Yet the transnational perspective of Copland's identity formation leads me to invoke a third critical category, that of "cultural transfer." Cutting across various fields, from translation study to the history of tourism, the concept of "cultural transfer encompasses the transport of cultural

materials from one culture to another. In most contemporary usages, the term 'culture' refers exclusively to national, regional or other ethnographic grouping, but cultural transfer seeks to explain the migration of sets of practices from one geographical position to another."[13]

Drawing on all three concepts—identity politics, the notion of Diaspora (in the sense of an expatriate overseas community), and cultural transfer—I would argue that Copland's European experience should be interpreted as the learning of a set of cultural practices that he appropriated in response to external nationalist identifications of culture. Indeed, Copland's developing identity as an American musician reflects not only his own national self-image but also the transformative effects of the French gaze. Thus Copland's American identity was not immanent but was constructed in dialogue with French culture and its understandings of American cultural practice. I will begin by investigating the external identifications Copland encountered in Paris through the French stereotyping of American culture, especially the representation of the United States as a land of industrialized mass production. These discourses were particularly virulent in the French reception of jazz as a modern artistic medium, and one of some dispute in terms of its suitability for compositional engagement. Jazz also played an important role in the cultural mediation of Copland's teacher, Nadia Boulanger, and influenced her part in the construction of Copland as an "American" composer. This is particularly evident in her incorporation of jazz in an almost abstract compositional manner, much in the vein of her neoclassicist aesthetic. One of the consequences of this appropriation of jazz in the spirit of neoclassicism led both her and her pupils to separate the musical elements of jazz from its racial and historical origins in order to create an abstract component of national identity formation.

External Identifications: An American in Paris

When Copland and Boulanger met at Fontainebleau in the summer of 1921, Americans had become an increasingly familiar sight in Paris. Expatriate American art lovers such as Winnaretta Singer (the Princesse de Polignac) and Natalie Barney already formed an important part of the cultural elite of prewar Paris. During World War I, joint Franco-American relief committees—as, for example, the Franco-American Committee for the War Blind—brought together officials and philanthropists from both countries.[14] Indeed, Boulanger and her sister Lili were driving forces behind the Comité franco-américain du Conservatoire de Paris and—together with the American diplomats Blair Fairchild and Whitney Warren—belonged to its *comité d'action*.[15]

Furthermore, it was through her work on this committee that in 1918 Boulanger would meet Walter Damrosch, the American conductor who was instrumental in the founding of the Conservatoire Américain de Fontainebleau.[16] By the end of 1917, American soldiers were a visible presence in France, and soon after the war, students, artists, tourists, and businessmen traveled to France for study, entertainment, and economic, social, and cultural commerce.[17]

Deeply battered by four years of a war that had decimated her population and destroyed parts of her countryside, cities, and industries, France now had to deal with an America that was emerging as a vigorous, politically assertive, and economically powerful force in global politics. By 1919 France's war debt to the United States amounted to $4.2 billion (or 21 billion francs)—over four times France's national budget in 1913.[18] Repayment of the war debt became a hotly debated issue in a country whose economy was all but destroyed, and within a few years anti-American sentiment ran high, with the French statesman Georges Clemenceau pointedly comparing France's toll of 1,364,000 deaths to that of 56,000 Americans.[19] Not surprisingly, the American insistence on payment brought sharply negative responses that turned "Oncle Sam" into an "Oncle Shylock" demanding money even after France had already provided her "pound of flesh" for the common victory. Some commentators used such blatantly anti-Semitic rhetoric to denigrate American capitalism in general. Others characterized the United States as an imperialist power in "conquest of Europe."[20]

While the American refusal to forgive the war debt turned the French wartime fervor for the United States into postwar animosity, other aspects of Franco-American relations were more ambivalent. The industrialist Ernest Mercier promoted a full-blown reorganization of French industries, invoking Taylorism and Fordism as successful models.[21] These were, however, rejected by the French Left, and attempts at reorganization were met with strikes. Similarly, American society and culture prompted both fascination and revulsion, often being criticized by the French as *mécanique* and anti-individual.[22] In particular, the film industry became targeted as a symbol of mass-produced entertainment, to be contrasted with the true, centuries-old culture of France.[23] Such cultural chauvinism was part of French attempts to reaffirm timeless qualities by promoting France as the cultural center of the world, even in the face of her perceived economic and political postwar weakness. A directive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs from the 1920s made matters clear: "Our literature, our art, our civilization of the intellect, our ideas have exercised across the ages a powerful attraction on other nations. Our universities and our schools abroad are veritable

centers of propaganda for France. [This] intellectual penetration abroad [amounts to] one of the most powerful forms of influence we have worldwide."[24] By referring to the decades-old ideology of the French *mission civilisatrice*, French government policy thus relied on a trusted commonplace that contrasted "benign" Gallic cultural influence in the service of humanity with the menace of Anglo-American economic and military expansionism.[25]

Already on the ocean liner crossing the Atlantic to France, Copland encountered these French prejudices against Americans when he struck up an acquaintance with the painter Marcel Duchamp. While Copland later recounted Duchamp's encouragement to take his "chances in Paris" so as to fully immerse himself into French art, Copland's Parisian roommate and cousin Harold Clurman told a different story "of how Duchamp had tried to discourage him, advising him to forget art and become a businessman like his father, exclaiming 'America is a place of business.'"[26] According to Clurman, Copland was "depressed" about this statement for several months and needed his friend's explanation of French disaffection for him to regain his confidence:

> "It is all very well for a Frenchman to talk that way," I said. I was angry. "The French are surfeited with culture; they are sick of a culture that did nothing to prevent the disastrous war. But we Americans are *new*; we need art, which, to begin with, is simply a self-realization for us as individuals and as a community." Aaron was satisfied, and Duchamp's irony dispelled, by the passionate outburst.[27]

While Duchamp's remark about the futility of art may have expressed Dadaist irony—as Clurman implies here—his comment about America as "a place of business" and therefore unsuited to art reflects French prejudice at its fullest.[28] Meanwhile, Clurman's identification of the American need for art as "self-realization for us as individuals and as a community" introduces a dialectic and, potentially, a paradox that exposes the particular challenges facing artists of the New World.

That Copland discovered himself as an American in Paris is a common trope in the literature. Such remarks as his comment that he could "see America more clearly from across the ocean" are usually read as reflecting Copland's awakening to a national consciousness through experiencing his difference within the context of an unfamiliar cultural environment.[29] In these accounts, Copland has agency, finding his own identity by way of positive acts. But a careful reading of the sources suggests that, to paraphrase Brubaker and Cooper, Copland was also

subject to the "coercive force" of nationalist stereotyping in Paris, not only in general terms but also as applied specifically to himself. He recounts how, by the winter of 1922, he began to be known as "that talented American composer," a form of identification by national origin widely used for foreign musicians in Paris.[30] Looking back in 1930 to his years in France, Copland emphasized this aspect: "It is a current European fashion to be conscious of Americans as Americans rather than as men. Particularly with regard to our music they are over anxious to discover the American note."[31] He was also disturbed in other ways by apparent American stereotypes; he was dismayed when his new landlords for 1923, a "mulatto family," inquired "politely if we held any racial prejudices."[32]

In 1926, two years after the end of his studies in Paris, Copland returned to Europe for the summer, highlighted by two concerts in Paris featuring his music. One, organized by Nadia Boulanger for the Société Musicale Indépendante, was dedicated to music by young transatlantic composers, announced as a "Concert hors-série de musique américaine."[33] His music was also programmed on Serge Koussevitzky's 1926 concert series, with Copland playing the piano part of his *Music for the Theatre*. Copland recalled a remark after the concert by French composer Florent Schmitt: "See here, Monsieur Copland, what is the meaning of this? If you Americans begin now to export music instead of merely to import music, where will we poor French composers be?"[34] Harold Clurman's account of the same scene was less lighthearted; he described Schmitt as "a chauvinist and an anti-Semite" who had "lashed out at [Copland] with 'You Americans are geniuses in business, what do you mean by engaging in such foreign pursuits as musical composition?' Aaron took this as a joke and laughed. But Schmitt was not joking."[35] Both accounts reflect the continued French prejudice against Americans as being suited only to business already revealed by Duchamp, but Schmitt's comment also suggests the worry of French music being driven out of the global marketplace of artistic consumption.

Copland's experience of being treated as an "American" national abroad was not unique. Virgil Thomson, who had lived in Paris for almost two decades between 1921 and 1940, read his own rejection by the Parisian establishment in the mid-1920s as motivated by nationalist concerns. His response was to adopt an isolationist position in keeping (we shall see) with one current political trend, while casting it, somewhat self-servingly, in a relatively noble guise:

> I was clearly not grist either for the French immortality-mill or for international snob-bohemia. I am sure that the treatment I began to

> receive at this time from the talent scouts of both machines, a treatment courteous but reserved, was from their point of view wise and in the long run for me beneficial. It kept me an American composer and removed temptation toward trying to be anything else. . . . And coming to think about it, as I did a great deal in the ensuing weeks during a grippe-cold (probably acquired for that purpose), I considered the creation of an American music by myself and certain contemporaries to be a far worthier aspiration than any effort to construct a wing, a portico, even a single brick that might be fitted on to Europe's historic edifice.[36]

Indeed, in contrast to other foreigners such as Arnold Schoenberg, Igor Stravinsky, or Manuel de Falla, few American composers of what we usually term "art music" found their compositions at the center of Parisian musical life. Among the exceptions was the performance, championed by the American expatriate community of the Left Bank, of George Antheil's *Ballet mécanique* in June 1926 in the Théâtre des Champs-Elysées, "with an audience of more than 2,000 people among whom one can distinguish James Joyce, Serge Koussevitzky, Ezra Pound, Darius Milhaud, Nadia Boulanger, Marcel Duchamp, Alfred Knopf, Boris de Schloezer, etc."[37] More typical were niche events, such as Boulanger's 1926 concert mentioned above or the Copland–Sessions concert on 17 June 1929 at the Salle Chopin, billed as a "Concert d'œuvres de jeunes compositeurs américains."[38] As with the 1926 concert, reviews appeared mainly in U.S. newspapers and periodicals. The French reception was limited mostly to the circle of insiders that had gathered around Boulanger.[39] Instead, what Parisians associated much more commonly with American music was jazz.

Imagined Soundscapes: American Jazz in Parisian Salons and Concert Halls

Copland's encounter with jazz in Europe is surely one of the most discussed aspects of the composer's early career.[40] What seems to dominate the discussion are his rediscovery of jazz as a national, American art form; his response to Milhaud's *La création du monde* as a model for the integration of jazz and art music; and his growing awareness once back in the United States of "authentic," African American jazz as a form of musical recovery.[41] In contrast to New York, for example, where jazz often carried negative racial and class-based connotations, jazz in Paris formed part of a musical and social network that cut across significant segments of French society and was received in multiple ways. As Jeffrey H. Jackson has pointed out, jazz dominated not only the nightlife of Montmartre and Montparnasse but also, and increasingly, more

bourgeois locales. Moreover, it interfaced with modernist music more effectively in Europe than it did in the United States.[42] But Copland's encounters with, and responses to, jazz in Paris were also filtered, at least in part, by interactions within his own musical circles, and by Boulanger's responses to the genre. Vivian Perlis has recently asked the question: "Where did Nadia Boulanger get a sense of what was 'American'? She had never been to the States and was hardly the type to hang out in jazz clubs late into the night."[43] We might reasonably try to find an answer, for while nightclubs were indeed the dominant environment for jazz performance in 1920s Paris, other spaces offered performances of a music that may have been less controversial in France than in New York, and that combined the thrill of an (American) urban modernity with the attraction of the (African) exotic in the connotation of a *musique nègre*.[44]

Among the French musicians who promoted jazz was the Conservatoire-trained pianist and composer Jean Wiéner, who moved between jazz performance and classical music with much-admired virtuosity. He was part of the circle of musicians who met at the brasserie named after his friend Darius Milhaud's 1919 ballet, *Le bœuf sur le toit*, where he performed American jazz tunes together with the Belgian pianist Clément Doucet.[45] While a range of musicians visited the brasserie—from the singer Jane Bathori to composers such as Milhaud and Satie—Wiéner also introduced jazz into the environment of the classical concert. Thus, on 6 December 1921, in the inaugural concert of the Concerts Wiéner (his new series of modern music at the venerable Salle des Agriculteurs), he programmed Billy Arnold and his band next to an arrangement of part of Stravinsky's *Rite of Spring* for player piano, and a performance of Milhaud's Sonata for flute, oboe, clarinet, and piano, op. 47. Copland, among many other musicians and socialites, attended the concert and identified it in his list of attended performances specifically as a "jazz concert."[46] Reactions in the audience were mixed. In his autobiography, Wiéner describes Albert Roussel walking out in protest, although Ravel enjoyed the concert tremendously.[47] The reviewer for *Le Ménestrel*—probably André Schaeffner—designated jazz as the "poor relation" of contemporary art music, comparable to the hurdy-gurdy of earlier periods, pointing out that France's musicians now were finding their inspiration in American bars. However, the concert presented "the excellent American orchestra of Mr. Billy Arnold, a correct and almost ceremonial jazz band," playing for about an hour. The transition from their performance to the chamber music later in the program was then achieved quite properly, Schaeffner wrote, by a "mechanical" piano playing excerpts from Stravinsky's almost equally "mechanical" *Rite of Spring*.[48]

Wiéner navigated easily between the worlds of the concert hall, the salon, and the nightclubs of Montmartre. He was a favorite of the Princesse de Polignac, who commissioned his *Concerto franco-américain*, premiered in her salon just before having its first public performance at the Concerts Pasdeloup on 31 October 1924.[49] The concerto "juxtaposed neo-Bachian passages (harmonically closer to Gédalge than Stravinsky) with French popular song, music hall styles and jazz (both written and improvised)."[50] Reaction ranged from enthusiasm to ridicule and outrage. Jean Lobrot, the critic for *Le Ménestrel*, played with the culture–business dichotomy of popular French anti-Americanism and declared that the work's apparent failure was a cultural consolation:[51] "Ironically exaggerated applause and some boos taught this young man that if—as some people pretend—the old France has to take lessons from the young America as far as business is concerned, some of her sons are still in great need of the musical teachings of our country. And this offers some comfort about the exchange rate of the dollar!"[52]

Another musician who moved in these same circles was Cole Porter, who already in November 1917 seems to have been performing "jazz" in the salon of the Princesse de Polignac.[53] Milhaud and Porter also met there in 1923, an encounter that soon led to the commissioning of Porter's only ballet, *Within the Quota*, for the Ballets Suédois,[54] which premiered at the Théâtre des Champs-Elysées on 25 October 1923 together with Milhaud's *La création du monde*. Whether on purpose or by serendipity, few theater evenings could have been designed more convincingly to represent the two aspects of Parisian jazz reception in the 1920s, even presenting the works in an order that seems influenced by racialist notions of cultural progression from the "primitive" to a more "developed" urban environment, starting with *La création du monde* (which exploited the *musique nègre* aspect of jazz) and closing with the urban, "American" side of jazz in *Within the Quota*, even though Porter's ballet was originally commissioned as the curtain raiser.[55] It portrays the reactions of a Scandinavian immigrant arriving in America. American critic and jazz aficionado Gilbert Seldes, writing for *Paris-Journal*, introduced it as follows:

> *Within the Quota* is properly speaking an American ballet, the first to be staged by a foreign company and the first in which popular American music is used to illustrate an American theme. It is in the course of the action itself that the most interesting theme evolves: the possibility of reducing this little comedy [of] "how the Scandinavians are integrated" to eighteen minutes. The figures passing before the immigrant's eyes are the mythological heroes of modern American life, in part as the average

> European imagines them from the cinema, in part as they really are. The intention is satirical, the method exaggeration. There is nothing more delightful than Cole Porter's talent as a jazz composer.[56]

The ballet was performed in front of a painted drop cloth representing the front page of a mock newspaper, with a man-size headline that read "Unknown Banker Buys Atlantic."[57] The movie industry was also present, with a camera onstage during the finale. Gerald Murphy's scenario outlines the characters whom the immigrant encounters:

> A millionairess, bedecked with immense strings of pearls, ensnares him; but a reformer frightens her away. Then a Colored Gentleman appears and does a vaudeville dance. He is driven away by a "dry agent" who immediately thereupon takes a nip from his private flask and disappears to the immigrant's increasing astonishment. The Jazz Baby, who dances a shimmy in an enticing manner, is also quickly torn from him. A magnificent cowboy and a sheriff appear, bringing in the element of Western melodrama. At last the European is greeted and kissed by "America's Sweetheart"; and while this scene is being immortalized by a movie camera, the dancing of the couples present sweeps all the troubles away.[58]

Porter had provided tunes that were orchestrated by Charles Koechlin, and the choreography borrowed heavily from American popular dances, with which Parisian moviegoers had become familiar. As Copland had previously written home in 1921, "in the Paris moving picture houses, I noticed that they advertised only American pictures, with Ray Charles and Norma Talmadge and Charles Chaplin."[59]

The reception of Porter's ballet was generally highly positive, with *Le Figaro* hailing it as a triumph.[60] In his memoirs, Milhaud described the music as "a pure emanation of Manhattan, in which nostalgic blues alternated with throbbing ragtime rhythms."[61] According to the critic for *Le Ménestrel*, Pierre de Lapommeraye, "the Americans, present in great number the other night, gave an enthusiastic welcome to the music of their compatriot, Mr. Cole Porter."[62] He remained silent, however, on the reactions of the French audience members. For their part, Copland and Clurman, who attended the performance and were delighted by *La création du monde*, had nothing good to say about *Within the Quota*. As Clurman noted:

> Like the naïve French, who protest that it is unfair to judge them by the Parisian boulevards and their cafés, the Folies Bergères and the yellow-back novels published for foreign exportation, certain Americans believe

> that our movies together with extravagant newspaper reports, American "dancings" etc., have given Europeans an entirely superficial and caricatural conception of American manners and morals. The present ballet by Messrs. Murphy and Porter is supposedly a satire on this excessively simplified conception of the American scene, though without the preliminary warbling furnished by the program one would be hard put to it to tell precisely whether the satire was directed at the European view of America or whether it was intended as a satire on Americans for the amusement of Europeans.[63]

This view was probably shared by Copland, and their concern over the butt of the joke (Europeans or Americans?) was coupled, it would seem, with an increasing sensitivity to Parisians' stereotyping of American culture as dominated by big business, popular music (vaudeville and jazz), Prohibition, and cowboys. Porter's jazz idiom—so different from Milhaud's more composerly and, in Copland's view, therefore more authentic approach to the style—thus worked to the detriment of the ballet. Jazz became a double-edged sword.

Clurman sharply criticized Porter's music for the ballet as "betraying hardly the glimmer of an idea" and being "entirely destitute of originality," although he did evoke (urban) jazz—without reference to race—as the "true American folk song. It is the chant of the spoiled children of the big cities and America is a country of big cities. Our tiniest 'one-horse town' is a would-be New York."[64] Thus, while jazz "proper" might have made a positive impact on the Clurman–Copland duo, they perceived Porter's version as inferior, in part because the subject pandered to European prejudices and also, one assumes, because his compositional contribution to the ballet consisted of the songs (i.e., the melodies) rather than what both Clurman and Copland believed was the essence of jazz: its rhythm. Here Clurman's assessment of the music may have been shaped by notions of jazz (and American music) as they were developed in these years in the Boulanger circle.[65] He was, after all, a dedicated member of the "Boulangerie," spending many an evening in the company of Boulanger both at her home and in social settings.

Invented Traditions: "American" Music at the Boulangerie

The 1920s brought significant changes for Nadia Boulanger. Before the war, she had developed her career as composer and performer, supporting herself and her family through teaching, mainly in private lessons and at the Conservatoire Femina-Musica (more of a musical finishing school for young women than a professional conservatory). Now in her

thirties, she shifted the focus of her professional life toward a career in performance and teaching, with both formal and informal involvements in concert management. Her employment at the newly founded Conservatoire Américain de Fontainebleau brought her into close contact with many young and eager students from the United States who were willing to worship this attractive and brilliant teacher. Some—such as Melville Smith—fell head over heels in love with her.[66] Others—including Copland—were in awe of her knowledge, her musical connections, and her sophistication. Boulanger's Twenties may not have been "roaring," but she epitomized the modern European woman, whether in her professional life or by tearing (at infamously high speed) through the countryside in her own automobile. Her demeanor in those years was more relaxed and cheerful than ever before or after. We know from her diaries that she went not only to concerts but also to the movies with her friends.[67] She was intrigued by what she considered American jazz, which she would have heard performed in Parisian concerts and salons, including her own.[68] "Could it have been the discovery of that free-mannered American Youth at Fontainebleau," asks Jérôme Spycket, that may have contributed to this blossoming?[69] Boulanger's letters over the years certainly reflect a sustained fondness for the New World, and she traveled to the United States whenever possible.

For the increasing number of American students who came to Paris to study with her, Boulanger's role as teacher and cultural mediator was far-reaching. In addition to emphasizing technical skills such as harmony, part-writing, and orchestration, Boulanger's composition teaching in the 1920s offered the excitement of exploring contemporary music together with the study of a wide, if idiosyncratic, range of historical works.[70] In the early 1920s, hers was a place where students could encounter and discuss not only contemporary French compositions such as Arthur Honegger's *Le roi David* (1921), but also such works as Arnold Schoenberg's *Pierrot lunaire* (1912) and Alban Berg's *Wozzeck* (1922/25).[71] When Copland traveled to Germany and Austria for summer study in 1922 and 1923, respectively, he offered to acquire new music for Boulanger's library. In 1922, she asked for a copy of Schoenberg's *Harmonielehre* and the orchestral version of Ernest Bloch's Suite for Viola and Piano, and requested also that he buy "something *new* that you might find interesting."[72] Boulanger's concept of music history was strongly shaped by her own Conservatoire education, but it became inflected by working with students from abroad who were not educated within the French system and who had particular needs. Nor could Boulanger expect a shared cultural background, and her teaching

thus gave an increasingly prominent role to the promotion of French and European music.

Boulanger's aesthetic enabled her to tread a fine line between universalism and national specificity. Thus the organic principle of *la grande ligne* became an underlying hermeneutic device that Boulanger applied to the analysis of music from Monteverdi to Fauré, and although she certainly explored national particularities in the discussion of various composers—both past and contemporary—and their works, this was always secondary to issues of individuality on the one hand and universality on the other.[73] In one of the earliest texts he wrote on Boulanger, Copland tried to explain what this approach meant for his own identity as American composer:

> Nadia Boulanger has never singled out an American composer as different, as such, from a French composer or a Spanish composer. She seeks rather the profound personality that can create great music and considers such a personality as beyond a question of territorial boundaries. In doing this she throws each pupil back on the strengths or weaknesses of his own individuality. She makes him the stronger by so doing. At the same time her faith in the future of America is striking. But her faith does not rest on a blind sympathy, but in testimony of the works she already knows.[74]

In an intriguing statement to Barbara Zuck in 1974, Copland rephrased this as "Mlle Boulanger made no particular point about nationalism during my student years or thereafter."[75] Thus Boulanger's underlying theoretical framework became a crucial aspect in her students' development, carefully avoiding the essentializing exteriorities rampant in Paris, while at the same time enabling Copland to explore Americanism as an aspect of his individual musical and cultural makeup.

For Boulanger, compositional maturity meant musical individuation. In 1925 she celebrated her own teacher Fauré's approach as one that helped students "to find their own particular road to self-realization," quoting André Gide: "it is in being the most individual that one is the most universal."[76] In her view, a composer's voice emerged out of the individual realization of universal musical truths that could be analyzed and explored across the repertoire of "great works."[77] These individual voices were, however, part of a tradition, and it therefore behooved her students to become "aware of their musical heritage, and should therefore understand how their own music fitted into that tradition."[78] Interpreted within this framework, a composer's national identity—like any other musical element—emerged in a dialectical

relationship between the collective (including its past) and the individual.[79] While Boulanger's approach to national identity in music drew on the republican notions of eclectic appropriation and national style that had dominated her education in fin-de-siècle Paris, it was also inflected by the various discourses on music and national context that circulated in Paris in the early twentieth century.[80] She subscribed to eclecticism as a powerful French character trait, enabling her to recognize "beauty and merit wherever they happened to be found," and while she deferred to the writings of her fellow Conservatoire-trained colleague Charles Koechlin and the Italian neoclassicist Alfredo Casella for a formal history of music,[81] her belief that the essence of beauty transcends centuries—with similar elements audible in music from across the ages—also reflected notions of musical sincerity promoted by Tolstoy and integrated by Vincent d'Indy into his more spiraling concept of music history.[82]

For Boulanger's American students, and especially Copland, an approach that emphasized individual achievement as encapsulating a composer's human essence—national context included—was refreshing and highly promising, for it opened the possibility of American music becoming the precise locus for the flourishing of a fresh national school in dialogue with the rest of the musical world. During a luncheon in New York on 1 January 1925, held in her honor by the American Guild of Organists during her first visit to the United States, Boulanger clarified the roles of individuality and collective identity in an address that was cited in several newspapers. Here, perhaps for the benefit of her American audience, she twisted the dialectical relationship of the individual and historical, national, and other contexts into a tautology by making individuality a collective national character trait:

> American composers and students of composition whom I have known . . . show certain characteristics in common. I would say they are distinguished by a very marked feeling for the rhythmic element of composition and for the cultivation of individuality. Their work is very direct and shows power in handling the element of form. These things lead to the creation of a type of composition which will eventually be recognized as distinctly American. I do not believe it will arrive as the result of any external influences but will simply be the expression of the national characteristics in music.
>
> Would jazz be considered a distinctively American musical expression? I am sometimes asked. Yes, of course it would; that is, it expresses a certain part of American feeling. Some of my students have played it for me, and I am anxious to study it here on its native soil. It

> has interesting possibilities. It will not necessarily be a basis for American music, however.[83]

The tautology was somewhat troublesome—there is no American collective other than its collection of individuals—and would become more so for developing notions of an American national music. But for the moment, Boulanger felt that American music had the potential to grow on its own terms given that, in her opinion, its national cultural makeup contained two key elements of modern music: a sense of rhythm and the cultivation of individuality. In contrast to other musicians such as (famously) Dvořák, Milhaud, and Ravel, she saw jazz as incidental rather than intrinsic to the development of American music; it had some potential—by all accounts because of its rhythmic qualities that could be read as modern in terms of contemporary styles—but not as a wholesale model eo ipso.[84] Her view also conflicted with the widely disseminated French prejudices that portrayed American culture as mass-produced, anti-intellectual, and clichéd.[85] Instead, Boulanger emphasized individuality as a powerful national trait, offering her American students a positive counter image to the prejudices they encountered elsewhere in Paris. While, for Boulanger, individuality was the marker of all good music, only Americans (so her argument ran) were also individualists by nationality; here she appropriated tropes of American cultural history in which the individual as questioner of tradition had long been a cherished concept. In his memoirs, Virgil Thomson pointed out the difference between Boulanger and "other French musicians, who, while friendly enough toward Americans (we were popular then), lacked faith in us as artists."[86]

Rereading Copland's experience in Paris through this perspective reveals that Boulanger's teaching enabled him to develop an assertive American identity while at the same time creating his own "usable past," rather than simply accepting either internal or external constructions of American music.[87] Indeed, for Copland, this is what he learned when Boulanger introduced him to the work of Stravinsky, for Copland was "struck by the Russian element in music."[88] As Boulanger pointed out in her 1925 lecture on Stravinsky, his music was characterized by a reliance on Russian folk idioms on the one hand and, on the other, by its use of complex and fluid rhythms.[89] In his 1941 lectures on new music, Copland reshaped the argument, conflating Boulanger's dialectic of collective (i.e., folksong) and individual (rhythm): "This extraordinary rhythmic puissance Stravinsky owes to his Russian heritage—to the folksongs of his country, the music of Mussorgsky and Borodin and of his teacher Rimsky-Korsakov."[90] Again, a dialectic becomes tautologous.

But the parallel that Copland saw between Stravinsky's rhythmic complexities and "our American sense of rhythmic ingenuity" was what led him, in retrospect, to proclaim that the most important aspect of encountering Stravinsky through Boulanger was that his works "proved it was possible for a twentieth-century composer to create his own tradition."[91] For Copland, Stravinsky thus provided an example of a cultural outsider finding success in the synthesis of nationalist elements and rhythmic innovation. Indeed, the "primitivist" associations with jazz and Copland's emphasis on rhythmic interest might well represent an "Americanist" appropriation of Stravinsky's compositional techniques, especially in such works as *The Rite of Spring* and *Petrushka*.[92]

How to create an American tradition was certainly part of the discourse within the Boulangerie. Copland's early letters to Boulanger touch on this: "During my stay in Salzburg I read André Gide's new book on Dostoievsky. . . . I must tell you one quotation he makes from the German, Rathenau, which I think eminently true. Rathenau says that it is because she has never consented either to sin or to suffering that America has no soul . . ."[93] Yet Copland playfully called himself "French" in this letter and complained that—in the first concert of the International Society for Contemporary Music—national affiliation trumped intrinsic musical quality. Copland identified the concert's multinational programming with an "internationalism" that was justified "because the world has so much need of internationalism these days."[94] Here the acknowledgment of national identity in music seems to be discussed as a political necessity in terms of the postwar League of Nations. Yet Copland's own identity as American was never far in his exchanges with Boulanger, and he reaffirmed it a year later, in one of the most personal letters he wrote to his teacher, when he confessed to not being able to express his feelings outright because "This is what being American is like!"[95]

This still leaves open the question of what "being American" could mean in the Boulanger circle. Certainly Copland recalled exploring jazz-derived "polyrhythmic devices together" with Boulanger.[96] But it seems that jazz was examined less for its potential to give American music an impulse toward the development of a musical vernacular than for its elements (in particular, rhythm) that might contribute to a national, or even international, modernism. Thus discourses about musical materiality, national identity, and even universal musical truths were intimately intertwined in the debates on jazz and other music within the Boulanger circle. An American composer could not simply create a national style by adopting jazz idioms; at best, these idioms needed to be assimilated

within a composer's individual voice, and they also needed to be transcended for the greater good of musical modernism.

As a performance art, jazz almost by definition resisted such individuation and such an identification with the composer; as an improvisatory art, it also resisted the permanence necessary to achieve transcendence. But the fact that it also harbored other problems is revealed in a hitherto unexamined article that Boulanger's first American student, Marion Bauer, published in April 1924 in *La revue musicale*.[97] The opening of Bauer's text is revealing. Within four sentences, she revisits the issue of jazz as American music, the problem of the external identification of Americans and their culture, the question of national identity, and the problem of foreign influence on American music:

> For the "country mouse," the countryside does not have the same value as for the "city mouse." The same is true with "jazz" in America: one dances, one amuses one-self, one hears it everywhere without realizing that it has become *a* national language, even if it is not *the* national language for us. People always say that we have no folk music, but are we not present at the birth of a folk music? (Save that it is probably not a legitimate child!) America is an amalgamation of all peoples, but Americanism—a psychological factor that is more powerful than inheritance—is a microbe and it is impossible to avoid being infected with it. "Jazz" is the only music from the New World known in Europe; even though one begins to hear, from time to time, "cultivated" music, people repeatedly say, and not without reason, that there is no properly American music apart from "jazz."[98]

Thus, for Bauer, jazz may be an American idiom, but she makes it clear that the idea of jazz as *the* American music is something of a European misconception. While she goes on to acknowledge the African American roots of jazz, she then moves quickly to describe jazz as the musical manifestation of a psychological reality: the experience of "blues" in urban living, in particular as an integral part of the New York experience. From there it is not much of a stretch for her to declare Irving Berlin as the "father of jazz."[99] This sleight of hand allows Bauer to distinguish between jazz as American popular music in more general terms and specific performing practices (e.g., by African American players), thus separating the potential of jazz for musical modernism from its African American components.[100] This carries strong racist undertones, given that Bauer here divorces abstract musical elements suitable for modernist composition from the black history of jazz. However, one aspect of jazz performance by African Americans—their

tendency to "bend" notes in performance—placed her in a double dilemma, one caused by her admiration in spite of racial prejudice, and the other—a not unusual consequence—raising the question of nature versus art. Such note bending made jazz "the first occidental music to employ *quarter tones*. Is this then an evolution of harmonic sound or a return to natural sound?"[101] Given that quarter tones were a hot topic of discussion in the Boulanger circle after Copland's encounter with Alois Hába's music in Salzburg in September 1923—which led Copland to use "quarter tones in the viola solo linking the slow movement of *Grohg* to the Finale"—Bauer's claim of primacy for American music may have particular relevance. For if jazz was the first music in the West to employ quarter tones, their use in modernist music could be defined as an Americanist device, carrying with it the claim that Americans deserved the credit for inventing quarter tones and therefore were the *fons et origo* of this aspect of musical modernism.[102] However, Bauer never would, or could, grant this primacy specifically to African Americans.

After explorations of the spiritual and of minstrel shows as sources for American jazz idioms of the past—their very pastness being an important aspect of her argument—Bauer finishes with two observations. She comments rather sarcastically that "it is mainly European composers of today who throw themselves on 'jazz' like hungry dogs on a bone," using the "savage" rhythms as an antidote to Impressionism. Thus she implies that jazz in European music is simply an exoticist means to an end for a musical culture that needs to reconnect with its own origins.[103] Bauer's evaluation of rhythm as the last vestige of savagery is inscribed fully in French nineteenth-century theories of music and race, which attributed harmonic complexity to European art music in contrast with the "primitive" quality of foregrounded rhythms.[104] They are also responsible for her second point, when she emphasizes that—while jazz is "the true child of its time"—it is also dance music from the "rock bottom of the civilized world and stems from inferior social classes."[105] Nevertheless, her final sentence claims that jazz is indeed a music with a future.

Bauer's deeply conflicted text—veering between praise and condemnation of jazz—may indicate some of the issues discussed within the Boulanger circle. Musically, jazz offered a rhythmic complexity that Boulanger herself highlighted as a strong attribute.[106] However, she avoided the taint of primitivism by her emphasis on *la grande ligne*, which led directly to rhythmic counterpoint as a significant device of modern composition. Jazz thus modified made it suitable for musical modernism, although its origins in black music and urban dance halls

made it more problematic than the Russian folk songs exploited by Stravinsky. Toward the end of her life, she compared jazz to a compost heap from which American music grew both shoots and roots.[107] But even in January 1925, in her address in New York cited above, she had hedged against jazz as "a basis for American music."

Read in this context, Copland's own remarks about jazz appear similarly ambivalent. After a text published in 1925 on "Jazz as Folk Music," where he claimed that "if we haven't a folk-song foundation we must invent one," he then focused on the purely musical characteristics of jazz in his 1927 article on "Jazz Structure and Influence."[108] Here he opens his argument with the claim that it is jazz's "structure, which interests me most as a musician," neatly sidestepping the problem of jazz's origins by way of an inherently formalist approach. His article then deals almost exclusively with polyrhythm, declaring it "the real contribution of jazz."[109] He subsequently applies one of Boulanger's critical methods to the European appropriation of jazz elements by distinguishing between simple exoticism—which remains external to the music—and what he calls an "authentic" (i.e., musically internalized) use of jazz.[110] The latter he finds only in one piece, Milhaud's *La création du monde*, but it is the path he predicts for modern American composers.[111] Copland thus willfully and revealingly ignored Gershwin and his *Rhapsody in Blue* in order to favor a different, neoclassicist lineage. Like Boulanger, Copland saw in jazz only a possibility for American music, not its salvation. Like Bauer, he needed to deracinate the idiom while remaining ambivalently attached to its origins: not for nothing did Copland write to Leonard Bernstein in 1938, "Don't make the mistake of thinking that *just* because a Gilbert used Negro material, there was therefore nothing American about it. Theres [*sic*] always the chance it might have an 'American' quality despite its material."[112] And again like Boulanger, he rests his final judgment on a composer's singularity. Writing about "America's Young Men of Promise" in 1926, Copland presented a motley group of seventeen composers—not identified as a single school—where the highest praise was reserved for the achievement of individuality: for example, he lauded G. Herbert Elwell's distinct voice, whereas Virgil Thomson had "not entirely found himself as yet."[113] In that same year, Roger Sessions (who had recently spent a significant amount of time with the Boulanger circle, without ever studying with her) also celebrated the individual nature of American composers when he wrote that "an encouraging number of interesting individualities have begun to emerge, owning the American background as common starting point."[114]

By examining the dynamic and complex relationship between a young American composition student and the environment of 1920s Paris, especially the Boulanger circle, I have shown that Aaron Copland's ideas about national identity in music were shaped within a cultural field where he found himself stereotyped as someone whose culture, and consequently national music, was inferior—and jazz was not necessarily the exception that proved the rule, given racialist discourses on its origins. Instead of the traditional remedies of, for example, a Dvořák, Nadia Boulanger offered a theoretical model of modern music that linked individual achievement to national identity in the service of broader aesthetic goals. Copland's transfer of this model onto American music in the 1920s led not only to a positive configuration of his own identity as an American composer, but also to an open discourse that wove together the individual voice, national identity, and transnationalist notions of musical universalism.

As Elizabeth Crist has recently shown, Copland's notions of American identity shifted notably around 1928, when he became involved with the politics of the Popular Front.[115] Furthermore, his 1926 encounter with Carlos Chávez yielded a productive substitute for jazz as a signifier of Americanism. As we hear in *El salón México* (begun in 1932), the alternative both to the European tradition and to jazz was now a musical pan-Americanism.[116] Copland's public shift away from an international, pro-European attitude in favor of pan-Americanism was very much in alignment with the broader American politics of isolationism, itself in part a consequence of the political debate that was fueled by France's still unpaid war debt. But it also invoked a new (for Copland) debate that tied national identity to blood rather than to culture. In a 1933 letter to Mary Lescaze, Copland described Mexico as "pure and wholesome": "The source of it I believe is the Indian blood which is so prevalent. I sensed the influence of the Indian background everywhere—even in the landscape. And I must be something of an Indian myself or how else explain the sympathetic chord it awakens in me."[117] This is quite a different notion of what might be American, just as Copland's nostalgic desire for blood-based identity is a far cry from his playful reference to being one of "nous autres Français" in his 1923 letter to Boulanger. In 1932 Copland targeted the "importation of foreign artists and foreign music" as detrimental to the "true musical culture" and—in contrast with his earlier, pronounced modernist rhetoric—called for the development of "a school of composers who can speak directly to the American public in musical language which expresses fully the deepest reactions of the American consciousness to the American scene."[118] Yet he still felt the Parisian prejudice against

America as an urban landscape constructed wholly in thrall to business. His new "American" music of the 1930s shifted from the skyscrapers of New York to a pastoral fantasy, in which Copland tried to find not only *a* country but also *the* country, whether in the Maya villages of Mexico, or the wide open spaces of Billy the Kid's Midwest and Southwest. Crist has argued convincingly that even Copland's works set in pastoral pasts and exotic locales engaged with contemporary and pressing social issues of the 1930s.[119] But in contrast to the presentism and the so visibly integrated engagement with jazz in 1920s modernism, these rural spaces also served as a utopian pastoral during the Great Depression, when the widespread interest in American folk cultures fostered a perception of them as wholesome, healthy alternatives to modern-day urban life. Copland's shift to this different type of Americanism around 1930 was not only part of the pro- and pan-American folk movements of the 1930s, but it also resembled a conventional retreat into the exotic Other, where the composer from Brooklyn could fantasize, however briefly, that he, too, had Indian blood in his veins.

While Copland's identity in the 1920s was that of someone finding his musical individuality within the context of American music and against external stereotyping, his rhetorical shift to nationalist propaganda in the 1930s was part of a wider discourse on music and national identity that was as prevalent in, say, the Weimar Republic as it was in the United States. Here there is a story waiting to be told. But that story will not be found in Copland's autobiography or his writings. Following his lead, we have tended to conflate Copland's developing discourses on national identity with the benign crusade of a cultural subaltern in the world of Western music, fueled by his experience of musical Diaspora not only as an expatriate in Europe but also as an American composer of art music in New York. A more careful reading that pays attention to the shifts and chronological developments in Copland's notions of what constitutes national identity draws our attention to a more complicated, less linear Copland whose cultural work contributed as significantly to the complex, shifting ideologies of American music as it did to its sonorities.

Notes

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1. Aaron Copland, "Composer from Brooklyn" (1939), quotation given in Elizabeth B. Crist, *Music for the Common Man: Aaron Copland during the Depression and War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 4.

2. In his essay, "Copland Reconfigured," Leon Botstein points to a broader range of identity configurations with respect to Copland, including his individualism, sexuality, political leanings, urbanism, and—most importantly—his Jewish identity. See Leon Botstein, "Copland Reconfigured," in *Aaron Copland and His World*, ed. Carol J. Oja and Judith Tick (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005), 439–83. Recent research concerning Copland as an "American" composer include Crist's *Music for the Common Man*, which analyzes the composer's politics and music as specifically American; Richard Taruskin, *The Oxford History of Western Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), vol. 4, chap. 57, "In Search of the 'Real' America," which presents Copland as a composer corrupting jazz through modernist appropriation and his fostering of "prairie neonationalism" (662); Nadine Hubbs, *The Queer Composition of America's Sound: Gay Modernism, American Music, and National Identity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), a study deconstructing the "American" sound as (essentially) queer; and Gayle Minetta Murchison, "Nationalism in William Grant Still and Aaron Copland between the Wars: Style and Ideology" (PhD diss., Yale University, 1998).

3. Aaron Copland and Vivien Perlis, *Copland: 1900 through 1942* (New York: St. Martin's, 1984), 90.

4. It is particularly striking that the most recent book on Copland—which sets out to explore "his world"—marginalizes Boulanger to the point of some passing references in the various articles. See *Aaron Copland and His World*, ed. Oja and Tick. Even though Howard Pollack dutifully includes a five-page segment on Boulanger, he generally focuses on the overall context of Parisian (and European) musical life as a decisive influence on Copland's development. See Howard Pollack, *Aaron Copland: The Life and Work of an Uncommon Man* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999), 45–50. Even Mark DeVoto's essay "Copland and the 'Boulangerie'" focuses more on Copland's encounter with his colleagues than on Boulanger's work as their teacher. See Mark DeVoto, "Copland and the 'Boulangerie,'" in *Copland Connotations: Studies and Interviews*, ed. Peter Dickinson (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2002), 3–13.

5. Julia Smith, *Aaron Copland: His Work and Contribution to American Music* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1955), 45.

6. Copland and Perlis, *Copland* (New York: St. Martin's Press), 114.

7. Two notable contributions to understanding Copland through an international perspective on national identity are Alan Howard Levy, *Musical Nationalism: American Composers' Search for Identity* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1983), 30–61, and Carol J. Oja, *Making Music Modern: New York in the 1920s* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 237–51. Murchison provides a useful collection of citations on this issue; see "Nationalism in William Grant Still and Aaron Copland," 189–204.

8. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983). See Partha Chatterjee, "Anderson's Utopia," in "Grounds of Comparison: Around the Work of Benedict Anderson," special issue, *Diacritics* 29 (1999): 128–34, 128.

9. For a brief survey, see Mark Slobin, "The Destiny of 'Diaspora' in Ethnomusicology," in *The Cultural Study of Music: A Critical Introduction*, ed. Martin Clayton, Trevor Herbert, and Richard Middleton (New York: Routledge, 2003), 284–96.

10. Khachig Tololyan (1991), quotation cited in Slobin, "The Destiny of 'Diaspora' in Ethnomusicology," 284.

11. Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper, "Beyond Identity," *Theory and Society* 29 (2000): 1–47, 1.

12. Aleida Assmann and Heidrun Friese, "Einleitung," in *Identitäten: Erinnerung, Geschichte, Identität 3*, ed. Aleida Assmann and Heidrun Friese (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1998), 11–23, 12: "Die Inszenierungen von Identität werden dann als Teil sozialer und politischer Praktikern sowie als kultureller Text verstanden, der unterschiedliche Signifikate bezeichnet, historisch unterschiedlich kodiert ist und unterschiedliche Bilder hervorbringt und aktiviert."

13. Annegret Fauser and Mark Everist, "Introduction," in *Stage Music and Cultural Transfer: Paris, 1830–1914*, ed. Annegret Fauser and Mark Everist (forthcoming). For an excellent survey of the concept of cultural transfer, see the introduction by the editors, "Deutsch-französischer Kulturtransfer als Forschungsgegenstand: Eine Problemskizze," in *Transferts: Les relations interculturelles dans l'espace franco-allemand (XVIII^e et XIX^e siècle)*, ed. Michael Werner and Michel Espagne (Paris: Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1988), 11–34.

14. See Glenn Watkins, *Proof through the Night: Music and the Great War* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2003), 103–8; Sylvia Kahan, *Music's Modern Muse: A Life of Winnaretta Singer, Princesse de Polignac* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2003), 194.

15. Jérôme Spycket, *Nadia Boulanger* (Paris: Payot Lausanne, 1987), 52.

16. Spycket, *Nadia Boulanger*, 60.

17. By the end of 1917, 200,000 American soldiers had arrived in France, with 100,000 per month following. See Philippe Roger, *L'ennemi américain: Généalogie de l'antiaméricanisme français* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 2002), 341. On American war propaganda through music, see Watkins, *Proof through the Night*, 251–69.

18. War-debt figures are from Jean-Baptiste Duroselle, *France and the United States: From the Beginnings to the Present*, trans. Derek Coltman (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1978), 122.

19. Georges Clemenceau, *Grandeurs et misères d'une victoire* (1930), cited in Roger, *L'ennemi américain*, 344.

20. Roger (in *L'ennemi américain*, 411) cites four titles representative of these sentiments: "*L'Oncle Shylock* de J.-L. Chastanet (1927), *L'Impérialisme américain* d'Octave Homberg (1929), *L'Abomination américaine* de Kadmi-Cohen, *L'Amérique à la conquête de l'Europe* de Charles Pomaret (1931)." See also Benjamin D. Rhodes, "Reassessing 'Uncle Shylock': The United States and French War Debts, 1917–1929," *Journal of American History* 55 (1969): 787–803.

21. Egbert Klautke, "Amerikanismus und Antiamerikanismus im Frankreich der Zwischenkriegszeit," in *Amerikanismus, Americanism, Weill: Die Suche nach kultureller Identität in der Moderne*, ed. Hermann Danuser and Hermann Gottschewski (Schliengen: Edition Argus, 2003), 67–90, esp. 68–78.

22. Klautke, "Amerikanismus," 82.

23. Klautke, "Amerikanismus," 85; Roger, *L'ennemi américain*, 550.

24. Unsigned note, "Action . . . dans le domaine de la propagande," written before 1928 (Archives of the Ministère des Affaires Etrangères), quoted in translation in Robert J. Young, *Marketing Marianne: French Propaganda in America, 1900–1940* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2004), 81.

25. On the ideological contexts of the *mission civilisatrice*, see Alice L. Conklin, *A Mission to Civilize: The Republican Idea of Empire in France and West Africa, 1895–1930* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997).

26. Copland dedicated three pages to his encounter with Duchamp in his autobiography (Copland and Perlis, *Copland*, 43–45; quotation, 43). See Gail Levin, "Study Abroad: The Parisian Avant-Garde," in *Aaron Copland's America: A Cultural Perspective*, ed. Gail Levin and Judith Tick (New York: Watson Guptill, 2000), 18–21; citation, 19. Clurman's story is recounted in his *All People Are Famous: Instead of an Autobiography* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1974), 65–66.

27. Clurman, *All People Are Famous*, 65–66.

28. That Duchamp's remark had affected Copland quite strongly emerges in a letter to Leonard Bernstein, dated 23 March 1938: "At 21, in Paris, with Dada thumbing its nose at art, I had a spell of extreme disgust with all things human." See *The Selected Correspondence of Aaron Copland*, ed. Elizabeth B. Crist and Wayne Shirley (New Haven, NJ: Yale University Press, 2006), 124.

29. Copland and Perlis, *Copland*, 82. Elizabeth Crist has pointed out to me that, even in 1938, during the composition of *Billy the Kid*, Paris served as a catalyst for Copland's use of American folk melodies. Copland noted: "There in a studio on the rue de Rennes next door to David Diamond, I began to compose *Billy the Kid*. Perhaps there is something different about a cowboy song in Paris." Copland and Perlis, *Copland*, 280. See also Pollack, *Aaron Copland*, 320.

30. Copland and Perlis, *Copland*, 77. By the later nineteenth century, Parisian reception of foreign musicians was characterized by national taxonomies. See my account of concerts by foreign orchestras and non-Western musicians in *Musical Encounters at the 1889 Paris World's Fair* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2005), 42–58.

31. Aaron Copland, contribution to the *Fontainebleau Alumni Bulletin* (May 1930), cited in Kendra Preston Leonard, *The Conservatoire Américain: A History* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2007), 22.

32. Copland and Perlis, *Copland*, 91.

33. The program is listed in Michel Duchesneau, *L'avant-garde musicale et ses sociétés à Paris de 1871 à 1939* (Sprimont, Belgium: Mardaga, 1997), 321. Roger Sessions reviewed the concert under the header "An American Evening Abroad," in *Modern Music*, November/December 1926, 33–36.

34. Copland and Perlis, *Copland*, 124.

35. Clurman, *All People Are Famous*, 36.

36. Virgil Thomson, *Virgil Thomson* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1966), 116–17.

37. Aaron Copland to Israel Citkowitz, 12 July 1926, in *Selected Correspondence of Aaron Copland*, ed. Crist and Shirley, 50.

38. Carol J. Oja, "The Copland-Sessions Concerts and Their Reception in the Contemporary Press," *Musical Quarterly* 65 (1979): 220–21.

39. Indeed, Boulanger was instrumental for the programming of American composers, mostly in concerts at Fontainebleau (thus within the context of an American-signifying institution). From time to time, she also succeeded in having a work by a former student performed at the regular concerts of the Société Musicale Indépendante, on whose executive board she served for years. Her fellow composer Charles Koechlin remembered: "Nadia Boulanger (chez qui avaient lieu les comités de lecture), admirable pianiste, possédait l'art de présenter les œuvres de ses élèves américains de si habile façon, qu'elles semblaient excellentes et qu'on les admettait d'emblée, sans les avoir entendu in extenso: aux concerts, on avait parfois des déceptions." Cited in Duchesneau, *L'avant-garde musicale*, 91.

40. On Copland and jazz, see, for example, Murchison, "Nationalism in William Grant Still and Aaron Copland," 201–18 and 259–68; Pollack, *Aaron Copland*, 113–20; David Schiff, "Copland and the 'Jazz Boys,'" in *Copland Connotations*, ed. Dickinson, 14–21; Gail Levin, "The Influence of Jazz," in *Copland's America*, ed. Levin and Tick, 22–28; Judith Tick, "The Origins and Style of Copland's 'Mood for Piano' No. 3, 'Jazzy,'" *American Music* 20 (2002): 277–96; and Stanley V. Kleppinger, "On the Influence of Jazz Rhythm in the Music of Aaron Copland," *American Music* 21 (2003): 74–111. The literature on the French reception of jazz in the early twentieth century has grown significantly over the last decade. Three studies in particular should be cited here: William A. Shack, *Harlem in Montmartre: A Paris Jazz Story between the Great Wars* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), a study of African American jazz musicians in Paris; Jeffrey H. Jackson, *Making Jazz Modern: Music and Modern Life in Interwar Paris* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003), which focuses on the various aspects of French reception and appropriation of jazz; and Colin Nettelbeck, *Dancing with De Beauvoir: Jazz and the French* (Carlton, Australia: Melbourne University Press, 2004).

41. In contrast with most scholars who try to absolve Copland when he redeems himself in their eyes by—finally—discovering "true" and "authentic" jazz, Elizabeth B. Crist rightly points out that the meaning of jazz needs to be understood within the context of the 1920s: "Like the idea of Americanism itself, the characteristics, qualities, and meanings of 'jazz' are rather flexible. To white American and European modernists

in the 1920s, it was a multifarious commercial music that captured the urban experience and epitomized the modern American city." See Elizabeth B. Crist, "Copland and the Politics of Americanism," in *Aaron Copland and His World*, ed. Oja and Tick, 277. For a similar approach, see also Anne C. Schreffler, "Classicizing Jazz: Concert Jazz in Paris and New York in the 1920s," in *Die klassizistische Moderne in der Musik des 20. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Hermann Danuser (Winterthur, Switzerland: Amadeus Verlag, 1997), 55–71, and Barbara A. Zuck, *A History of Musical Americanism* (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1978), 79–80.

42. Jackson, *Making Jazz Modern*, 52–70.

43. Vivian Perlis and Libby Van Cleve, *Composers' Voices from Ives to Ellington: An Oral History of American Music* (New Haven, NJ: Yale University Press, 2005), 265.

44. Jackson, *Making Jazz Modern*, 97.

45. Kahan, *Music's Modern Muse*, 225. The program is reproduced in Jean Wiéner, *Allegro Appassionato* (Paris: Pierre Belfond, 1978), 50.

46. Concert visit listed as "Jean Wiener—Jazz Concert," in "List of performances attended in Paris during 1921 & 1922 (noted in those years) // A.C. '65," Library of Congress, Aaron Copland Collection, box 243. I could not ascertain whether Boulanger attended this concert (her appointment book for 1921 is missing from the collection of the Bibliothèque nationale de France). She did, however, attend the next concert, which featured the premiere of Schoenberg's *Pierrot lunaire*. See Nadia Boulanger, "Agenda 1922," Bibliothèque nationale de France, Rés.Vmf.ms.90, entry for 16 January 1922: "Concert Wiéner Pierrot Lunaire."

47. Wiéner, *Allegro Appassionato*, 48.

48. A.S., "Concerts Jean Wiéner," *Le Ménestrel* 83 (1921): 502. "Il est entendu maintenant que nos musiciens ne sauraient chercher leurs inspirations ailleurs que dans les bars américains. . . . D'ailleurs chaque époque littéraire témoigne un engouement particulier pour tel ou tel parent pauvre de la musique; après le cornet à pistons des bals « suburbains » ou de Bullier, après l'orgue de Barbarie de nos cours, après la musique à vapeur de nos foires, voici le jazz-band . . . M. Jean Wiéner avait invité à son concert du 6 décembre un orchestre américain—celui, excellent, de M. Billy Arnold: un jazz-band correct, presque cérémonieux. Une heure durant, nous nous adonnâmes aux plaisirs écœurants de la syncopation alors qu'un trombone virtuose vagissait des trémolos et des glissandos plaintifs. La meilleure transition entre le jazz et la musique de chambre ne pouvait être que le piano mécanique. Nous y entendîmes des fragments du *Sacre du Printemps*, rendus ainsi à peu près inexpressifs et dénués—à part la *Danse sacrale*—de puissance même mécanique."

49. Kahan, *Music's Modern Muse*, 246–47.

50. David Drew, "Jean Wiéner," *Grove Music Online*, ed. Laura Macy, http://www.grovemusic.com (accessed 22 March 2007).

51. In the two years between 1922 and 1924, the exchange rate changed from 12.193 francs to 19.096 francs per dollar. See EH.Net, "What Was the Exchange Rate Then?" http://eh.net/hmit/exchangerates (accessed 23 March 2007).

52. Jean Lobrot, "Concerts Pasdeloup," in *Le Ménestrel* 86 (1924): 452. "Des applaudissements ironiquement exagérés et quelques « hou! hou! » vinrent apprendre à ce

jeune homme que si, comme certains le prétendent, la vieille France a des leçons à prendre en affaires, de la jeune Amérique, quelques-uns de ses fils ont encore grand besoin de l'enseignement musical de notre pays. Et cela console un peu du cours du dollar!" Compare Boris de Schloezer's review for *La revue musicale*, cited in Kahan, *Music's Modern Muse*, 247.

53. The "jazz concert" in the Rue Contambert took place only twelve days after a concert in which Nadia Boulanger played the organ. Whether or not Boulanger attended the "jazz concert" is unknown, but she definitely moved in the same orbit at that time. See Kahan, *Music's Modern Muse*, 387.

54. William McBrian, *Cole Porter: A Biography* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1998), 89.

55. On the genesis of *Within the Quota*, see Robert M. Murdock, "Gerald Murphy, Cole Porter, and the Ballets Suédois production of *Within the Quota*," in *Paris Modern: The Swedish Ballet, 1920–1925*, ed. Nancy Van Norman Baer (San Francisco, CA: Fine Arts Museum of San Francisco, 1995), 108–17.

56. Gilbert Seldes, review in *Paris-Journal* (1923), cited in Bengt Häger, *Ballets Suédois* [The Swedish Ballet], trans. Ruth Sharman (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1990), 212. On Seldes, see Judith Tick, "The Music of Aaron Copland," in *Aaron Copland's America*, ed. Levin and Tick, 142.

57. On the drop cloth, see Gail Levin, "The Ballets Suédois and American Culture," in *Paris Modern*, ed. Van Norman Baer, 120.

58. Gerald Murphy, "Scenarios," cited in Levin, "The Ballets Suédois and American Culture," 120.

59. Aaron Copland to his parents, 25 June 1921, in *Selected Correspondence of Aaron Copland*, ed. Crist and Shirley, 11.

60. McBrian, *Cole Porter*, 91.

61. Darius Milhaud, *Ma vie heureuse* (1973), cited in Häger, *Ballets Suédois*, 212.

62. Pierre de Lapommeraye, review, *Le Ménestrel* 85 (1923): 453–54. At p. 454: "Les Américains, fort nombreux l'autre soir, ont fait un accueil enthousiaste à la musique de leur compatriote M. Cole Porter."

63. Harold Clurman, "American Night at the Swedish Ballet (Letter from Abroad)" (November 1923), in *The Collected Works of Harold Clurman: Six Decades of Commentary on Theatre, Dance, Music, Film, Arts and Letters*, ed. Marjorie Loggia and Glenn Young (New York: Applause Books, 1994), 1006. The editors date the text erroneously as "Nov. '22." On Copland's reading of and commenting on Clurman's Parisian writings, see Clurman's account of their student days in Copland and Perlis, *Copland*, 58.

64. Clurman, "American Night at the Swedish Ballet," 1006.

65. Clurman remembered his visits to Boulanger in *All People Are Famous*, 32–33. In a long letter to Boulanger, dated 4 July 1924, Clurman proclaimed himself as her student, since Copland had repeated his lessons to him in great detail after each of his sessions with Boulanger. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département de la Musique, call no. N.1.a.62 Clurman.

66. Mark DeVoto, "Melville Smith: Organist, Educator, Early Music Pioneer, and American Composer," in *Perspectives on American Music, 1900–1950* (New York: Garland Publishing, 2000), 265–99. See pp. 267–68 for a letter by Smith to Bernard DeVoto, dated 3 January 1922, in which he writes about his feelings for Boulanger: "The incomparable Nadia is as incomparable as ever. One day, about a month ago, when my feelings were again at the zenith, I had the courage to profess the extent of my affection for her. Since then my feelings towards her have lost much of their sexual stimulus and retained a deep love which I hope will endure."

67. Thus, on 2 June 1923, Melville Smith and Annette Dieudonné come to dinner before all three go out to the movies; four days later, on 6 June, Boulanger attends a Société Musicale Indépendante concert with Copland and the Dutch composer Matthys Vermeulen. See Nadia Boulanger, "Agenda 1923," Bibliothèque nationale de France, Rés.Vmf.ms.91, entries for 2 and 6 June 1923.

68. According to Rosenstiel, Mario Braggiotti—an "uncommonly handsome Italian-American jazz pianist" who studied with Boulanger in 1923—played jazz in her salon prior to the Wednesday classes, and "she seemed to approve of his jazz playing." See Léonie Rosenstiel, *Nadia Boulanger: A Life in Music* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1982), 167, 170.

69. Spycket, *Nadia Boulanger*, 68: "N'est-ce pas plus simplement la découverte à Fontainebleau de cette jeunesse aux allures libres, d'autant plus exubérante qu'elle est elle-même hors du carcan puritain de son pays, qui l'a en quelque sorte libérée par contagion?"

70. For recent interpretations of Boulanger's teaching, see Caroline Potter, *Nadia and Lili Boulanger* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2006), 127–47, and Jeanice Brooks, "Performing Autonomy: Modernist Historiographies and the Concerts of Nadia Boulanger" (paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Musicological Society, Washington, DC, 20 October 2005); abstract available at http://www.ams-net.org/Abstracts/2005-DC.pdf.

71. Pollack, *Aaron Copland*, 47.

72. Nadia Boulanger to Aaron Copland, September 1922, Library of Congress, Aaron Copland Collection, box 248: "Si vous voyez quelque chose de *nouveau* qui vous paraisse intéressant, voulez-vous l'acheter pour moi."

73. See Copland and Perlis, *Copland*, 67: "At the period when I was her student, Boulanger had one all-embracing principle, namely, the desirability of aiming first and foremost at the creation of what she called 'la grande ligne' in music. Much was included in that phrase: the sense of forward motion, of flow and continuity in the musical discourse; the feeling for inevitability, for the creating of an entire piece that could be thought of as a functioning entity."

74. Copland, contribution to the *Fontainebleau Alumni Bulletin* (May 1930), cited in Leonard, *The Conservatoire Américain*, 22.

75. Zuck, *A History of Musical Americanism*, 248.

76. Nadia Boulanger, "Lectures on Modern Music," *Rice Institute Pamphlets* 13 (1926): 124.

77. Potter, *Nadia and Lili Boulanger*, 143–44.

78. Potter, *Nadia and Lili Boulanger*, 144.

79. Boulanger, "Lectures on Modern Music," 194.

80. For a summary of these discourses, see Carlo Caballero, "Patriotism or Nationalism? Fauré and the Great War," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 52 (1999): 593–625. On fin-de-siècle music aesthetics in France, see Jann Pasler, "Paris: Conflicting Notions of Progress," in *Man and Music: The Late Romantic Era from the Mid-19th Century to World War I*, ed. Jim Samson (London: Macmillan, 1991), 389–416.

81. Boulanger, "Lectures on Modern Music," 121.

82. On d'Indy's concepts of history, see Catrina Flint de Médicis, "The Schola Cantorum, Early Music, and French Cultural Politics" (PhD diss., McGill University, 2006). See also the contributions of Katharine Ellis ("En Route to Wagner: Explaining d'Indy's Early Musical Pantheon," 111–22) and Annegret Fauser ("Archéologue malgré lui: Vincent d'Indy et les usages de l'histoire," 123–33) to the essay collection *Vincent d'Indy et son temps*, ed. Manuela Schwartz (Liège, Belgium: Mardaga, 2006).

83. "Predicts National School of Music: Nadia Boulanger, French Teacher, Foresees a Distinctly American Type," *New York Times*, 2 January 1925, 19.

84. It seems that Boulanger's view of jazz had shifted in its emphasis by 1928, probably in response to works by her American students, especially Copland's *Music for the Theatre* and *An Immorality* (a choral work she programmed repeatedly), for she declared about the future of music (according to an unreferenced quotation in Rosenstiel, *Nadia Boulanger*, 222), "I believe in the music born of Jazz, in the music born of New York, in the music born also of the sun, the desert, the immense mountains."

85. This reproach was leveled most persistently with respect to the Hollywood movie industry. See Klautke, "Amerikanismus," 83–86.

86. Thomson, *Virgil Thomson*, 54.

87. On the particular elements of Copland's construction of a "usable past," see Pollack, *Aaron Copland*, 107–20.

88. Copland and Perlis, *Copland*, 73.

89. Boulanger, "Lectures on Modern Music," 183: "For several centuries now, we have lived under the tyranny of the bar-line, of a 'strong' beat which recurs at *regular* intervals with insistent monotony. Consequently, we find ourselves helpless when we are forced, as we are so often in Stravinsky's music, to admit another type of rhythm, a rhythm in which the metre is constantly changing and where we are obliged to feel accents as intervals that are no longer regular."

90. Aaron Copland, "Stravinsky's Dynamism (1941, 1967)," in *Aaron Copland: A Reader: Selected Writings, 1923–1972*, ed. Richard Kostelanetz (New York: Routledge, 2004), 163.

91. Copland and Perlis, *Copland*, 73.

92. I am grateful to Elizabeth Crist for pointing out these parallels.

93. Aaron Copland to Nadia Boulanger, 12 August 1923, Library of Congress, Aaron Copland Collection, box 248. The text in question is Gide's 1923 *Dostoïevski: Articles et causeries*. This volume was not part of Copland's library (see the list in Paul Anderson, "'To Become as Human as Possible': The Influence of André Gide on Aaron Copland," in *Aaron Copland and His World*, ed. Oja and Tick, 68). Walther Rathenau (1867–1922) was a prominent Jewish industrialist and one of the founders of the German Democratic Party (DDP). He became minister of reconstruction in 1921 and was assassinated by two right-wing army officers on 24 June 1922.

94. Copland to Boulanger, 12 August 1923: "Le Ravel et le Stravinsky que vous et moi—je veux dire nous—(nous autres Français!)—connaissons depuis longtemps, ont été acclamés par toute la salle. . . . Je suis bien sûr qu'on a joué Kilpinen parce qu'il est finlandais et Whithorne parce qu'il est américain et de même pour plusieurs autres. Naturellement, le monde ayant tant besoin d'internationalisme en ces jours-ci, on *peut* le supporter; mais c'est de la mauvaise musique tout de même!"

95. Several of Copland's letters to Boulanger are published in *Selected Correspondence of Aaron Copland*, ed. Crist and Shirley. The quoted letter of 12 June 1924 appears on p. 41.

96. Copland and Perlis, *Copland*, 67.

97. Marion Bauer, "L'influence du 'jazz-band,'" *La revue musicale* 5 (1 April 1924): 31–36.

98. Bauer, "L'influence du 'jazz-band,'" 31: "Pour le 'rat des champs' le paysage n'a pas la même valeur que pour le 'rat de ville.' Il en va de même pour la 'jazz' en Amérique: on danse, on s'amuse, on l'entend partout sans s'apercevoir qu'il est devenu *une* langue nationale, même s'il n'est pas *la* langue nationale de chez nous. On dit toujours que nous n'avons pas de musique populaire, mais n'assistons-nous pas à la naissance même d'une musique populaire? (Seulement ce n'est peut-être pas un enfant légitime!) L'Amérique est un amalgame de tous les peuples, mais l'américanisme, facteur psychologique, plus puissant que l'hérédité, est un microbe dont on ne peut éviter l'inoculation. Le 'jazz' est la seule musique du nouveau monde qu'on connaisse en Europe; bien qu'on commence à y entendre, de temps en temps, la musique 'cultivée,' on répète, et non sans raison qu'il n'y a pas de musique proprement américaine en dehors du 'jazz.'"

99. Bauer, "L'influence du 'jazz-band,'" 32: "Le père du 'jazz' est Irving Berlin . . . il est très travailleur—et très riche. Bien qu'il ne soit ni nègre ni même Américain de naissance il a le génie du 'jazz.'"

100. That the concept of jazz as specifically African American, rooted in slavery and essentialized as black music, is itself a racialist construct has been argued in Ronald Radano, *Lying Up a Nation: Race and Black Music* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003).

101. Bauer, "L'influence du 'jazz-band,'" 33: "Et voici encore une chose intéressante à noter: le 'jazz' est la première musique d'Occident qui emploie le *quart de ton*. Y a-t-il là évolution des sons harmoniques ou un retour aux sons naturels?"

102. Copland and Perlis, *Copland*, 90.

103. Bauer, "L'influence du 'jazz-band,'" 36: "Mais ce sont surtout les compositeurs européens d'aujourd'hui qui se jettent sur le 'jazz' comme chiens affamés sur un os: Stravinsky, Milhaud, Casella, Jean Wiéner dans sa *Sonate Syncopée*; et les résultats sont

assez intéressants. Il est évident que la période de l'impressionnisme est passée, et que nous sommes sous le signe d'un réalisme qui reflète la civilisation contemporaine. Le rythme est une manifestation physiologique et matérielle, ce qui reste du sauvage dans l'homme. Aujourd'hui on constate un retour au rythme, à la brutalité, au bruit, réaction contre une période de préciosité et d'intellectualisme."

104. On nineteenth-century theories of music and race, see Fauser, *Musical Encounters*, 146–58.

105. Bauer, "L'influence du 'jazz-band,'" 36: "Le 'jazz' est le véritable enfant de l'époque; mais il ne faut pas oublier qu'il est aussi l'enfant des bas-fonds du monde civilisé et qu'il provient des couches inférieures de la société."

106. In the 1920s Boulanger repeatedly focused on rhythm as a key ingredient of "great" music and its performance. See, for example, her discussion of Beethoven's Seventh Symphony, where she declared: "Une œuvre comme la VII^{e} vit d'abord par son rythme, là est son élément primordial." Nadia Boulanger, "Concerts Colonne," *Le Monde Musical* 35 (1923): 326. I am grateful to Alexandra Laederich for sharing a copy of this article.

107. Bruno Monsaingeon, *Mademoiselle: Conversations with Nadia Boulanger*, trans. Robyn Marsack (Manchester: Carcanet, 1985), 72–73.

108. Aaron Copland, "Jazz as Folk Music" (1925), referred to in Pollack, *Aaron Copland*, 113. Aaron Copland, "Jazz Structure and Influence (1927)," in *Aaron Copland: A Reader*, ed. Kostelanetz, 83–87.

109. Copland, "Jazz Structure and Influence," 87.

110. Boulanger discusses the difference between exoticism and authenticity in her analysis of Roussel's *Padmâvatî*. See Boulanger, "Lectures on Modern Music," 143–44.

111. Copland, "Jazz Structure and Influence," 87.

112. Aaron Copland to Leonard Bernstein, 7 December 1938, in *Selected Correspondence of Aaron Copland*, ed. Crist and Shirley, 126.

113. Aaron Copland, "1926: America's Young Men of Promise," in *Aaron Copland: A Reader*, ed. Kostelanetz, 171–76.

114. Sessions, "An American Evening Abroad," 36.

115. Crist, "Copland and the Politics of Americanism," 284–85, and Crist, *Music for the Common Man*, 4–5.

116. Crist, *Music for the Common Man*, 44.

117. Aaron Copland to Mary Lescaze, 13 January 1933, in *Selected Correspondence of Aaron Copland*, ed. Crist and Shirley, 101.

118. Aaron Copland, "The Composer and His Critic" (1932), quoted in Tick, "The Music of Aaron Copland," 147.

119. Crist, *Music for the Common Man*.

Dancing around the Subject: Race in Country Fan Culture

Jocelyn R. Neal

Two roommates are hanging out in a dorm, playing their records for each other. Alan puts on one of his favorite tunes, and from the speakers, country star Buck Owens belts out "Act Naturally" in his trademark, twangy Bakersfield vocals.[1] Alan bounces awkwardly out of time to the music, a look of pure glee on his face. Nearly giddy with enthusiasm, he blurts out, "Yes! This one . . . I mean, I don't even have to ask, but I will. What do you think of this one?" His roommate cradles his head in his hands, and with his face grimaced in an expression of pure agony, wails, "Does the term 'cruel and unusual punishment' mean *anything* to you?!"

This short scene appeared in October 2000 in Hollywood's blockbuster film *Remember the Titans*, a triumphant story of teamwork and friendship overcoming racial difference and segregation.[2] Based on the true story of integrating white and black high school football teams in Virginia, the film used its soundtrack to highlight cultural differences based on race. Alan (played by Ryan Gosling) is white; his roommate Blue (Earl C. Poitier) is black, and Blue's musical sensibilities are obviously assaulted by Alan's beloved country music. By the end of the film, the white and black players have befriended each other, both on the playing field and off. The soundtrack artfully represents their reconciliation by having all the players embrace the same music—decidedly not the country twang that Alan introduced, but instead the soul and rhythm-and-blues tracks that the black players brought.

Although the film's plot is ostensibly set in 1971, the cultural representations of country music were selected to resonate with the modern, urban, hip, and aware moviegoing teen audience of 2000, whose sympathies all lie with Blue. Within the cultural stereotypes invoked by the movie, rhythm-and-blues records and soul music have, quite simply, "soul," but country music is square, unhip, gangly, and hopelessly out of touch with contemporary middle-class youth culture. Even worse, country music is decidedly working-class in its cultural

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connotations, and while it might be enjoyed by the moviegoers as a novelty, it is Marvin Gaye and Tammi Terrell's Motown version of "Ain't No Mountain High Enough" that brings together black and white listeners, both on-screen and in the audience.

The film's musical narrative is not a new one; a commonly accepted explanation for popular music's development from the 1950s is one of white youth embracing black music and not the reverse—the very birth of rock and roll is often credited to that phenomenon, with its accompanying political tropes.[3] The representation, however, of country music as expressly white, working-class, and out of touch with contemporary youth trends—all encapsulated in the film and pervasive in both journalists' and academics' contemporary writing—is worth closer examination. Such representations of country music tend to treat it as a monolithic whole, a musical genre that can be summarized with a quick stroke of a pen, and are frequently invoked as a broad and homogenous manifestation of politically and religiously conservative, Southern whiteness, with its host of intrinsic associations.

There is ample justification for viewing contemporary country music as a single artistic entity, problematic though that approach may be. Indeed, the multibillion-dollar industry that produces modern country music has succeeded in implementing a creation and distribution model that places the same recordings on radio airwaves coast to coast and markets artists with strikingly similar musical identities on concert stages across the country.[4] However, once country music enters the daily activities of its fans, that monolithic media object dissolves into a multifarious musical collection to which individual listeners relate differently. Unlike the sweeping generalizations with which country is often characterized by the press, what country music means to its fans varies dramatically from one person to another, from one song to another, and from one community to another. These meanings reflect not only each listener's experiences, tastes, and circumstances, along with cultural events and external associations, but also core elements of those fans' identities, including their conceptions and expressions of race and racial difference.

Within country dance halls, fans physically engage with both their music and each other in a set of stylized, performed rituals. Even in the contemporary media environment, where television, film, the Internet, and coast-to-coast corporate ventures ensure a certain sameness to these dance halls, local communities tend to resist assimilation into any universal country fan behavior.[5] By virtue of that nonconformity, fans appropriate both the music and the environment as vehicles for regionally and locally differentiated self-expression. In this context, country

music becomes a slate on which fans inscribe diverse identities—diverse in terms of race, class, sexual orientation, political orientation, and a host of other parameters—through their body movements, dance, and interactions with each other, and through the rhetoric by which they lay claim to the art. Although racial identity is only one of the many characteristics that emerge from these rituals of self-expression, it does so in a way quite different from the apparently uniform notion of whiteness so often ascribed to country music. In these settings, racial difference itself is often determined relative to the local and regional cultural contexts, both contemporary and historical, that color the dynamics of race within each country fan community.

In some communities, "black" and "white" are binary divisions across which country music does not span; in others, "black" and "white" are barely even relevant concepts to the country fan community, and other parameters shape identity. Case studies from three regionally disparate communities illustrate these practices. My exploration of country dance halls in each region reveals many commonalities in the venues: these nightclub establishments are situated in urban environments and treat a large dance floor as their focal point, while a ubiquitous pool table and an optional mechanical bull sit on the periphery. Alcohol is present and features prominently in the business model on which the venues operate.[6] In some, music is performed live; in others, recordings are played, but in either case, the repertory is heavily derived from the mainstream commercial country that has graced major radio stations' playlists for the past twenty years. Of course, these regions also feature other types of venues where country dancing in various forms takes place—restaurants, family gathering spots, hole-in-the-wall honky-tonks, and so on—but the similarities among the larger nightclubs make them a rich choice for investigating regional difference in fan identity.[7] The fans who attend these clubs range in age from the late teens (many of the clubs offer "underage admission" for a higher cover charge and appropriate tagging to prevent the consumption of alcohol) to patrons easily the equivalent of the youngest attendees' parents or older. In all the venues, "regulars" adopt the space as a weekly destination, and close-knit fan communities develop. There, however, is where the similarities end and the regional and individual differences commence.

The Color of Country

On the matter of country music and race, *New York Times* writer and rock journalist Kelefa Sanneh recently summed up the status

quo: "[Country] music has a historical and mythical connection to rural Southern *white* culture, even though today's performers and fans are often neither Southern nor rural."[8] Sanneh grants both the regional and the communal characteristics status as myth, but the connection to whiteness goes unqualified. He continues, "Country music remains, of course, an overwhelmingly white genre." Historian James Cobb explains the codification of those associations in the 1960s and '70s: "Some males . . . began to identify themselves as 'rednecks,' a term historically synonymous with rural, lower-class whites who were aggressively ignorant, uncouth, and lawless and showed no particular ambition to become otherwise. . . . When they needed to unwind, rednecks generally ripped around in their gun-racked, jacked-up pick-ups, dipping snuff, chucking their empty beer cans out the window, and playing country music loud enough to wake the dead and deafen the living."[9] While country music has not been the exclusive property of Cobb's rednecks, with those accompanying associations not just of race but also of class, attitude, and defiant southernness, it is little wonder that the music has not been heartily adopted by a more openly diverse audience.

Country has succeeded in downplaying its redneck affiliations and achieving significant crossover success in the pop scene at several times in its recorded history. This occurred most notably in the Nashville Sound era of circa 1960, when Patsy Cline and Jim Reeves layered silky vocals over subtle string arrangements and packaged themselves in elegant evening gowns and tuxedos, effectively taking white trash out of the equation, and again in the *Urban Cowboy* era of the early 1980s, when Barbara Mandrell and Eddie Rabbitt accomplished the same transformation. In the early 1990s, it happened a third time with Garth Brooks, who kept some of the traditional roots of country music but rode a larger wave of southernization that swept across the nation's politics, economics, and arts simultaneously. Brooks's brand of country was both suburban in character and overtly ambitious enough to break out of the redneck stereotypes.[10] A more sophisticated, pop-infused flavor of country music pioneered by him is still present in the current commercial scene.

While the modern genre is free from the most offensive redneck characteristics that Cobb describes, racial associations remain firmly embedded in the minds of authors, listeners, and readers alike. Further complicating the scene is a recent resurfacing of redneck references in contemporary commercial country: song lyrics since 2004 are more frequently using the term "redneck," and news headlines such as "Rednecks on the Rebound" reinforce what vestiges remain in the perceptions of fans and nonfans alike.[11] These connections were brought to

the forefront of contemporary country music when a single anthem, "Redneck Woman," hit the charts in 2004.[12] Gretchen Wilson, a white Illinois native whose public biography emphasized her trailer-park, trash-talking roots, co-wrote the song as a celebration of southern, working-class stereotypes; in the ensuing media firestorm, the song broke several successive sales records. Thus, even in the wake of the pop-crossover success of country music, it took only one artist and song to return the historical associations between race, class, and country music to the limelight, a trend that has been amplified by dozens of later songs playing off both the term "redneck" and its broader associations.

Within country music, black fans and artists are all too often regarded as the exception that proves the rule. Well-known counterexamples to the music's racial homogeneity are held up as tokens in texts and discussions of country music by fans and scholars eager to demonstrate points of diversity: DeFord Bailey, the harmonica wizard of the 1920s and '30s, was an African American star of the Grand Ole Opry; Charley Pride was the one black country superstar of the 1960s; black, rapping, Texan Cowboy Troy, with his modern-day "hick-hop," is shaking up contemporary audiences' racial complacency. Fans point out that both Ray Charles and Louis Armstrong recorded country albums, and an occasional country song such as Dolly Parton's "I Will Always Love You" or George Jones's "The Grand Tour" winds it way out of country and into R&B or soul through covers by Whitney Houston or Aaron Neville.[13] Treasured anecdotes circulate that both confirm the music's white associations and celebrate instances where expectations are thwarted: In 1959, young, white North Carolina singer George Hamilton IV was booked on the same tour of Australia as black rockabilly star Chuck Berry. On the long plane flight, Hamilton noticed Berry was listening to country and bluegrass:

> Introducing himself to the famous personality, George said with a smile, "I'm sure surprised to hear you playing bluegrass music, Chuck!" Chuck's eyes flashed as he responded sharply, "Why's that? Why assume I don't like country music, boy?" Berry continued, "I love country music! Have you ever listened to ma [*sic*] song 'Johnny B. Good'? All it is, boy, is country music with a *beat*. Just 'cause I'm a black person don't mean I can't sing country music! . . . I got as much country soul as any of you white boys."[14]

Among fans, friends are quick to point out other exceptions—their one black classmate who goes with them to the local country bar, for instance—but each of these instances merely accessorizes the

deep-seated expectation voiced by George Hamilton IV: black country artists and fans are surprising and novel. Given these contexts and examples, both the historical and contemporary associations of commercial country with whiteness are obvious conclusions, although those associations are by no means the same as claiming that country music encodes whiteness.[15]

The academic literature on music and racial identity has embraced dualities in recent years: discussions of blackness and whiteness dominate histories of popular music in America, with the occasional exploration of other racially and ethnically affiliated musics (particularly Latino), which are similarly defined through opposition to a usually white "other." Narratives abound of appropriation, dilution, theft, transformation, and discrimination across these dualities. Director Bill Condon invoked the reclamation of black creative output from white artists who were profiting unfairly from it as a motivator in his screenplay for Dreamworks' film *Dreamgirls*, and similar narratives pepper academic discourse on popular music.[16] Like *Remember the Titans*, *Dreamgirls* drew on a storyline set several decades in the past, but its interpretation of racial politics was entirely contemporary.

Within these perspectives, a two-column system of classification is often implied: white music (the column in which country is housed) is separate from black music, and interest and intrigue are generated from the interaction (of fans, of artists, and of performance traditions) across the two racially defined musical worlds. This model fails to account for the more contextually nuanced and relative expressions of racial identity that occur within the country fan scene, however. Rather than a concept of racial identity housing particular musics, the perspective I offer here inverts that model and proposes one where musical scenes—in this case, country—house complex and varied performances of racial identity heavily shaped by geographic location, cultural relativism, and community history.

Patriotism and Camaraderie

In Fayetteville, North Carolina, the Palomino is known for hosting a raucous country dance crowd several times a week. Its location boasts multiple clubs with different music formats housed under one roof and one cover charge. But like so many other multiplex nightclubs, the room dedicated to country music is the larger, partly because country dance styles demand more floor space than the dance styles of many other genres. The Palomino's parking lot is packed with trucks on a typical Saturday night, and inside a DJ keeps the floor full with standard

techniques of rotating through music for different country dances, alternating line dance sets with two steps and other favorites. "Regulars" sit at their usual tables, newcomers roam and mingle, and the pool tables stay busy.

According to the U.S. Census Bureau's data from 2000, the population in Fayetteville is 48.8 percent white and 42.4 percent black (see Figure 1).[17] This statistic simply describes the population's self-perception in racial terms. In his controversial book on diversity, Walter Benn Michaels explains that, since 1980, the Office of Management and Budget, which sets the government's guidelines for collecting census data on race, has asked individuals to self-report their race. He highlights how race, in this construction, "is a 'subjective' fact about individuals, a function of perception rather than biology. . . . What you're really being asked is how you perceive yourself."[18] The U.S. Census Bureau's own Web site explains that racial categories "are based on social and political considerations—not anthropological or scientific ones. Furthermore, the race categories include both racial and national-origin groups."[19] Thus, what the census really reveals about race in Fayetteville is that the city's population strongly self-associates with concepts of "black" and "white" as racial categories. In terms of ethnicity, fewer than 6 percent of the population identified themselves as Hispanic or Latino.[20] Just as this black–white racial binary is clearly articulated in the city, a cultural binary also exists, and within the city, a distinct hip-hop-centered nightlife thrives, completely separate from the

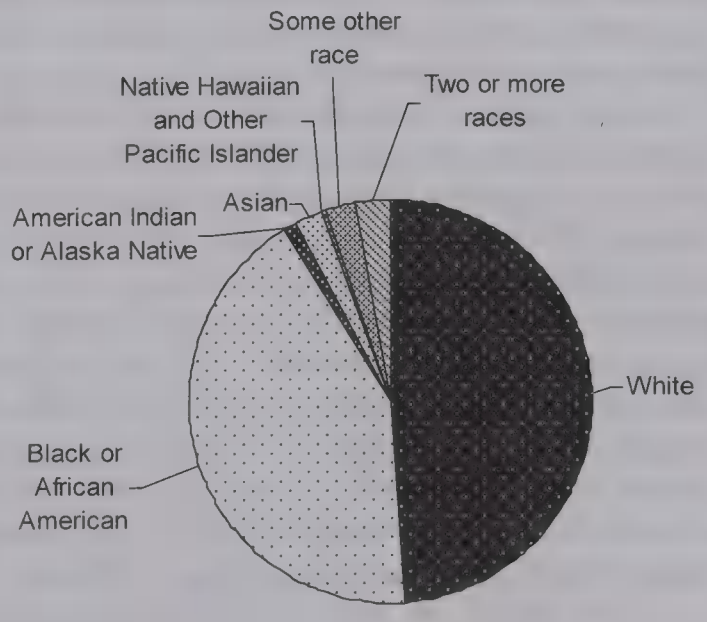

Figure 1. U.S. Census Bureau data on race for Fayetteville, North Carolina, 2000.

Palomino. The availability of different music scenes could easily foster racial segregation in the nightclubs. Yet the Palomino's crowd on a typical Saturday night includes a far higher percentage of black dancers than I observed at similar country dance halls in other North Carolina cities, including nearby Raleigh.

As I talked with the fans in the Palomino, danced, and observed their weekend rituals, a few obvious cultural commonalities emerged. For these fans, the most prominent shared experience within the Fayetteville community was military service. Fayetteville is home to Pope Air Force Base, Camp Lejeune, and Fort Bragg, with its famous 82nd Airborne Division. A significant number of my dance partners at the Palomino, both white and black, had served tours of duty abroad, and when I asked them about their affection for country music, their responses frequently referred to time spent on foreign bases. In their recollections, country music in those settings had been distilled into a quintessential "American" sound, devoid of the negative stereotypes that hound the genre stateside. As many of them explained, country music offered a social tether to home and a celebration of deeply embedded patriotism, loyalty, and working-class brotherhood that resonated with their experiences. Upon returning to Fayetteville, they simply kept their musical interests. The performance of identity within the Palomino was not governed by distinctions between black and white, but was instead a manifestation of shared cultural experiences and value systems. Many country music songs, with their overt themes of patriotism, loyalty, family, and home, and the value systems that emerge from those cultural constructions, gave voice to these fans' perspectives, and country dancing enabled them to claim, with their bodies, a country identity.

Only an hour down the road from Fayetteville, Raleigh's Longbranch Saloon houses a different community than the Palomino. In spite of the fact that many of the same dancers travel between these clubs on different nights, each space manages to cultivate a distinctive communal identity. The Longbranch's reputation as a renowned dance establishment has been earned partly by its more than two decades' tenure in Raleigh, a veritable eternity compared to the typical life span of a nightclub. Featuring live music on weekends, the Longbranch frequently draws a large crowd of nonregulars for special concert events. But on a typical weekend, the crowd appears far less racially diverse than the Palomino's, in spite of the fact that the metropolitan area's racial demographics are similar to Fayetteville's.

Without the shared bond of military service among patrons, the Longbranch crowd seemed to adopt a performance of identity more

grounded in racial distinctions: country is not just white, but decidedly *not black*. During the summer of 2005, I took a small group of students to the Longbranch as part of a college course I was teaching on local vernacular music. Nearly half of my students happened to be African American, and those students openly expressed hesitation about attending the club, based more on the club's local reputation as a redneck nightclub than on its musical format as a country bar. In the students' descriptions, it emerged that their hesitation was not over hearing country music, but rather that they did not want to be participants in a cultural space that was known as white and, more specifically, redneck. Their most pressing questions in preparing for the trip dealt with performed identity—what to wear, what to drink, what to do, or in other words, how to physically match in ways that had nothing to do with listening to the music. The African American students reported that, although they could listen to and even like country music, they couldn't "be" country in that particular space, simply because they
were black.

Outside the dance hall, however, the racial binary breaks down, even within the same city. Nightly rituals for nightclub patrons often include stopping at a nearby diner for a bite to eat after an evening out. In the southeastern United States, the Waffle House restaurant chain, with nearly fifty locations in North Carolina alone, is one of the most common destinations. A few miles down the road from the Longbranch, I stopped at a Waffle House for a bacon, egg, and cheese sandwich after an evening at the nightclub. Although this particular restaurant is situated within an integrated, mainly middle-class neighborhood, by happenstance that evening all the employees and the few diners that were in the restaurant were black. Shortly after I arrived, two of the diners walked over to the "Waffle House Music Machine," the jukebox that is a fixture in all the chain's restaurants, and dropped in a few quarters. Country singer Gretchen Wilson's voice crooned, "When I think about cheatin' / I just think about you leavin' . . ." More than half the selections on the jukebox were country, including classics from Patsy Cline and contemporary hits from Toby Keith. But the remainder of the selections they might have chosen covered a range of genres that are as diverse in their stereotyped racial associations as country music is narrow: these tracks included American Idol pop stars, Santana, Destiny's Child, plus The Radiants, Chairmen of the Board, and the Dominoes. Among all these musical options, both patrons and employees seemed perfectly content not just with a country song, but with one recorded by the "redneck woman" herself, Gretchen Wilson, and some

of the diners were obviously willing to invest in the song with a handful of quarters.

Here is an urban region that self-identifies as nearly 40 percent black, where black country listeners do not patronize the Longbranch's country room in any significant number, but where my Waffle House encounter and other experiences anecdotally confirm the presence of those listeners. Such observations complicate the racial associations of country music among the fan base in ways that hearken back to the earliest days of country recordings. The notion that country music was historically white is primarily derived from the log-keeping practices of early music producers who, when recording bands and artists in the 1920s, logged their performances within two separate catalogues for the record labels: one called "hillbilly" and one called "race." The sonic distinctions between artists' styles did not fall along the same divisions, the stereotypical examples being cases of black string bands and white blues players, but the divisions of genre by race, which were made primarily for marketing purposes, were codified by social convention over the subsequent decades.[21] There was nothing intrinsically different between the sounds of "white" and "black" blues or string band music in those early recordings; rather it was social convention that separated them. Similarly, there is nothing intrinsically linked to racial identity in the present-day fan scene that separates listeners by "white" and "black," but rather there are social conventions of performed identity within a particular club and tradition that separate them.

At the same time that early country recordings were acquiring racial associations, they were even more invested with regional associations: the music was inextricably southern, as Bill C. Malone has elegantly articulated.[22] And southern identity as such is claimed by both black and white southerners. In 1961 Charlayne Hunter entered the University of Georgia as one of the first two black students, amid derisive chants of "Two, four, six, eight, we don't want to integrate." Yet twenty-seven years later, she returned to campus as a commencement speaker. She announced that it was "good to be back home again. In a place that I have always thought of as 'our place.'"[23] Historians such as James Cobb recount this speech as an illustration of black southerners' claim on, and reclamation of, southern culture and identity. Country music's historical white associations are overshadowed by its southern associations, leaving it ripe for potential ownership by southerners of all races. In 1994 Ralph Ellison explained, "You can't be Southern without being black and you can't be a black Southerner without being white."[24] The resonance of this statement within country fan

traditions is unmistakable. In the physical spaces of Raleigh's restaurant and the dance hall, country music was not intrinsically white or black, yet its racial affiliations were determined by the environment in which its fans openly claimed it: white in the dance hall, as enthusiastic fans sang along to Lynyrd Skynyrd's quintessential southern anthem, "Sweet Home, Alabama"; black in the restaurant, alongside hash browns "scattered, smothered, and covered" in Waffle House tradition, accompanied by the twangy redneck vocals of Gretchen Wilson's "When I Think about Cheatin'." Both settings evoked overt performances of southern culture.

Old South, New South, and Defiance

My apartment in Atlanta was a few blocks from the Martin Luther King Jr. National Historic Site in a neighborhood bordering on inner-city poverty and struggling to reinvent itself. Yet the bustling city's downtown, the grand parks commemorating the 1996 Olympics, and the corporate tourist destinations like the World of Coca-Cola museum and the CNN Center were a mere bike ride away. During the short time I lived in Atlanta, "black" and "white" emerged as more powerful concepts than they had anywhere else I have ever lived, and racial tensions along those binary lines remain part of the national media's portrayals of Atlanta. Recently, an ambitious mayor inaugurated an ad campaign to promote "brand recognition" for the city and commissioned a hip-hop theme song from producer Dallas Austin called "The ATL." Newspapers lit up with editorials and reports about the racialization of the city and how the song failed to resonate with a large part of the population. A journalist reported that when a white, sixty-year-old resident named Dick Williams "heard his city's new anthem, he was aghast. . . . [He] could understand only one line: 'Get 'em up, get 'em up, get 'em up, get 'em up, get 'em up, let's go.' . . . 'Not,' he said, 'a good line for a city with a high crime rate.'"[25] Another editorial explained that it was an impossible task to create "a unifying anthem for a city that's clearly not ready to be united by music."[26] Although the U.S. Census Bureau reported that, in 2000, 61.4 percent of the city's population identified themselves as black (see Figure 2), the numbers alone do not convey the racially separatist layout of the metropolitan area's neighborhoods or the potency of the city's Civil War and civil rights histories. Furthermore, as an economic focal point for the entire region, Atlanta is home to a large population of nonsoutherners, a large southern population seeking an urban retreat from rural locales, and a population spanning a wide range of household incomes.

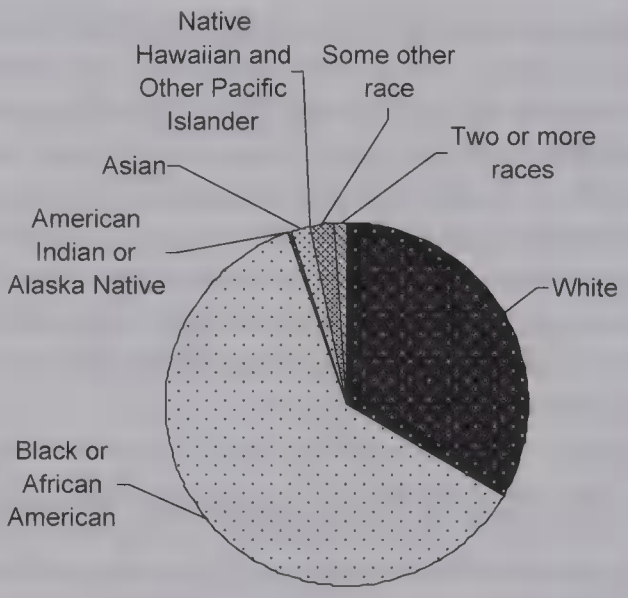

Figure 2. U.S. Census Bureau data on race for Atlanta, Georgia, 2000.

In spite of Atlanta's prominence in the early days of country recordings, when Fiddlin' John Carson and radio station WSB broke new ground into the uncharted territory of country music as commercial fare, by eight decades later the city had lost its relevance to the mainstream country scene. More important, the Southeast has never been a native site for partner dancing. The two-stepping tradition that emerged in the western regions of Texas and Oklahoma, spanning the areas toward California, accompanied the rise of the style of country music known as western swing throughout the 1930s and '40s, and in those areas, the popularity of cavernous country dance halls and partner dancing was passed from generation to generation as common tradition. In the East Coast states, those traditions never took root. Even though there were historical instances of flat-footing and buck dancing, it was only in the wake of media events such as John Travolta's appearance in the film *Urban Cowboy* (1980) that two-stepping became common; throughout the ensuing three decades, it has been sustained not through family tradition or common social tropes, but rather through formal classes and the artificial, commercial marketing of the practice. Leon McAuliffe, longtime steel guitar player for Bob Wills's Texas Playboys of western swing fame, clearly explained the regional dance tradition distinctions many years ago: "[West of the Mississippi] we played for dancing. East of the Mississippi they played a show . . . just for people to sit and listen."[27] Two-stepping and the other partner dances that are the mainstays of the country dance halls simply were never the natural inclination of the local

country fan in the Southeast, nor were the venues so ubiquitous as in the western states.[28]

Nonetheless, Atlanta currently boasts two large country bars that both advertise a dance floor as their prominent feature: Cowboy's and Wild Bill's, with Wild Bill's laying public claim to the larger floor. On a fall evening in 2006, my "wild card" membership card plus $6 got me in the door at Wild Bill's, where Bill Gentry and the 35 Cent Rodeo were onstage churning out country rockers and covers of contemporary radio hits. A gruff, tattooed bouncer handed me a pink plastic lei as I entered the main room—it happened to be "Hawaiian night," a themed evening designed as a marketing strategy. The bartenders, known as "wild girls," pole danced in bikinis while a prominently placed mechanical bull offered patrons a thrill ride. The physical space was divided and marked for particular activities. Railings and walkways led from section to section, elaborate lighting emphasized the beer islands and mechanical bull, a corridor funneled patrons to the pool tables, and steps, gates, and a railing delineated the dance floor. A few couples two-stepped around the edge of the floor, and several others tried out various line dances in the center, but the majority of the dance floor remained entirely empty. The highly regulated physical space and the general lack of instinctive, native country dancing in partnered styles produced an atmosphere more like a country bar theme park than an organic community of country fans. Thus, "Hawaiian night" seemed no more out of place than the affectation of country and cowboy culture generated within the club in the first place.

In both Wild Bill's and Cowboy's, the wardrobe, DJ patter, and fan behavior seemed to indicate that sex was the commodity of exchange among patrons, with country music merely the lubricant that facilitated connections. The clubs functioned not as bastions of honky-tonk tradition, but rather to market the wild girls' cleavage and to fulfill the promises heard on Atlanta's local country radio station, which aired advertisements from one of the clubs assuring listeners if they couldn't "hook up" at the country bar, they simply couldn't hook up anywhere. The slogan that appears on the Cowboy's Web site is "Where Atlanta's most beautiful women come to party!"[29] Both bars served essentially as country-themed social nightclubs, where southern and white identity were branded for patrons who wanted to be (and to be seen as) country; appreciation of the music and general dancing among fans were of second priority.

Atlanta is a "hip-hop town," one longtime local resident and country bar patron explained to me, and "no self-respecting hip-hop fan would be caught dead in a country bar." This is not to say that

the distinction between fan scenes is mutually exclusive. Individual fans may move fluidly between different music scenes in their daily routines—listening to hip-hop but going out with friends to a country bar, or the reverse. Instead, this patron's description categorized the performance of identity within spaces delineated for particular musical scenes. When a fan is participating and interacting with others inside a country bar, that fan is "being country," and when in a hip-hop dance club, that fan is "being hip-hop"; the two identities do not sleep together.

Downtown Atlanta also houses a third, slightly smaller country bar called Hoedown's. On a typical Saturday evening at Hoedown's, unlike the city's other country bars, the dance floor remains so crowded that people spill out over the edges, and dancers are consciously aware that they must avoid tripping off the dance floor while two-stepping. The club's Web site provides an "etiquette" guide, specifying that dancers should be careful when entering the floor to merge with traffic. The DJ mixes more country classics from the neotraditionalist era of the 1980s with plenty of hits from the 1990s, the occasional gem from the '70s, and a healthy dose of contemporary radio fare. On this packed floor of enthusiastic fans are two-stepping pairs with black leaders and white followers, black followers and white leaders, Asian dancers, and generally a far more racially diverse mix of patrons than in any other country dance hall I visited in Georgia or North Carolina.

What most distinguishes this country dance hall from the others in Atlanta is neither the music nor the racial diversity. This is a gay country dance hall that is highly regarded by fans and dancers locally, regionally, and in the national spotlight of the International Association of Gay/Lesbian Country Western Dance Clubs.[30] Although many of the same signifiers of the country genre are present in the club's physical layout—the pool table, the neon bar signs, the wooden dance floor, the country-kitsch decor—other iconic snippets of gay culture are juxtaposed within the space. Each night, the club's DJ played a video clip on the club's screens from the second episode of the television show *Designing Women* (broadcast 1986–93), which features a monologue on the ultimate "Miss Georgia" beauty pageant contestant. On cue, club patrons recited actor Dixie Carter's monologue in unison, ending with the lines, "And that, Marjorie—just so you will know—and your children will someday know—is the night the lights went out in Georgia!"[31] The DJ then played Reba McEntire's recording of "The Night the Lights Went Out in Georgia," a defiant murder ballad about female independence triumphing over a cheating husband and a southern culture that defends good ol' boys' clubs and injustice.[32]

What further distinguishes Hoedown's from the other country nightclubs in Atlanta are the dancers' physical movements. At the other country dance halls, different musical grooves typically indicate different partner dances: two-step, East Coast swing, West Coast swing, country cha-cha, polka, waltz, and many others. But at Hoedown's, the two-step is the lingua franca of partner dancing. Regardless of the tempo or underlying groove of the song that is played, the dancers two-step. Furthermore, they alter the rhythmic pattern of the basic dance by infusing a slight syncopation. The Hoedown's two-step is colored by a local patois or physical "accent" that distinguishes it from the two-steps danced across town. Even when the DJ plays a few dance-pop and techno songs for variety (something quite common at other country dance halls as well), the dance floor remains full, and the dancers keep two-stepping. Within most country dance halls, whether straight or gay, local dance styles are cultivated even within the relatively homogenous traditions.[33] Any dancers with the basic knowledge of two-step could easily participate, but if they lacked that particular venue's "accent" in their movements, they would look like foreigners.

Throughout the evening, Hoedown's DJ alternates a set of songs explicitly for two-stepping with a set of songs designated for line dancing. During the line dance sets, the unbridled enthusiasm and technical expertise on display are unparalleled by any I witnessed in any of Atlanta's straight country dance halls. Although the gay country fan community operates outside the larger mainstream country fan scene, it has adopted country dance practices with feverish enthusiasm. The line dance fad peaked in popularity within the straight fan community several years ago and now is on the wane, as was confirmed by the stragglers who graced the floor at Wild Bill's most nights. But within Hoedown's, the craze was still going strong.[34]

Along with a general association with racial whiteness, country music has long carried associations with southern Evangelical religious identity, with accompanying assumptions of a Christian right-wing political stance.[35] The connections between gospel music and country music are deeply embedded in both genres, and lyrics celebrating the idealism of heterosexual marriage, family, and church on Sunday morning abound. Georgia sits squarely in the middle of both the ideology and the geography of the South—the state had no difficulty passing a constitutional amendment in 2004 that codified marriage as an institution between a man and a woman, and neither mainstream country music nor southern Christian culture comfortably accommodate a gay or lesbian lifestyle.[36] Thus, gay country fans—and to an even greater

extent, black gay country fans—are in a position to appropriate country music and reclaim a regional and musical identity that has been withheld from them in its historical manifestations. From this perspective, the fans' investment in country dancing that is so prominently displayed on Hoedown's dance floor represents a purposefully masterful performance of cultural identity.

The Land of Enchantment

The mountains of northern New Mexico, the state known as the "Land of Enchantment," provided the setting for *Red Sky at Morning*, Richard Bradford's famous coming-of-age novel set during World War II. Written in 1968, Bradford's story brings a teenager from the Deep South into a New Mexican community where racial identity is constructed from local history and relative contexts. Readers know from the moment Josh, the new kid in town, meets Steenie that the two will become fast friends. In their first encounter, Steenie probes southern stereotypes and offers Josh a local education:

> [Steenie:] "You from the South?"
>
> [Josh:] "Mobile, Alabama."
>
> "There's a Negro in school here, in the tenth grade. Are you going to lynch him?"
>
> "Not unless he tries to marry my sister," I told him. . . .
>
> "All right, then. We don't want racial trouble out here. And don't call him a Negro. He thinks he's an Anglo. We only recognize three kinds of people in Sagrado: Anglos, Indians, and Natives. You keep your categories straight and you'll make out all right. Do you have anything against your sister marrying an Anglo?"
>
> "To tell you the truth, I don't even have a sister."
>
> "Now, you see that girl over there? . . . She's a Native. Her name's Viola. She speaks Spanish and English, and she's Catholic. Don't ever make the mistake of calling her a Mexican. Her brother will kill you. Of course, if you call her a Creole she'll get confused as hell and think you mean she's part Negro—that is, part dark-skinned Anglo—and her brother will kill you again. So think of her as a Native, unless you're comparing her with an Indian. Then she's 'white.' Got it?"
>
> "I think so," I said. "But what about the Negro?"

> "I already explained that to you. He's an Anglo. That is, he's an Anglo unless you're differentiating between him and an Indian. Then *he's* 'white.' I admit he's awfully dark to be white, but that's the way it goes around here. . . ."[37]

I grew up in a New Mexican town not far from the setting of Bradford's novel, which I read as a young teen. His depictions of white and black racial identity as relativistic concepts resonated with my experiences and with the historical contexts within those communities. Unlike North Carolina or Georgia, New Mexico is not culturally situated in the South and is geographically removed from the formative tensions and events that shaped Georgia and North Carolina. That is not to say that the region is entirely isolated from the same historical forces and events that gave rise to the New South's identity and its accompanying racial delineations. As Civil War buffs undoubtedly know, a strategically decisive battle of the war was fought in the same mountain range as Josh and Steenie's New Mexican town. The Battle of Glorieta Pass in March 1862 marked the attempt by a few hundred Texan Confederate soldiers to move west through the territory that is now New Mexico and secure a supply route to California. Their efforts were halted by a group of Colorado volunteers who marched south in time to join with local (Union) troops and intercept the Texans at Glorieta Pass. While the battle lines were officially drawn along the terms of Federals and Rebels, some contemporary accounts remind readers that "the word 'Confederate' meant nearly nothing to [the local troops]," and instead motivation was drawn from rivalries and hatred between New Mexicans, Texans, Indians, and Americans, all of whom were identified with the vocabulary of race.[38] In other words, the local history was steeped in traditions of racial identity that were a far cry from the black/white binary that affected politics and cultural history so profoundly in the southeastern states.

Albuquerque, New Mexico, is 1,500 miles away from Atlanta, but even more distant in other parameters. The 2000 Census reported that Albuquerque residents self-identified as only 3.1 percent black, which is one and a half times the state's average. Four decades after Bradford's novel, distinctions of identity in New Mexico still fall not along the lines of black and white, but rather along the lines of Anglo and Hispanic, drawing more heavily on concepts of ethnicity than of race. Yet the very notion of binary categories of any sort fails miserably from the outset: 39.9 percent of the population identify themselves as "Hispanic or of Latino origin;" 71.6 percent identify themselves as "white." Nearly one-fifth of the population reported more than one race or else a race not listed on the forms and not compatible with any of the categorizations

used by the U.S. Census Bureau (see Figure 3). Perhaps nowhere else in the United States are ideas of race and ethnicity determined more locally and in relativistic terms than in this land that has been shared among white ranchers, dozens of distinct Native American tribes, and Hispanic settlers.[39]

From a musical perspective, New Mexico sits squarely within the country dance region. Along with its neighboring states of Texas, Colorado, and Oklahoma, New Mexico has fostered a long-standing tradition of partner dancing that has been passed from generation to generation and treated organically within each community. I recall from my childhood no distinctions between local bands that played for dances and local bands that played for concerts—all country concerts were dances, and all country dances were concerts, whether held in a parking lot or at a community center. The western swing that Bob Wills and his Texas Playboys cultivated in the 1930s became native culture throughout the region, mingled with the dance band traditions that migrated north from Hispanic culture. The honky-tonk venues that dotted the western landscape in the years immediately before and after World War II solidified the sense of ownership over country music, which still pervades the region today. For contemporary fans, that music includes the same Nashville-based commercial recordings and cultivated artists heard on the radio stations and in the dance halls of North Carolina and Georgia. Yet, at the same time, the traditions of Tejano and Norteño bands are viewed as equally native and tied to the dance culture, and local country bands blend those sounds in their music.

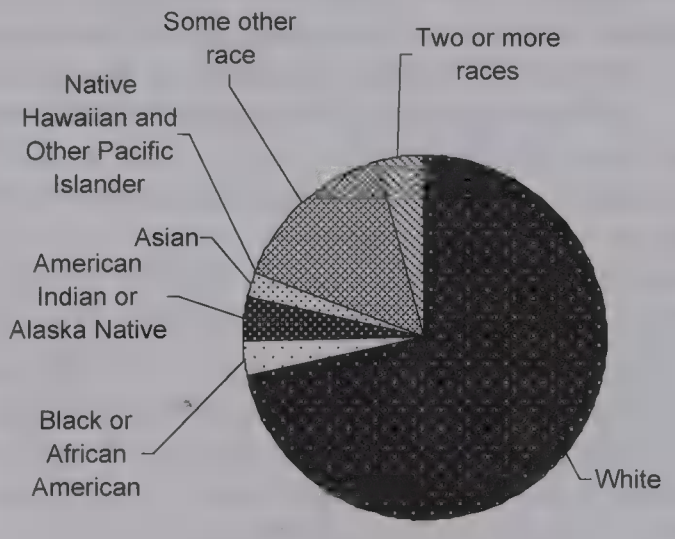

Figure 3. U.S. Census Bureau data on race for Albuquerque, New Mexico, 2000.

On a Saturday night in mid-July 2006, the crowds at Albuquerque's Caravan East were entertained by two bands: the Washboys, a traditional honky-tonk country band, and Donna Christina con sus Aguilas, a Norteño band described as playing "New Mexican" music, traded sets on a crowded stage. The dance floor was packed with couples, whose dance styles and steps changed with each new song. Two-steps worked for some of the honky-tonk tunes; merengue was favored for the Norteño band, with the occasional cha-cha, salsa, and polka tossed in. What was most salient to the observer was that the crowd danced with the same ease with which they breathed or talked to one another.

Outside, a battered sign marks the dance hall's location, reflecting the prominence of dancing in the club's identity and its apparent stature in the world of country bars (see Figure 4). Even in the dance-centric culture of Atlanta's Hoedown's, the DJ took time before most songs to instruct the dancers as to which dance would be done next, and he coordinated the line dances from his booth. But at Caravan East, the fan community simply absorbed the music into its natural movements. The nightclub's building seemed singularly unsuited for its purpose: the low, drive-through portico out front, two-wing design, and dropped

Figure 4. Parking lot sign for Caravan East, 7605 Central Ave NE, in Albuquerque, New Mexico. Photograph by Meredith Neal.

ceiling evoked the architecture of the budget-rate hotels that line Route 66 as it winds its way through New Mexico. Inside, the space was cramped, with tables interrupting all natural routes, bars tucked into back corners, and no sense that the building was guiding patrons toward particular behaviors. Instead, the music and dance were the organic forces that fueled the crowd's energy and simply appropriated whatever space was available.

There was approximately the same percentage of black dancers in the club as there is across the state's population, but the identity of blackness seemed far less relevant than whether or not the patrons spoke Spanish and whether or not they were able to communicate through the medium of the environment, namely, partner dancing. In a city that lacks a large black community in the first place, country music's dance hall identity was not defined in opposition to any racially distinct "other."

Not far from Caravan East, another of Albuquerque's country dance halls, Denim & Diamonds, is ensconced in one of the nightclub multiplexes that advertises several clubs under one roof.[40] A local Web site listing the best places for country dancing in Albuquerque describes Denim & Diamonds as "Country variety (with a little salsa!)"[41] Much like Caravan East, this club's conception of country music reflects cultural demographics that are unique to the region. In Raleigh, North Carolina, there is a sharp distinction between salsa dance venues and country dance venues, and patrons seldom venture across cultural lines from one to the other, either physically or stylistically. There, country is white (and specifically non-Latino), and salsa is Latino.[42] But in Albuquerque, country is not white but rather "native," which means both Anglo and Hispanic, as long as the music facilitates dancing in the decades-old tradition, and salsa and country can blend on the same dance floor.

It's Not All Black and White

Even in scholarly texts that lay out the most compelling arguments for understanding country music in racially delineated and essentially white terms, most authors acknowledge that the musical genre itself is a composite of cultural fragments. For instance, in his treatise on southern working-class identity and country music, Bill Malone confirms, "The working people discussed [here] did not constitute a homogeneous body. They were diverse in residence, religion, occupation, ethnicity, and even in politics. . . . They weren't all white (and a substantial number were not Protestants). Their culture and their music were

remarkable blendings of ethnic, racial, traditional, and modern traits."[43] Nonetheless, Malone ties them together via shared rural experiences and social histories into a conception of southern identity.

Within country dance halls, however, fans who fall far beyond the reaches of the South are adopting and embodying country music and dance in widely disparate ways. The varied personal identities expressed through that process, both racial and social, argue against any interpretation of the country music industry as an artistic monolith undifferentiated in its commercialized productions. It is, instead, a music waiting for individuals and local communities to inscribe on it their signature identities, shaped and cultivated through shared experiences, local history, and regional conceptions of difference. Many college campuses and coffee houses are currently rife with the rhetoric that local and regional art forms are under dire threat from the apparent dilution and homogenization imposed upon hapless listeners by the corporate music industry. Filmmakers Andrew Shapter and Joel Rasmussen are finding attentive and sympathetic audiences for their recent project, *Before the Music Dies*, which they advertise as an attempt to "understand why mainstream music seems so packaged and repetitive."[44] But the ways in which commercial country music is consumed by fans, even in as similar a set of venues as the large urban dance halls considered here, suggests that country music offers a means for its listeners to express or perform many nuanced identities. Viewed as part of the symbiotic nexus of musicians, recordings, radio, listeners, and fan culture as practiced in various venues, it appears that country is under no threat of losing its diversity, complexity, and chameleon nature.

At a Montgomery Gentry concert in Charlottesville, Virginia, during the summer of 2006, four men, all in their early twenties, were standing at the back drinking beer. One was black, three were white. I asked them why they had chosen to attend the concert. They laughed and answered, "Um, well, we knew a guy and got some free tickets. . . ." "And maybe to meet girls," another chimed in. A few feet away, two young women, decked out in cowboy hats, were belting out every song with the band. One was black, one was white. I asked them the same question. One responded, "We're from a one-horse town, just like in the songs! We're real *small-town* country fans, you know, we just *are* country." When country fans take their music to heart, and more important, under foot, they are performing alongside the musicians, telling stories of their past and present, of regional history and local identity, of personal negotiations and communal triumphs. And those performances do not always emerge in black and white.

Notes

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1. "Act Naturally" was cowritten by Johnny Russell and Voni Morrison, and Owens's recording of it was a number-one country hit on the *Billboard* charts in 1963. Bakersfield refers to a style of country music made famous during the late 1950s and '60s, particularly by artists Merle Haggard and Buck Owens. The "Bakersfield sound" originated in the honky-tonks of Bakersfield, California, and emphasized Fender Telecaster guitars, shuffle rhythms, and bands whose aesthetic approaches were seen as a continuation of the hard-edged honky-tonk sounds of the 1950s, in contrast to the orchestrated, pop-crossover trends in Nashville's studio production of the 1960s.

2. *Remember the Titans*, directed by Boas Yakin, was produced by Jerry Bruckheimer Films and Walt Disney Pictures in 2000. The film grossed over $115 million.

3. See James Miller, *Flowers in the Dustbin: The Rise of Rock and Roll, 1947–1977* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1999), 86, and John Covach, *What's That Sound? An Introduction to Rock and Its History* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2006), 49.

4. In *Lost Highway: The True Story of Country Music* (Washington DC: Smithsonian Books, 2003), Colin Escott articulates the situation of modern, Top-40 country as follows: "[At the turn of the century,] music as a commodity had cheapened itself by becoming ubiquitous, and there seemed to be an all-pervasive lack of interest in any new artist. . . . In country, the most frequent complaint was that the artists looked and sounded the same" (172). Escott continues with the explanation that, as a marketing strategy, radio stations purposefully seek music that maintains the same sonic parameters. Indeed, the basic concept of "format" radio stations, the presence of trade publications like *Billboard* that chart songs' airplay, and the conglomerates such as Clear Channel that condense ownership of thousands of radio stations to just a few corporations all reinforce this situation.

5. The Nashville Network's show *Club Dance*, which aired from 1991 until 1999, attempted to represent a "typical" country dance hall. Other attempts to formalize and standardize country dancing are documented in my chapter "The Rhythms of Gender in the Country Dance Hall," in *A Boy Named Sue: Gender and Country Music*, ed. Kristine McCusker and Diane Pecknold (Jackson, MS: University of Mississippi Press, 2004), 132–54.

6. I point out the commonality of alcohol as part of these venues to differentiate them from other types of country dance venues, such as the family-oriented barn dances held in some parts of the country, usually "dry," that involve substantially different fan demographics, dance practices, and musical repertories. Sociological comparisons between a liquor-licensed nightclub, on one hand, and a Sunday-afternoon family barn dance, on the other, would be far less compelling than comparisons between venues that serve a parallel demographic and feature many surface similarities.

7. Ethnographic studies of dance venues and practices have been used successfully in other musicological studies, including Sarah Thornton, *Club Cultures: Music, Media,*

and Subcultural Capital (Hanover, NH: Wesleyan University Press, 1996), and Joseph Schloss, "'Like Old Folk Songs Handed Down from Generation to Generation': History, Canon, and Community in B-Boy Culture," *Ethnomusicology* 50 (Fall 2006): 411–32.

8. Kelefa Sanneh, "Country Music? Whose Country?" Performing Arts/Weekend Desk, *New York Times*, 11 November 2005 (emphasis added).

9. James C. Cobb, *Away Down South: A History of Southern Identity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 226.

10. In *Dreaming Out Loud: Garth Brooks, Wynonna Judd, Wade Hayes, and the Changing Face of Nashville* (New York: Avon Books, 1998), journalist Bruce Feiler writes compellingly about his own initial distaste for country music, spurred by his stereotyped associations between country music and all things negative about the South that he "abhorred—hay bales, banjos, overalls, bigotry" (7). But in both the persona and the crossover music of Garth Brooks, Feiler found new and deep affection for country.

11. Edward Morris's "News Main" article on CMT.com, Friday, 25 June 2004, was titled "Rednecks on the Rebound," http://www.cmt.com/artists/news/1488680/06252004/wilson_gretchen.jhtml.

12. Cowritten by John Rich and Gretchen Wilson, the song was included in *Here for the Party* (Epic 90903, 2004).

13. Note, of course, that most songs are not intrinsically "country" at all; rather, individual performances are. So when a black R&B artist covers a song in an R&B style, the performance itself is no longer country by genre association. An interesting three-CD compilation of black artists' country recordings is *From Where I Stand: The Black Experience in Country Music* (Warner Bros. 46428, 1998).

14. Paul Davis, *George Hamilton IV: The Ambassador of Country Music* (London: HarperCollins, 2000), 80.

15. It would be wrong to discount the fact that there are some strains of country music that espouse explicit and sometimes violently bigoted opinions on racial discrimination, but that music is not part of either the mainstream music industry or the mainstream country fan culture, and the extreme nature of such views is not echoed in the broader country music scene.

16. *Dreamgirls*, released by DreamWorks SKG in 2006 and nominated for eight Academy Awards, is a fictionalized retelling of the story of Diana Ross and the Supremes. It includes pointed dialogue accusing white artists of covering black songs and capturing the commercial market for those songs. Ronald Radano's *Lying Up a Nation: Race and Black Music* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2003) invites the reader to hear black music "as a sound form expressive simultaneously of both the difference of blackness and the relation of black to white," in both instances relying on the black/white duality as a framework (276).

17. See http://factfinder.census.gov/servlet/SAFFFacts?_event=&geo_id=16000US3722920&_geoContext=01000US%7C04000US37%7C16000US3722920&_street=&_county=fayetteville&_cityTown=fayetteville&_state=04000US37&_zip=&_lang=en&_sse=on&ActiveGeoDiv=&_useEV=&pctxt=fph&pgsl=160&_submenuId=factsheet_1&ds_name=ACS_2005_SAFF&_ci_nbr=null&qr_name=null&reg=&_keyword=&_industry=.

18. Walter Benn Michaels, *The Trouble with Diversity* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2006), 37.

19. See the pop-up window on the Web site, accessed through "Explain Race or Ethnic Groups," at http://factfinder.census.gov/servlet/SAFFFactsCharIteration?_event=&geo_id=16000US3722920&_geoContext=01000US%7C04000US37%7C16000US3722920&_street=&_county=fayetteville&_cityTown=fayetteville&_state=04000US37&_zip=&_lang=en&_sse=on&ActiveGeoDiv=&_useEV=&pctxt=fph&pgsl=160&_submenuId=factsheet_2&ds_name=DEC_2000_SAFF&_ci_nbr=null&qr_name=null&reg=null%3Anull&_keyword=&_industry=.

20. In discussions of race and ethnicity, "ethnicity" refers to shared cultural experiences or origins without regard to racial identity; obviously, the two terms overlap and distinctions become cloudy in contemporary American discussions of racial identity. However, the Census data treats the two categories as distinct and asks respondents of all races whether or not they self-identify as Hispanic; therefore the percentage of the population who identify as Hispanic can be drawn from any combination of racial respondents.

21. See, for instance, Charles Wolfe, "Rural Black String Band Music (in Religious and Secular Influences)," *Black Music Research Journal* 10 (Spring 1990): 32–35, or the album *White Country Blues, 1926–1938: A Lighter Shade of Blue* (Columbia/Legacy C2K-47466, 1993).

22. Bill C. Malone, *Don't Get above Your Raisin': Country Music and the Southern Working Class* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002).

23. James C. Cobb, *Redefining Southern Culture: Mind and Identity in the Modern South* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1999), 125–26.

24. Peter Applebome, *Dixie Rising: How the South is Shaping American Values, Politics and Culture* (New York: Times Books, 1996), 339.

25. Jenny Jarvie, "Atlanta Tune Skips a Beat in the 'Burbs," *Los Angeles Times*, 11 December 2005, http://www.amren.com/mtnews/archives/2005/12/atlanta_tune_skips_a_beat_in_t.php.

26. Nick Marinon, "Seems ATL's Not the Kinda [*sic*] Town Bold Enough for a Hip-Hop Anthem," Living sec., *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, 7 November 2005.

27. Malone, *Don't Get above Your Raisin'*, 162.

28. These generalizations hold true for the nightclubs discussed in this essay in North Carolina; for more details, see Neal, "Rhythms of Gender."

29. See http://www.cowboysatlanta.com/ (accessed 5 March 2007).

30. The dancers I interviewed and danced with at Hoedown's included fans who had driven from Florida solely to spend an evening there. A travel guide linked through the International Association of Gay/Lesbian Country Western Dance Clubs (IAGLCWDC) Web site (http://www.iaglcwdc.org/main.php) lists Hoedown's (http://home.earthlink.net/~travelguide/USA/georgia.html). The club was also one of the gold sponsors for the 14th annual IAGLCWDC convention in May 2007.

31. Julia (played by Dixie Carter), in *Designing Women*, season 1, episode 2 ("The Beauty Contest").

32. Song by Bobby Russell, included on Reba McEntire's album *For My Broken Heart* (MCA MCAD-10400, 1991). The song had also been a hit two decades earlier for country singer Vicki Lawrence.

33. See Neal, "Rhythms of Gender," 132–54.

34. Within the eight months that I attended Hoedown's, the club underwent two complete changes in management, and many of the common practices on the dance floor began to change. Nightclubs are, by their very nature, subject to trends and transitions. By the time I concluded my observations there in the spring of 2007, a drag show had been introduced, some of the regular dancers had stopped attending as frequently, and those who did dance were including more dances (besides the two-step) than they had only a few months earlier. Nonetheless, all the observations presented here capture the nightclub's general contributions to the Atlanta country bar scene over the span of several months.

35. This assumption of a right-wing political stance does not withstand critical examination either at all times in country music's recorded history or across all artists and songs in the genre. The confrontations between the Dixie Chicks and Toby Keith are only the latest in a long tradition of such musicopolitical debates.

36. The amendment passed with a three-to-one margin in Georgia, which was one of eleven states (along with Arkansas, Kentucky, Michigan, Mississippi, Montana, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Ohio, Utah, and Oregon) to pass such an amendment in the November 2004 election.

37. Richard Bradford, *Red Sky at Morning* (New York: HarperCollins, 1968), 36–37. Copyright © 1968 by Richard Bradford; renewed © 1996 by Richard Bradford. Reprinted by permission of HarperCollins Publishers.

38. Hampton Sides, *Blood and Thunder: An Epic of the American West* (New York: Doubleday, 2006), 280. Sides discusses the use of racial terms for Americans and other groups on pp. 278–81.

39. The Hispanic individuals with whom I spoke in Albuquerque strongly preferred the term "Hispanic" to "Latino/a," in contrast with prevalent terminology in North Carolina, for instance.

40. Denim & Diamonds is part of a chain of nightclubs owned by Graham Brothers Entertainment, each an "entertainment complex" known as Graham Central Station.

41. See http://www.nmdance.com/dance_halls/dance_halls.htm#caravaneast (accessed 8 October 2006).

42. Even the distinctions in the usage of Latino and Hispanic as common terminology are regionally determined.

43. Malone, *Don't Get above Your Raisin'*, viii.

44. See http://www.beforethemusicdies.com/blog/about-the-film.

Men, Women, and Turntables: Gender and the DJ Battle

Mark Katz

Two musicians occupy a small stage, readying themselves for battle. They are hip-hop DJs—or turntablists, as they often call themselves—and each stands in front of a table laid out with a pair of turntables, an audio mixer in between, and a pile of vinyl records to the side.[1] The first DJ is announced and unleashes a virtuosic collage of heavy beats, piercing record scratches, and fragments of song, all in a carefully planned ninety-second routine. A sense of confrontation is palpable, for the DJ gestures menacingly while playing recorded "disses"—insults culled from song lyrics or film or television dialogue—directed at the opponent, who stands glowering just a few feet away. The crowd, hooting and cheering, heightens the tension. When both turntablists have performed, a panel of judges names a winner, who continues to the next round. At the end of the night, after a champion has been crowned, the tension quickly dissipates. The DJs, who had flung vile curses at one another just minutes earlier, chat amicably.

The scene I just described is an example of a hip-hop DJ competition, or battle.[2] Most battle DJs are teenagers or young adults, and collectively they represent a wide array of races, ethnicities, and nationalities. The vast majority, however, are men.[3] This is true on all levels, from the one-off, bragging-rights-only battle to the international, summer-long events that offer substantial prizes and yield world champions. Consider, for example, the battles organized by DMC, the most recognized name in competitive turntablism. Among the thousands of DJs who have entered the organization's events since 1986, perhaps no more than ten have been women; only one—Kuttin Kandi—has progressed to the U.S. finals.[4] Even those who follow the scene would be hard pressed to name more than a few women battlers; in addition to Kandi they might include Jazzy Joyce and Pam the Funkstress, representing the "old school," and more recent figures such as Killa-Jewel and DJ Sparkles. To put this in a broader perspective, the

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U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics reported that in 2004 women made up 2.5 percent of those employed in the "construction and extraction occupations"—the category least populated by women. Yet when compared to DJing, the representation of women among the ranks of laborers and coal miners is positively robust.[5]

I am not the first to note that very few women battle; the matter has been a topic of conversation among hip-hop DJs for years. For example, in a recent discussion on the turntablist Web site Skratchworx.com, a DJ named Gizmo posted the following observation: "It seems to me that turntablism is somewhat lacking in (for want of a better non-trivializing tag) female DJs." "I can't think of any reasons," he continued, "why women can't be on the same stage as men and kick their asses black and blue."[6] Several DJs, both men and women, responded to the thread, titled "Where the Ladies At?" All agreed that more women could and should battle, and none could explain the gender imbalance. The combination of puzzlement and frustration has been a common response to the issue among DJs.

This article is, in part, an attempt to answer the question Gizmo and others often ask about women in the battle scene: where are they? This line of inquiry will take us only so far, however. As historian Ruth Oldenziel has explained, investigating why women seldom participate will not tell us all we want to know about the role of gender in a male-dominated activity. What she has written about gender and engineering applies well here:

> an exclusive focus on women's supposed failure to enter the field . . . is insufficient for understanding how our stereotypical notions have come into being; it tends to put the burden of proof entirely on women and to blame them for their supposedly inadequate socialization, their lack of aspiration, and their want of masculine values. An equally challenging question is why and how boys have come to love things technical, how boys have historically been socialized as technophiles.[7]

It is not enough, therefore, to ask why women rarely battle. Although I will in fact begin by considering the obstacles that women face, the largest part of this article will seek to understand why *men* battle, and how male technophilia has shaped the turntablist landscape. By way of conclusion I will suggest how ongoing developments in turntablism may in fact alter future gender dynamics among DJs. Along the way I will examine common North American attitudes about masculinity, femininity, competition, and technology as they bear on the DJ battle. Thus, what began as an apparently simple demographic observation

will lead, over the course of the following pages, to a broader investigation of music, machines, and identity.

* * *

Perhaps the most obvious explanation for the scarcity of women battlers is discrimination. Yet the situation is hardly clear, a fact that reveals the complexity of the scene's gender dynamics. As hip-hop publicist and former battle organizer Christie Z-Pabon has pointed out, "I never saw one incident where a woman was discouraged from battling. In fact, the battle DJ scene, though male dominated, is very supportive of women battling."[8] Indeed, many men have expressed the desire to see more women turntablists. When legendary DJ Q-Bert was once asked what he hoped the future of turntablism would bring, he immediately responded, "More girl DJs."[9] On the Skratchworx.com forum cited earlier, Kap'n KuTT enthused, "girls participating in battles would rock! Imagine a [battle] final between a guy and a girl . . . that would be so cool"; other male DJs said that they had actively encouraged women to become turntablists.[10] In fact, I have yet to hear a male DJ say that women cannot or should not battle.

Discrimination, however, can be more subtle. Even seemingly unambiguous statements of support can mask bias or harbor ulterior motives. Killa-Jewel, a Montreal DJ and one of the few women with extensive battle experience, has heard male battle DJs express their interest in greater female participation and offers several interpretations. "Maybe some of them are saying that to be politically correct, maybe some of them just want to see a sexy girl DJing on turntables, maybe some of them are genuinely hoping that more girls get into it because it's a cool thing to do."[11] These are not hypothetical possibilities: videos of Killa-Jewel's performances posted on the Web site YouTube.com, for example, have drawn the gamut of responses, from expressions of respect for her skills to lewd comments about her anatomy.[12] Clearly, not all of those who encourage or praise women DJs have the interests of women at heart.

Perhaps another ulterior motive for encouraging women is that their presence could help fulfill the "obligatory heterosexuality" that Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick has observed as crucial to the self-image of many male-dominated groups.[13] Because homosociality is often thought to suggest homosexuality, a few well-placed women send the signal that a group of men is not, in fact, queer. As Sedgwick pointed out, another way to demonstrate heterosexuality—or to offer the appearance of it—is through homophobic discourse. Indeed, one occasionally hears

homophobic disses in battle routines. In general, the battle scene—and hip-hop generally—does not seem particularly welcoming to queer people.[14] In any case, the tokenism that women DJs may experience could well have the effect of discouraging their full participation in the battle scene.

Hip-hop's sometimes virulent misogyny has also been cited as explanation for the near absence of women battlers. Rap lyrics and videos with degrading references and images are plentiful, and may have the effect of tainting the battle scene for some women. "Considering that so much misogyny exists in today's rap music," Christie Z-Pabon has suggested, "perhaps many conscientious women and girls just shut it out all together."[15] A contributing factor might be the atmosphere of the typical club where hip-hop is heard and DJs perform. Killa-Jewel notes that in clubs, women—whether as DJs or dancers—are often gawked at, encouraged to act lewdly, and "expected to be . . . the submissive."[16]

Thus, even though many male DJs welcome women, an environment that cultivates or simply tolerates sexism, misogyny, and homophobia is not the most welcoming place for women. Yet discrimination alone—whether overt or indirect—cannot explain the gender imbalance. For one thing, female MCs (rappers) face the same obstacles, and they seem to participate and thrive to a much greater extent than women turntablists. Moreover, outside of hip-hop there are proportionally more women DJs—those who spin records in dance clubs, for example—and they often face discrimination on a daily basis.[17] Nor does discrimination alone explain the genderedness of DJ battles. The explanation is deeper and more complex; it is structural. I will argue that the DJ battle itself is, to paraphrase sociologist Michael Kimmel, organized around attaining and demonstrating certain ideals of masculinity, and in doing so it promotes gender inequality within its confines.[18]

* * *

I propose that we understand the DJ battle as a "safe space" that allows young men to explore and develop a sense of masculine identity. Specifically, I will argue that it is a heroic model of masculinity that battles promote. To defend this interpretation, I will first suggest how turntable technology has come to be seen as the domain of men, and then examine the ways in which competition is often viewed through the lens of gender.

A century ago, especially in the United States, devotion to music was hardly thought to exemplify manliness—to show too great an interest in music was often to risk being seen as "sissy" or "soft."[19] Enter sound recording. The phonograph helped alleviate concerns about the

alleged effeminacy of music, because it allowed the art to be enjoyed in combination with the traditionally male pursuits of tinkering and "shop talk." Men who would not have called themselves music lovers embraced the phonograph; on the other hand, women were assumed (often unfairly) to be uninterested in the technology. In a curious parallel to the aforementioned Internet thread ("Where the Ladies At?"), a heated discussion arose in 1925 in the letters section of *Gramophone* called "Where Are the Ladies?" A reader calling himself Scrutator explained the question: "I am seriously perturbed, having been looking through the back numbers of our paper, to find an almost complete absence of the fair sex. Surely we have some fair readers in the fraternity, but where are they? Have *they* no interest in the great affairs of state such as needle-track alignment, sound-boxes, gaskets, etc., etc.? Are we a bachelor affair entirely, or are the sweet little things too shy, or what?"[20]

Several letters followed, both from men offering explanations for the situation and from women, who variously ridiculed the male obsession with all things mechanical or pointed out that some of the "fair sex" were indeed keen on the technology. Although women were often deeply involved with recording, the phonograph early on came to be seen as the domain of men, in part due to what I would argue was the active construction, by men, of the phonograph as masculine.[21] Men claimed the machine as their own, starting exclusive phonograph societies and developing a distinctly masculinist discourse around the technology. With the phonograph, music could even be a form of athletics—the act of conducting along with records, or "shadow conducting," was described in 1926 as "that most exhilarating phonographic indoor sport."[22] Despite the fact that women had traditionally presided over music making in the home and although other domestic technologies, such as the telephone, were seen as part of "feminine culture," the phonograph came to be seen as the province of men, not women.[23]

The connection between men and sound recording has drawn further strength from broader and longstanding stereotypes about male technological mastery and female technological anxiety. In Cynthia Cockburn's striking characterization, "femininity is incompatible with technological competence; to feel technically competent is to feel manly."[24] Such stereotypes can have great power, and for women they may even have the consequence of a self-fulfilling prophecy known as *stereotype threat*. Psychologists have shown that the mere awareness of stereotypes may lead girls to underperform in technological activities or to avoid them altogether, even if they initially denied these stereotypes

and believed themselves just as capable as boys.[25] Another consequence is that little support or training is available to young women who want to pursue technical interests, whether engineering or turntablism. What Tricia Rose notes of hip-hop music production, or beat making, is also true for turntablism: "Women in general are not encouraged in and are actively discouraged from learning about and using mechanical equipment. This takes place informally in socialization and formally in gender-segregated vocational tracking in public school curriculum. Given rap music's early reliance on stereo equipment, participating in rap music production requires mechanical and technical skills that women are much less likely to have developed."[26]

Young men, on the other hand, often have access to informal networks that enable them to learn in a supportive environment; nearly every male DJ I have interviewed has pointed to a relative, friend, or neighbor who acted as a teacher or mentor. While these networks are not necessarily discriminatory, they tend to perpetuate the underrepresentation of women, who might not feel comfortable spending time alone with groups of male DJs in the bedrooms and basements where they usually gather. Those few women who have succeeded in the battle scene typically have had to develop their skills outside these networks, and thus without the considerable benefits they provide. Kuttin Kandi, for example, learned the craft by herself and in secret. She revealed herself as a turntablist to her (now former) DJ boyfriend and to others only after she felt that she had advanced far enough to quell any doubts about her abilities.[27] We can see, then, that the paucity of women turntablists today is traceable to the masculinization of the phonograph in particular and of technology in general, both of which have had the effect of limiting opportunities for women DJs.

Technology, however, is not the only decisive factor in the gendering of the DJ battle. The other key factor is competition. In *Fighting for Life: Contest, Sexuality, and Consciousness*, Walter J. Ong observes that competition, or more broadly what he calls "adversativeness," is a basic fact of human life: "In war and in games, in work and in play, physically, intellectually, and morally, human beings match themselves with or against one another."[28] Adversativeness is not gender specific, however, and it would be a mistake to minimize the role that competition plays in the lives of women. Yet North American men and women have typically been socialized to compete in significantly different ways. As Leora Tanenbaum suggests in *Catfight: Women and Competition*, "girls and women internalize the idea that being aggressive is acceptable only for men, so we direct our aggression indirectly."[29] Ong

puts it somewhat differently, noting that while women "can be highly competitive . . . their competitiveness seldom if ever shows in the conspicuous, all-out, one-to-one ritual or ceremonial contest found among . . . males."[30] As is revealed by research on a variety of different activities in modern Western cultures—including conversation, sports, and video games—there are broadly observable differences in the ways that men and women tend to view and engage in competition.[31] To point this out, however, does not require an essentialist view of gender. Rather, we can simply say that certain pervasive ideals of femininity and masculinity valorize competition in distinct ways. Indeed, it is important to recognize these socially constructed differences if we are to understand the DJ battle as gendered.

In DJ battles, competition is often direct, aggressive, and public, embodying a stereotypically masculine adversativeness. Indeed, it is exactly this kind of competition that male DJs often say draws them to battle. Consider the example of DJ Immortal, an occasional battler who teaches at the Scratch DJ Academy in Miami. As a teenager he was inspired to become a turntablist after seeing the 1992 film *Juice*. Here's how he described his reaction to a scene that depicted a DJ battle: "They were battling, they were throwin' down. I saw them going back and forth, fighting each other with turntables. The crowd was totally eggin' 'em on. It was just this awesome instrument that I was seeing, the turntable. Plus that competitive element, too, where you could just *destroy* someone. It was like a real sport."[32] Rob Swift, one of the most recognized and respected figures in turntablism, has used similar metaphors in describing how he prepares for competition: "If I'm going to be in a battle and I know that your specialty is scratching I'm going to practice a scratch routine to take you out, you know? It's almost like you're preparing yourself for combat. You come up with strategies, it's like a war."[33] For DJ Babu—a San Francisco Bay Area DJ credited with coining the term *turntablism*—adversativeness has been a crucial part of his existence and even remained so after he stopped battling. "The battle experience," Babu has explained, "was a big part of my development . . . having that tension in my life for like five years. I still feel like I battle every day—it's just on a different level. My whole life is a battle."[34]

By contrast, a number of women turntablists have said that they avoid battling for precisely the reasons that men like Immortal, Swift, and Babu engage in it. DJ Short-e put it this way: "I don't want to battle, I think it's amazing but it's not in my heart. It's more of a musical thing for me; I don't really like competition in anything I do. I once entered a surf competition and it was not fun even though I did

OK, kinda took the soul and fun out of it for me."[35] Those few women who do compete typically cite battles as vehicles for self-improvement. When Kuttin Kandi was asked about her performance in the 1998 DMC U.S. finals, she responded, "I was there to just do my best and have fun. It wasn't just about winning, it was about being able to accomplish something meaningful. To be able to battle other skilled DJs, to be able to share the spotlight on stage with them, and to make it that far in such a short period of time, is an accomplishment."[36] Killa-Jewel offered a similar rationale: "I think what has always motivated me to battle is the fact that it forces me to improve on my skills. I never entered to win. I knew I wasn't the best DJ out there. But that wasn't my goal." "Battling," she added, as if in retort to her male colleagues, "is not a sport."[37]

It is important to note that male turntablists do not universally embrace the competitive nature of battling, nor do the women equally shun it. I have spoken with male DJs who, like Short-e cited above, say that battling simply is not for them. On the other hand, self-proclaimed "girl turntablist" Syentiffic responded to Short-e in this way: "I understand about not being competitive, too. I don't know a lot of competitive women in general, though I know some. Myself, I'm extremely competitive. I love competition and especially win[ning]. And I have some kind of weird inner drive to keep going until I'm at the top."[38] Yet, as she suggests, her attitude is not common among women DJs. For the most part, the women who battle seem not to be playing the same game as the men, if in fact they are playing a game at all. Directing their energies inward rather than outward, many repurpose the battle to meet their own needs, ignoring or eschewing its overtly competitive aspects.

For men who battle, the competitive nature of the activity can serve a variety of purposes. More than an end in itself, this adversativeness allows young men to engage in what might be called identity work. The idea of work here is crucial, because the creation of identity, though influenced by biology and socialization, is not a passive process. Identities are constantly being developed and refined, and can be invented and reinvented, discarded and replaced, fractured and multiplied. Battles, a kind of liminal space set apart from everyday life, are particularly conducive to radical identity work. A young man entering a battle does not enter as the unpopular teenager, the debt-laden single father, or even the well-adjusted, high-achieving university student. He enters with a new name and a distinct personality. Often DJs choose noms de guerre that hint at menace or extraordinary abilities—Craze, Enferno, Immortal, Pimp, Ruin, Savage,

Troubl. Yet whatever the name, coming armed with a battle moniker reflects the freedom to create a fantasy self, one that may be more clever, confident, intimidating, or powerful than his nonbattle self. Once onstage, he can make outrageous claims about himself or others (through boasts or disses), vanquish foes, and even claim global conquest by winning competitions such as the DMC Battle for World Supremacy.

Of course, women who battle are engaged in identity work as well. Yet the battles offer something specifically to men: the possibility of realizing certain widely held ideals of masculinity. In American culture, there is, in the words of Douglas Holt and Craig Thompson, an "ideology of heroic masculinity [that] presents men with a dialectical invitation to dramatic self-construction."[39] This heteronormative ideal is not the only model of masculinity, but it is a dominant one, to which many men feel obliged to conform. Yet most men cannot be heroes in any literal sense, so they find other means to construct themselves as heroically masculine. They can do this, as Holt and Thompson argue, through the ways in which they frame their leisure activities and consumption of goods and services:

> Men who identify with the swaggering characters found in techno-thrillers, business journalism, and politics are able to reconstruct the man-of-action figure in a more subtle and plausible form that fits their everyday consumption. Working with the most mundane consumer activities, men are able to cultivate a sense that important matters are at stake and that the success of one's actions are vital, even though there is no clear and present danger animating the scene.[40]

This insight is relevant here, for the DJ battle also gives men the opportunity to cultivate a sense of heroic masculinity. Indeed, it would be particularly apt to describe the significance of the battle for men as an "invitation to dramatic self-construction." Moreover, the battle, though it offers an atmosphere charged with tension, adrenaline, and not a little testosterone, does so in the absence of any "clear and present danger," and thus operates, as I have suggested, as a safe space.

For male turntablists, the possibility of attaining such heroic masculinity is likely to be particularly appealing. This is because, as many freely admit, they tend to fall into a category that is hardly celebrated as manly: the nerd. Although they inhabit the world of hip-hop, turntablists are not the bling-wearing, gun-slinging, macho ladies' men celebrated in gangsta rap lyrics and videos. They are often unassuming and quiet—"We speak with our hands," they often say.

Moreover, they spend long stretches alone, a consequence of the hours of daily practice that their craft demands. As DJ Beware has explained, "You spend the whole day at home rubbing records and pushing buttons, while your friends are out there having fun. No matter how hard you try not to, all you end up talking about is scratching this and scratching that. Instead of brushing your teeth, the first thing you do in the morning is to put on records and scratch."[41] Many turntablists actually embrace the "nerd" label. Several go by the handle DJ Nerd (or some variant). Two of the most respected battle DJs, Craze and Klever, called their 2002 collaborative CD *Scratch Nerds*. And the renowned DJ Qbert has proclaimed, "I am a nerd. Fuck yeah! Proud of it!"[42] Yet I would suggest that many turntablists embrace their art precisely because it allows them, at least for brief periods, to transcend their nerdishness. For DJ Pone, turntablism was a way for a "shy, video-game-playing guy to kinda be at a party without being a wallflower. You were there, kinda commanding it."[43] For the duration of a party, a DJ can be a hip tastemaker; for the length of a battle routine, the turntablist can be a conquering hero. All of this can be accomplished without ever uttering a word. Turntablism, and battling in particular, allows geeks to be cool.

In the safe space of the DJ battle, young men also have free rein to explore attitudes and actions that, although considered typically or stereotypically masculine, are seen as increasingly unacceptable in many cultures. Consider the "boys will be boys" behavior of the typical battle—the macho posturing, the obscene insults and gestures, the unchecked arrogance. And it is significant that a synonym for turntablism is scratching. Scratching things is a destructive act, and scratching oneself is, well, rude. The British call such behavior "laddish," and indeed many battlers are adolescents, navigating the treacherous passage from childhood to adulthood. Young men who battle are testing limits (their own as well as society's) and trying out new emotions and behaviors. In this sense, we might compare DJ battles to the violent first-person video games that have great appeal among young men. Both may be understood as providing safe spaces for their male participants. Gaming scholar Jeroen Jansz has written of the "safe, private laboratory of the video game." In such a space, "the adolescent can freely experiment with emotions and identities, which may help him cope with the insecurities of adolescent life."[44] While these fantasy selves might be seen merely as masks behind which DJs can engage in boorishness and simulated violence, I would argue that the identity work going on in the battle scene is deeper and more complex. We should consider as instructive the moniker of the 2004 and 2005 DMC

World Champion: I.Emerge. His name could well describe the process that DJs undergo in the course of relentless training and intense battling. As they play with and test identities they also, in the process, both discover and create their senses of self. Saturated with male-gendered discourse, behavior, and metaphor, the turntablist battle can therefore be understood as a quintessential vehicle for the expression and exploration of masculine identity.

* * *

All that I have written about the battle scene in the preceding pages should come with the following qualifier: *as it is now constituted.* As institutions change, so do the gender dynamics within them. In the final section of this article, I would like to discuss two ongoing developments in turntablism of great consequence to the battle world, both of which may affect the role of men and women in it. The first development concerns the expansion of opportunities for women; the second relates to changes in turntable technology.

Although women turntablists are still rare (and battlers rarer), their numbers have increased over the past few years. This change may be linked to three recent phenomena: the so-called DJ "academy," the all-female DJ collective, and the all-female DJ battle. As previously mentioned, turntablism has for much of its history been taught informally, typically one-on-one or in small groups among friends, relatives, and neighbors. Recently, however, schools dedicated to teaching the art of the DJ have opened throughout North America and the world. The best known are the branches of the Scratch DJ Academy—the first opened in New York in 2002, with others in Los Angeles and Miami following.[45] Other schools have sprung up in Berkeley, Boston, Montreal, Toronto, London, Sydney, Paris, and Shanghai. Unlike the bedrooms and basements of young men, academy classrooms are public and are more likely to be seen as neutral and unthreatening. The academies may thus prove crucial for increasing female involvement. As Killa-Jewel has explained, "by having these schools where you have teachers that are very respectful you can be a girl and not have to risk feeling uncomfortable around guys. I think it's an excellent way for girls to start learning."[46] Indeed, more women are taking DJ classes. For example, at New York's Scratch DJ Academy 40 percent of students enrolled during the 2006–2007 school year were women.[47]

Female participation has also been promoted in recent years by the establishment of collectives of women DJs. Consider two examples: Females wit' Funk and Anomolies. The former was founded in 2005 for

"the simple mission of getting more ladies involved in the art of turntablism."[48] (Its Web site proclaims, in a postfeminist twist, that it showcases both "the hottest ladies on the cut" and "the most respected women in turntablism.") Females wit' Funk is a virtual community—its twenty members hail from Canada, England, France, Spain, and the United States—and the only space the DJs occupy together is its Web site. The site profiles each member, provides contact information, lists members' upcoming events, and includes photos, videos, and sound clips. Anomolies, a collective cofounded by Kuttin Kandi in 1997, represents women throughout hip-hop—DJs, MCs, and b-girls (break-dancers) alike. Its purpose is "to provide a space for women to: develop themselves as artists, make a living through their art while maintaining personal and professional integrity, [and] build a strong support and resource network of other committed and passionate artists."[49] Its mission is feminist and activist. The group, whose name contains the words "no mo[re] lies," seeks to expose the "misrepresentations of women as two-dimensional stereotypes."[50] In this way, Anomolies embodies the message Queen Latifah and Monie Love broadcast in their 1989 rap "Ladies First," a song which, by no coincidence, Kandi often featured in her battle routines:

> They see a woman standing up on her own two
> Sloppy slouching is something I won't do
> Some think that we can't flow
> Stereotypes, they got to go
> I'ma mess around and flip the scene into reverse
> With what? With a little touch of "Ladies First"

Anomolies, Females wit' Funk, and like groups are generating exposure, business, and respect for their members; their success might well also encourage more women to become DJs in the first place.[51]

Will DJ academies and female collectives change the battle scene? It is hard to say, for an increase in the number of women DJs does not necessarily mean that more women will want to battle. Perhaps, however, more DJs like Killa-Jewel and Kuttin Kandi will decide to battle on their own terms, and, if so, we might see a transformation in the form and function of battles.

In fact, such a transformation might be under way. In New York City in November 2005 (and again a year later), Tachelle Wilkes and Danielle Brantley organized She's My DJ—probably the first all-female battle. According to Wilkes, She's My DJ is a way to "bring back the love to hip-hop and bring back respect for women."[52] The decision to

use the showcase format—where DJs each perform in turn rather than compete head-to-head in elimination rounds—was significant:

> The reason we decided not to do it head-to-head is because we just wanted it to be more a showcase for women's talents. We wanted to give women that room to breathe, just a bit, so they could come out and feel a little bit more comfortable with competing. Competition itself can be a little bit abrasive. Women are capable of doing the head-to-head, but . . . we just felt that the showcase would be best just to bring women out of the woodwork.[53]

It is also worth noting that it was not just prizes or bragging rights that the winners received, but "support" and "nurturing," to use Wilkes's words. (Note the similarity to the Anomolies' goal of "build[ing] a strong support and resource network.") Among other things, battle winners were given scholarships to the New York Scratch DJ Academy. In structure and function, then, She's My DJ provides an alternative to the current model, offering competition but not confrontation and rewarding winners with the means to improve, and not simply prove, themselves.

Not all women embrace the idea of single-sex battles. Some worry that separation will never promote equality. Killa-Jewel, for one, is decidedly ambivalent:

> I don't necessarily think that it's a bad thing, but I don't think it's a good thing either, and I'll tell you why. I think it's a good way for girls to get out there and start getting used to battling, and to start getting used to performing. But as a female DJ . . . I've always tried to prove . . . that there is no difference between a girl and a guy on the turntables in terms of skills. Turntables are musical instruments and it has nothing to do with what sex you are. So . . . an all-female show or an all-female DJ battle is making that point—that girls are different from guys.[54]

Christie Z-Pabon, the former battle organizer quoted earlier, is less equivocal: "I have never supported all-female DJ battles in general, no matter who is throwing them." "There is nothing," she insists, "physically keeping girls/women from winning the nationally recognized battles that include men."[55] DJ Syentiffic came out even more decisively in a recent Internet discussion: "Do I want a female competition? No. I'm equal to any man, and if he has a problem with it . . . BRING IT ON!!"[56] Given this resistance, as well as the rarity of battles like She's My DJ, it is difficult to gauge what effect such competitions will have on the battle scene at large, or to predict at this point whether they will flourish or fade. Yet if, as Killa-Jewel posited, competitions for women

serve to make the battle scene more gender-balanced, the influence of the phenomenon could be far-reaching, however short-lived it might be.

In addition to the increased access to turntablism that women are starting to enjoy, another development promises substantial change as well. Two new types of technologies are bringing turntablism into the digital era; their impact on women DJs, though not yet clear, could be profound. The first is a new type of turntable—the CD turntable.[57] These machines play standard CDs, which, as with traditional players, are safely ensconced within the unit. However, they allow DJs to manipulate the sound of the CD through a simulated record platter, much like they manipulate vinyl records on standard turntables. (The movements of the platter are converted into signals that transform the sound of the spinning disc; if the platter is moved back and forth rapidly it will sound as if the CD were being scratched, even though it spins unmolested.) These players offer distinct advantages to the DJ. It is a much simpler matter to find, repeat, and manipulate particular recorded passages than with traditional turntables, and one need not worry about replacing cartridges or wearing out records. Moreover, with inexpensive CD burners, DJs can easily compile their own individualized battle recordings from other CDs or from digital files pulled from the Internet.

The other digital system is not a new type of turntable, but an interface that links standard players to a laptop computer.[58] Instead of using commercially released vinyl records, the DJ uses two specially made discs that contain only a straight tone. This tone is not heard, but rather acts as a signal that, when routed through a small piece of hardware that connects the mixer with the laptop, controls the sound of MP3s or other sound files stored on the computer. The process is complicated, but the result is simple. With these systems, one plays MP3s by manipulating "dummy" vinyl records. Thus DJs can use turntables and records much as they have been for decades, but without having to search for and buy rare or expensive records or carry heavy crates of fragile vinyl discs to performances.

Both systems have gained popularity in the past few years, and may well revolutionize the art of the DJ. But what impact might they have specifically on women? I would suggest that these technologies have the potential to reduce the importance of two activities connected with turntablism that have long been seen as stereotypically masculine: record collecting and equipment repair. First, because these systems use CDs and MP3s, they practically eliminate the need for what DJs call "digging in the crates"—the dogged, even obsessive search for vinyl discs in record shops, thrift stores, Dumpsters, and elsewhere. Although record collecting can be seen as a gender-neutral activity, it has long

been strongly associated with men.[59] Digging in the crates, in particular, is often spoken of by DJs as a physically demanding, even treacherous activity, an Indiana Jones-like adventure that suggests hunting rather than gathering. So although anyone can buy records, the macho culture of digging helps reinforce the sense that turntablism is a masculine pursuit. Second, compared to traditional record players, the new CD turntables require tinkering to a much lesser degree, thus reducing the role of the traditionally male-dominated discourse of "shop talk" that arose around the earlier technologies.[60] Perhaps with digital technology, then, turntablism will come to shed some of the phonograph's masculinist associations.

It is impossible to say exactly what effect the two developments just described—an increase in female participation in turntablism and the introduction of digital systems—will have on battling. One general change, however, is clear: both developments will have the effect of lowering barriers to entry into the world of turntablism—for both men and women. That is, it will simply be easier for anyone to become a DJ. The impact of this change, however, is likely to be more pronounced among women, given their current scarcity. Indeed, more women are learning the art of turntablism, more are performing in public, and more—a few more—are battling. Can we therefore expect to see a battle scene equally populated by women and men, or will it remain a strongly male-gendered space with a permanent minority of women? The answer will depend on a complex set of negotiations among turntablists, between turntablists and equipment manufacturers, and, more broadly, between and among men and women. The future of an art form rests in the outcome of these negotiations.

In this article I have sought to understand the gender implications of the turntablist battle. The battle is at present a gendered space that affords young men the opportunity to explore and develop their sense of identity while serving to reinscribe certain masculine ideals. Moreover, the phenomenon demonstrates how assumptions about gender and technology can be mapped onto musical instruments, how these assumptions influence the activities of musicians, and how musical competition can be a vehicle for intense identity work. Given the increasing focus on competition as well as the ubiquity of technology in our modern musical life, the implications of this study have the potential to reach well beyond the battle scene. There is thus much we can learn by observing the interactions of men, women, and turntables.

Notes

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1. Although there are many other types of DJs (such as radio DJs and club DJs) involved in every genre of music, in this article I speak specifically of hip-hop DJs who use the turntable as a musical instrument in live performance, especially in competitions. These DJs are often called turntablists, battle DJs, or simply DJs, and I will use all these terms interchangeably, except when circumstances dictate otherwise.

2. This article considers the broad North American battle scene. It is difficult to focus narrowly on a regional scene because battlers constitute a nonlocal community. Battles take place all over the continent (and the world) and DJs will travel from city to city to compete, often seeing many of the same faces in each locale. When not competing, battlers keep in touch with each other through e-mail and Internet forums, and can establish close relationships with DJs they rarely see in the same place twice. Moreover, the number of battlers is relatively small, and with the exception of the largest metropolitan areas, most cities do not host enough battles to constitute a local scene. For a more detailed discussion of DJ battles, see Mark Katz, "The Turntable as Weapon: Understanding the DJ Battle," in *Capturing Sound: How Technology Has Changed Music* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 114–36. Videos of battles can be viewed at various places on the Internet, including http://dmcworld.com/championships/2007/video.asp and http://youtube.com (search term "DJ battle"). DVDs are available through the DMC website (http://store.dmcworld.com/) and specialist vendors such as turntablelab.com.

3. I am speaking here of turntablist battles. Women are more common among dance club DJs, for example (though they are still a minority).

4. Hard data on the gender of DMC battlers seem not to exist; however, when I consulted two of DMC's battle organizers (one former and one current), together the two could only name five women who had battled in their competitions. To be on the safe side, I doubled that estimate. Christie Z-Pabon, e-mail message to author, 23 March 2007; Sally McLintock, e-mail message to author, 29 March 2007.

5. According to the BLS, women made up 216,000, or 2.5 percent, of the 8,522,000 who worked in these occupations in 2004. See "Employed Persons by Major Occupation

and Sex, 2003–04 Annual Averages," U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, http://www.bls.gov/cps/wlf-table10-2005.pdf. For the list of specific jobs included among "construction and extraction occupations," see http://www.bls.gov/oes/current/oes470000.htm. My estimate of women battlers is necessarily rough. However, if we assume that 2.5 percent of the approximately 200 DJs who entered DMC battles in the United States in 2005 were women, there would have been five women competing that year. Given that the two DMC organizers I cited in the previous note could only name five women who had *ever* battled in their competitions, 2.5 percent seems to be a generous figure.

6. "Discussion: Where the Ladies At?" http://www.skratchworx.com/news/comments.php4?id=271 (posted 3 May 2005). For another discussion on the same topic, see "Your thoughts on Women in DJ Battles," http://www.djgeometrix.com/message_board/topic.asp?TOPIC_ID=7688 (posted 1 January 2007).

7. Ruth A. Oldenziel, "Boys and Their Toys: The Fisher Body Craftsman's Guild, 1930–1968, and the Making of a Male Technical Domain," *Technology and Culture* 38 (1997): 60–96; reprinted as "Why Masculine Technologies Matter," in *Gender and Technology: A Reader*, ed. Nina E. Lerman, Ruth Oldenziel, and Arwen P. Mohun (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), 41.

8. Christie Z-Pabon, e-mail message to author, 1 January 2007.

9. *Turntable Wizardry Stage 1* videocassette, n.d. The use of "girl" for "woman" is common among both men and women DJs, and does not generally seem to be taken as offensive.

10. "Discussion: Where the Ladies At?" Scratchworx.com.

11. Killa-Jewel, telephone interview by author, 22 December 2006.

12. See http://youtube.com/watch?v=HadmtAOGGh8 (added 17 September 2006).

13. Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985), 3. My thanks to Jeff Wright for suggesting this possibility.

14. As far as I have been able to discover, there are no openly gay battle DJs. I asked Christie Z-Pabon, the former DMC organizer, and Billy Jam, a hip-hop journalist and radio DJ familiar with the battle scene, about this issue, and neither were aware of any such DJs. Christie Z-Pabon, e-mail message to author, 23 March 2007; Billy Jam, telephone conversation with author, 4 April 2007. Outside the battle scene, homosexual DJs are more visible, although "homo hop" (a term used by insiders) is more heavily populated by MCs than DJs.

15. Christie Z-Pabon, e-mail message to author, 16 November 2002. Men have noted the same thing. Berkeley-based DJ Pone, for example, commented that "hip-hop is male-dominated and at times misogynistic" and suggested that the "whole scene tends to not create the most positive environment for women." DJ Pone, interview by author, Berkeley, California, 8 November 2006.

16. Killa-Jewel, interview.

17. For a discussion of the discrimination faced by women who spin house or techno—and issues of gender and DJing more broadly—see Yara Sellin, "DJ: Performer, Cyborg, Dominatrix" (PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 2005). It should be noted that women club DJs are still outnumbered by their male colleagues.

Kai Fikentscher estimated that, in the 1990s, the ratio of men to women DJs in New York City was 10 to 1, although the gap has narrowed since then. Fikentscher, "'There's No Problem I Can't Fix, 'Cause I Can Do It in the Mix," in *Music and Technoculture*, ed. René T. A. Lysloff and Leslie C. Gay (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2003), 310n13.

18. In this way, the DJ battle replicates the structure of many broader institutions. As Kimmel argues, "the workplace is organized around demonstrating and reproducing masculinity." Michael S. Kimmel, *The Gendered Society*, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 16.

19. Harold Randolph, "The Feminization of Music," *Papers and Proceedings of the Music Teachers' National Association* 17 (1923): 196, 197. See also Edith Brower, "Is the Musical Idea Masculine?" *Atlantic Monthly*, March 1894, 332. For a recent discussion that cites a wealth of primary sources, see Gavin James Campbell, "Classical Music and the Politics of Gender in America, 1900–1925," *American Music* 21 (Winter 2003): 446–73.

20. Scrutator, "Where Are the Ladies?" *Gramophone*, June 1925, 39. Although this was an English magazine, similar discussions took place in American periodicals. In fact, the discussion initiated in *Gramophone* continued in the pages of the American *Phonograph Monthly Review*, when one of its readers commented on the original letter in a note to the editor. See Dorothy B. Fisher, "Women and the Phonograph," *Phonograph Monthly Review*, October 1926, 30–31. Fisher's letter itself generated further correspondence.

21. In the early twentieth century, especially in the United States, many of the educators and activists who championed the phonograph as a means of cultural enlightenment and uplift were women, and women were also involved in certain areas of the recording industry. See William Howland Kenney, "The Gendered Phonograph: Women and Recorded Sound, 1890–1930," in *Recorded Music in American Life: The Phonograph and Popular Memory, 1890–1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 88–108, and Katz, *Capturing Sound*, 57–61.

22. "Phonograph Society Reports: Minneapolis Phonograph Society," *Phonograph Monthly Review*, October 1926, 33. See also Richard J. Magruder, "Manufacturing Music Lovers," *Disques*, March 1931, 14–18.

23. On gender and the telephone, see Claude Fischer, *America Calling: A Social History of the Telephone to 1940* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), esp. 321–26; on gender and household technologies generally, see Ruth Schwartz Cowan, *More Work for Mother: The Ironies of Household Technology from the Open Hearth to the Microwave* (New York: Basic Books, 1985).

24. Cynthia Cockburn, *Machinery of Dominance: Women, Men, and Technical Know-How* (London: Pluto, 1995), 12.

25. See, for example, Claudia M. Steele, "A Threat in the Air: How Stereotypes Shape Intellectual Identity and Performance," *American Psychologist* 52 (1997): 613–29. This and other articles on stereotype threat are cited in Joel Cooper, "The Digital Divide: The Special Case of Gender," *Journal of Computer Assisted Learning* 22 (2006): 329–30.

26. Tricia Rose, *Black Noise: Rap Music and Black Culture in Contemporary America* (Hanover, NH: Wesleyan University Press, 1994), 57.

27. See Kuttin Kandi, interview by MarWax, 30 January 2000, http://www.5thplatoon.com/articles/kuttinkandiinterview.htm, and Eunice Parks, "Kuttin' Kandi," *Asian Week*, 27 July–2 August 2001, http://www.asianweek.com/2001_07_27/arts_kuttinkandy.html. For information on Kandi, I am indebted to Ellie Hisama's "'B-Girl Stance in a B-Boy's World': DJ Kuttin Kandi, Hip Hop Activist" (paper presented at the annual conference of the Society for American Music, Cleveland, 13 March 2004). Hisama is devoting a chapter to Kandi in her new book, *"In Search of Something Better": Popular Music and the Asian American Cultural Imaginary* (Berkeley: University of California Press, forthcoming).

28. Walter J. Ong, *Fighting for Life: Contest, Sexuality, and Consciousness* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1981), 15.

29. Leora Tanenbaum, *Catfight: Women and Competition* (New York: Seven Stories, 2002), 61.

30. Ong, *Fighting for Life*, 51.

31. See, for example, Tilo Hartmann, "Gender and Computer Games: Exploring Females' Dislikes," *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication* 11 (2006): 910–31; Deborah Tannen, *Gender and Discourse* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994); A. Swain and G. Jones, "Gender Role Endorsement and Competitive Anxiety," *International Journal of Sport Psychology* 22 (1991): 200–207; and Kathleen J. DeBoer, *Gender and Competition: How Men and Women Approach Work and Play Differently* (Monterey, CA: Coaches Choice, 2004). Other general studies of women and competition include Laura Tracy, *The Secret between Us: Competition among Women* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1991), and Valerie Miner and Helen E. Longino, eds., *Competition: A Feminist Taboo?* (New York: Feminist Press, 1987).

32. DJ Immortal, interview by author, Miami, 14 December 2006.

33. Rob Swift, interview by author, Rosslyn, Virginia, 6 July 2001.

34. Brian O'Connor, "Career Decknician," *DJ Times*, March 2006, 27.

35. "Discussion: Where the Ladies At?" Scratchworx.com. Short-e is a British woman and should not be confused with the American DJ (also a woman) known as Shortee.

36. Kandi, interview by MarWax.

37. Killa-Jewel, interview.

38. "Discussion: Where the Ladies At?" Scratchworx.com.

39. Douglas B. Holt and Craig J. Thompson, "Man-of-Action Heroes: The Pursuit of Heroic Masculinity in Everyday Consumption," *Journal of Consumer Research* 31 (September 2004): 439.

40. Holt and Thompson, "Man-of-Action Heroes," 439.

41. DJ Beware, "How to Be a Scratch DJ," *Soundpark: Your Place for Homegrown Music*, 2 October 2003, http://fm4.orf.at/spinfo/108354/main.

42. Quoted in Pete Miser, "Viva! La Nerd Hip Hop Revolution!" *Theme*, Spring 2005, 60–61. Online at http://www.thudrumble.com/images/headlines/ThemeIssue.pdf.

43. DJ Pone, interview.

44. Jeroen Jansz, "The Emotional Appeal of Violent Video Games for Adolescent Males," *Communication Theory* 13 (August 2005): 221.

45. For more information on the branches of the Scratch DJ Academy, see http://www.scratch.com/.

46. Killa-Jewel, interview.

47. Michael Cannady, interview by author, New York City, 2 July 2007. Cannady is Director of Business Development at Scratch DJ Academy in New York. In a DJ 101 class I observed in July 2007 at the same venue, 8 of 17 students were women.

48. See http://www.femaleswitfunk.com/.

49. See http://www.myspace.com/anomolies.

50. See http://www.myspace.com/anomolies.

51. Other collectives include Dutty Girl in England and Sister SF in the United States. For more on Dutty Girl, see http://sparror.cubecinema.com/duttygirl/home.html; Sister SF is discussed in Sellin, "DJ: Performer, Cyborg, Dominatrix," chap. 5.

52. Tachelle Wilkes, telephone interview by author, 20 December 2006.

53. Wilkes, interview. Traditionally, the majority of battles have used the head-to-head format.

54. Killa-Jewel, interview.

55. Z-Pabon, e-mail message to author, 1 January 2007.

56. "Discussion: Where the Ladies At?" Scratchworx.com.

57. Several companies manufacture these players, including Denon (see http://www.denondj.com/prodview_item.asp?pid=2), Numark (http://www.numark.com/cdx), and Pioneer (http://www.pioneerdj.com/gear_cdj1000mk3.html).

58. Such systems include Serato Scratch Live (see http://www.rane.com/scratch.html), Final Scratch (http://www.stantondj.com/v2/fs/whatisfs.asp), and Torq (http://www.torq-dj.com/products/main_Torq_conectiv_cd_vinyl.php).

59. On gender and record collecting, see Will Straw, "Sizing Up Record Collections: Gender and Connoisseurship in Rock Music Culture," in *Sexing the Groove*, ed. Sheila Whiteley (London: Routledge: 1997), 3–16; on digging, see Joseph G. Schloss, *Making Beats: The Art of Sample-Based Hip-Hop* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2004), 79–100.

60. The preceding cannot be said, however, for the turntable-laptop interfaces, since they depend on traditional record players.

The Aestheticization of Ethnicity: Imagining the Dogon at the Musée du quai Branly

Tamara Levitz

On 23 June 2006 the Musée du quai Branly opened in Paris. The brainchild of then French President Jacques Chirac and art dealer Jacques Kerchache, Branly stood out in the Parisian landscape as the first national museum to display African, Asian, and Oceanic objects together in a new framework as "art," rather than within a traditional ethnographic context.[1] Kerchache had prepared the terrain for this curatorial shift for almost a decade, first by having African and other objects brought into the Pavillon des Sessions of the Louvre as what he called "*arts premiers*" or "primary arts," and then by critically dismantling French ethnographic collections and the scholarly communities behind them.[2] In spite of outraged critical response to these maneuvers in France, the president of the republic and his favorite art dealer had prevailed.[3] Collections from both the historic Musée de l'Homme and André Malraux's Musée des Arts Africains et Océaniens had been moved to Branly, their research teams in part disbanded, their archives temporarily obscured.[4] With this action, Chirac had appeared to respond to France's postcolonial troubles, contemporary racism, and the demonstrations in the *banlieues* that had rocked the French capital in fall 2005. Branly, he had pronounced in his inaugural speech, would "restore the dignity" of violated peoples, serve as an acknowledgment of diversity, and ensure "a dialogue of cultures and civilizations."[5]

The Musée du quai Branly presents a curious spectacle to visitors interested in African modernity. In spite of its claims to have abandoned the ethnographic past, curators have organized the African collections geographically and in terms of ethnicity, providing multiple maps as guidelines to the "artworks" and setting the whole in a papier-mâché, mud-brown, obscurely lit framework distastefully evoking faux Africanness. Many of the objects originate in former French colonies. They are sparsely labeled in terms of function and ethnicity, their

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creators unidentified. Occasionally, they are accompanied with ethnographic information and films, at other times dramatically set off to appear as artworks. In this ambivalent ethnographic context, they lose their historical raisons d'être, emerging as vacant symbols mobilized in the service of aesthetic difference. Scholars like Kwame Appiah and Kofi Agawu have criticized such constructions of African difference repeatedly of late, I believe with good reason.[6] By grouping collected objects according to ethnic cultures, Branly's organizers complicate certain kinds of hermeneutic analysis of, and dialogue about, them.[7]

The cognitive rupture and painful silence created when an object's history is suppressed in favor of its symbolic meaning within a conceptual framework based on constructions of aesthetic difference is nowhere more evident at Branly than in the case of one of its most iconic objects: a *dymmo*, *lièvre*, or rabbit mask, created by the Dogon of the Bandiagara cliffs in the former French Sudan, today Mali (see Figure 1). The French have maintained a century-long love affair with the Dogon, whom Benoît de l'Estoile describes as the most "fetishized ethnicity of French Africanist ethnology."[8] Perhaps because of presumed Dogon marketability, this mask graces postcards, coffee-table books, and press releases at Branly, where it serves to symbolize Dogon creative difference.[9] In the museum, it receives its own special, brightly lit room (a rarity at Branly), where it is mounted in a row along with other Dogon masks and costumes (across from other, unrelated masks), accompanied by ethnographic films on the Dogon that play nonstop and comfortable benches for visitors' viewing pleasure. This favored mask is also included in the souvenir *imagier* or book of images available in the Branly gift shop, where it is juxtaposed with Léopold Sédar Senghor's "Prière aux masques" from 1961 and set in a blank space that accentuates its aesthetic character. As the president of Branly, Stéphane Martin, explains in the foreword to this luxuriously illustrated gift book, this anachronistic mix of *négritude* and colonial trophyism is intended to "transcend ethnological and aesthetic commentary," inciting a response based on "intuition, imagination and direct contact with the objects." By inviting readers to experience the rabbit mask as sheer sensual presence, Martin encourages them to believe that it can, in Chirac's spirit, "receive and relay diversity" through its phenomenological characteristics alone.[10]

The mask Stéphane Martin asks us to intuit has a specific history in France, however. As is well known in French ethnographic circles, it was worn by one of the twelve Dogon dancers who came to Paris in summer 1931 to perform daily "tam-tams" in the pavilion of French West Africa [Afrique occidentale française or A.O.F.] at the Exposition coloniale internationale. It was acquired by Branly's historic predecessor,

the Musée d'ethnographie du Trocadéro, when the latter's assistant director Georges Henri Rivière bought it, along with all the other costumes and masks, for 1,000 francs from the visiting Dogon in fall 1931.[11] The curators at Branly do not acknowledge this lineage on the label they post next to the mask in the museum.[12] Rather, they accentuate the mask's authenticity as primary art by implying through

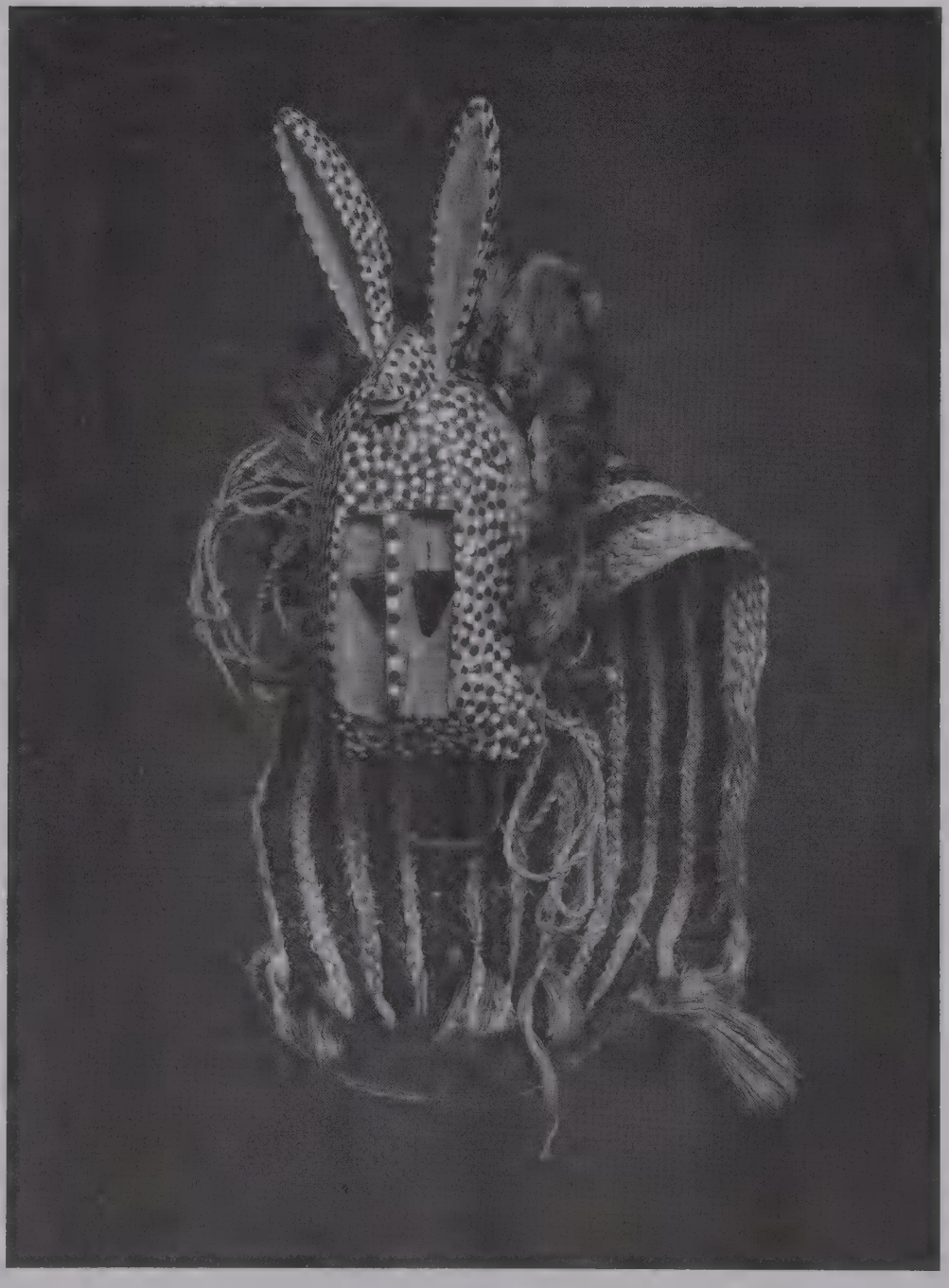

Figure 1. Dogon Rabbit Mask. Musée de quai Branly, Paris. Photo by Patrick Gries/ Bruno Descoings. Photo © 2006, Scala, Florence. Reproduced by permission.

lack of information that it came directly the Bandiagara cliffs, untainted by colonial power relations, financial transactions, or performative interventions.

How can a mask once worn as a costume accessory in a colonial spectacle become reified as an aesthetic object and symbol of African difference in contemporary France? The answer to this question lies not in its intrinsic formal properties as "African art," but rather in its history, or what Michael Kimmelman calls the "accumulation of meanings" created by those engaged with it in the past.[13] By investigating one tiny event in the history of this mask, a "gala performance" that took place at the French West African pavilion at the Exposition coloniale on 10 July 1931, I hope to explain first, how the aesthetics of difference in evidence at Branly came to be constituted and why; second, what role spectacle and tourism played in their construction; and third, how they objectify and aestheticize the Dogon, reducing them to the empty symbolism of a lonely, leftover rabbit mask. I conclude that Branly's spectacle of aesthetic difference is unlikely to serve, as Jacques Chirac had hoped, as a means of bridging ethnic divide and resolving postcolonial tensions in contemporary France, because it denies the Dogon their history, agency, and capacity for fashioning their own identities, while simultaneously blocking the French government, as represented by Branly, from taking moral responsibility for past colonial injustices.

The story I tell here is of interest to musicologists and ethnomusicologists because it raises the question, pertinent to both disciplines, of how to recognize and acknowledge cultural difference, as well as the injustices of colonial relations of power and contemporary global capitalism, without losing sight of "sameness"—the mutual empathy, common tastes, and receptivity that is part and parcel not only of the experience of art and music, but also of communication in general. How does one, in fact, speak to the Dogon, and listen, across a representational field scarred with the memories of almost a century of social and political symbolic manipulation? By objectifying the Dogon mask as signifier of difference, have the organizers at Branly not established a power hierarchy of spectatorial relations that will prove difficult to dismantle in pursuing dialogue with the Dogon about a common French-African future? And do musicologists not similarly risk silencing history and preempting dialogue when they define "cultural" difference on the basis of symbolic artefacts alone? As I will argue in this article, there is a dramatic difference between the identities performed through music and dance in history, and those represented symbolically through the aesthetic properties of leftover works. Whereas the former approach requires that interpreters dialogue with

history and people other than themselves (a key to the "politics of recognition" of "multiculturalism," according to Charles Taylor), the latter more easily encourages solipsistic monologue and imaginings of history motivated potentially by self, academic, and political interests.[14] Branly teaches us to exercise caution in using the aesthetic to political ends, and to recognize the human tragedy of the irreconcilable differences created when identity politics are corrupted in the hands of those who use them to acquire power over, or usurp and misconstrue, the lives of others.

The Story of the Mask: Constructing African Difference at the Exposition Coloniale

The Exposition coloniale internationale de Paris 1931 was the last colonial exhibition to take place in France. Masterminded by staunch colonialist *maréchal* Hubert Lyautey, this exposition propagated to a skeptical postwar French public the message of the moral necessity, humanity, and economic advantage of "Greater France" (*la plus grande France*).[15] Eager to replace the exoticism of previous world fairs, Lyautey conceived of the exhibition as a scholarly enterprise or "colonial university," involving over 200 academic conferences and a scientifically advanced ethnographic presentation of colonial dance and music.[16] He staged this spectacle in a savvy and modern tourist context that combined both the "picturesque and instructive."[17] Held in the Bois de Vincennes or Porte Dorée in Paris's twelfth arrondissement, the Exposition coloniale was a huge success in spite of minimal anticolonial opposition from the surrealists, the Communist Party, and others; over 33 million visitors passed through its gates before it closed on 14 November 1931.[18]

Benoît de l'Estoile, Patricia Morton, Herman Lebovics, and others have emphasized how important the Exposition coloniale of 1931 was in establishing contemporary notions of ethnic difference in France. Morton suggests that the exposition's architecture functioned as the "principal means for rendering visible the colonial order."[19] French architects had designed the pavilions in purportedly authentic indigenous styles, producing the distinctions necessary to maintain colonial hierarchies and creating an "ideal colonial world based on classifications of visible difference."[20] Sprawled out around the Lac Dausmenil in the Bois de Vincennes, the exposition's buildings resembled a giant living atlas or "great book of the colonies," offering an effortless overview of Greater France within a Jules Vernesque span of a single day.[21]

L'Estoile argues that the Exposition coloniale's architects and organizers differed from those at previous exhibitions in how they valorized these building styles and the colonized "natives" invited to entertain within them. They no longer considered the colonized as "lesser" races but rather as "associated" peoples of the French empire, whose indigenous societies and cultural practices were worthy of serious scholarly attention, protection, respect, and an adequate colonial policy.[22] "The knowledge of what constituted 'difference' played a central role in [their] project of reforming colonial politics," L'Estoile concludes.[23] He offers remarkable evidence to support this thesis: at the opening ceremonies, Lyautey himself proclaimed that "it is not advisable to create a hierarchy of superior and inferior races, but rather to view them as 'different,' learning to adapt to what it is that distinguishes them."[24] At an important congress held in conjunction with the Exposition coloniale that fall, Robert Delavignette, an intellectual and director of the Agence économique of French West Africa, commented that "we realize that indigenous peoples are not inferior, but rather *different*. They are studied not with the ulterior motive of proving our superiority, but rather with concern for understanding their *originality*" [my emphases]. Maurice Leenhardt, pastor and ethnographer of the Kanak of New Caledonia, concluded that "we should engage ourselves more and more with indigenous local life in all its manifestations."[25]

The *politique indigène* developed in tandem with the Exposition coloniale had profound consequences for the French reception of African art, music, and dance in the 1930s. Whereas earlier generations of anthropologists had measured and categorized African bodies in a taxonomic fashion, as if they were insects or plants, the new school of ethnologists associated with the Exposition coloniale increasingly recognized the value of studying "culture." They forbade the discredited nineteenth-century science of defining difference racially by anthropometrically measuring visiting natives, replacing it with the more acceptable aesthetic practice of judging ethnic difference based on visual and cultural signifiers.[26] In order to analyze African performance from this colonial perspective, they had to recognize its aesthetic value while simultaneously differentiating it from its Western counterparts, creating the conundrum still in evidence at Branly. This context led to the slippery "ethnographic surrealism," or crossing over of ethnography, popular culture, and surrealist aesthetics that shaped musical modernism in 1930s France.[27]

Motivated by these new politics of cultural difference, Lyautey and his team planned an unprecedented array of elaborate soirées, concerts, light shows, processions, informal dancings, radio broadcasts, and

around-the-clock "native" performances in individual pavilions to entertain visitors at the Exposition coloniale all summer. In contrast to a meager selection of classical music, visitors could enjoy daily tam-tams in the African pavilion, as well as evening festivals and processions that included the Ballet Royal Khmer from Cambodia, Uday Shan Khar's Hindu dance company, Tahitian singers, eighteenth-century Canadian songs, Maurice Maire's jazz band, and stars of the music hall stage and silver screen, including Sim Viva.[28] They could also dance the beguine to the familiar rhythms of Stellio's popular orchestra in the Gaudeloupian pavilion, buy records by the Madagascan hit singer Hiran-d Razafimahefa, and attend theater performances by the flat-out stars of the exposition, the Balinese dancers, who not only enchanted Antonin Artaud but also captured the imagination of the French critics and dance establishment.[29] Born of a late colonial ideology that produced cultural difference as a means of maintaining imperial hierarchies, this nascent world music scene dazzled the masses, forming the backdrop for the performance of "African music and dance" that took place on 10 July 1931.

Setting the Stage

The gala on 10 July 1931 was the brainchild of the assistant director of the Musée d'ethnographie du Trocadéro, Georges Henri Rivière. A fan of American jazz and Josephine Baker, Rivière was known for his entrepreneurial brilliance, fascination with popular culture, profound engagement with the blossoming field of ethnography, and contacts with wealthy patrons and the art world.[30] As such he was the quintessential "ethnographic surrealist" figure, and of tremendous interest and importance to anybody studying music and art in 1930s France. Paul Rivet had hired him at the Trocadéro in 1928, hoping that his marketing skills and social talents would help rejuvenate that faded museum and transform it into a popular and financial success.[31] In the intervening years, Rivière had hosted numerous stylish galas for the French elite in the hope of obtaining not only financial and institutional backing but also their *art nègre* sculptures for his museum. His marketing strategy was not unlike that evinced at Branly today: by creating prestigious ethnographic spectacles, he hoped to incite the public's interest and capitalist desire, putting "anthropology" on the map as an enjoyable form of entertainment for the masses, and transforming the Trocadéro into "a museum that was useful to the country's scientific community, loved by artists, and attractive for the public."[32]

Rivière designed his guest list of over five hundred to include everybody who was anybody in France, and especially those who could advance his project by gracing it with their celebrity aura, power, and prestige. He invited colonial governors, the highest-ranking members of the military, the French aristocracy, wealthy patrons like Baron Robert Rothschild and David David-Weill, representatives of the French press and publishing world, and "people expressly interested in exoticism," including composers Georges Auric, Manuel de Falla, Sergey Prokofiev, Maurice Ravel, and Igor Stravinsky, the painters Braque, Matisse, and Picasso, and the writers Georges Bataille, Robert Desnos, André Gide, Paul Valéry, and François Mauriac.[33] The elegant white invitation entreated guests "to honor with their presence a performance of African music and dance organized by [the Trocadéro] with the obliging assistance of the Commissary of French West Africa [Léon Géraud] in the pavilion of that section at the Exposition coloniale internationale de Paris, on Friday, 10 July 1931, at 10 p.m."[34] "This performance, reserved for the scholarly world and friends of primitive arts [*arts primitifs*], promises to bring together a fantastically affluent group of people," Rivière gushed to Lyautey.[35]

Rivière organized the gala performance in tandem with the Commissary of the Governor General of French West Africa, Léon Géraud, who not only selected the African performers but also in part designed their dances. He and Rivière framed the evening's performance to exaggerate the audience's experience of alterity. Their visitors first recognized this "difference" by gazing up at mock colonial architecture, illuminated brilliantly against the Parisian night as they drove through the exposition site on their way to the gala performance. Their sense of otherness was heightened with their arrival at the location of the concert, the "strangely familiar" French West African pavilion—an oversized, religiously neutral, neo-Sudanese mosque set in dramatic contrast to the monstrously bloated Temple of Angkor and the art deco French buildings surrounding it.[36] Colonial administrator Georges Spitz had arranged to have "a platform [set up] against the fountain in the courtyard of the pavilion, surrounded by chairs ready to receive the elegant crowd."[37] Intense electric spotlights accentuated the surrealism of the scene, bathing the performers in an "almost diabolic" red light reflected off the faux mosque's walls (red was a color associated for many visitors with Africa).[38] French architects Germaine Olivier and Jacques-Georges Lambert had mixed various African and French styles in creating this building, which aimed to distill the stereotypical essence of the vast territories of French West Africa.[39] They had based their construction on the grand mosque of Djenné, a building re-created countless times at

colonial exhibitions in Europe, yet stripped of its religious function and Islamic associations.[40] The ersatz Djenné mosque of 1931 was the last one ever built in France, however. According to Sylviane Leprun, the architects had expanded its false dimensions to such a degree that the building could go no further, and ceased to exist after the exposition.[41]

As the visitors made their way to their seats, their feeling of cultural difference was compounded by the broadcast sound of "authentic *musique nègre* recorded in Africa and belonging to the collections of the Musée Guimet."[42] Gabriel Louis Angoulvant and others considered loudspeakers one of the most effective means of influencing exposition visitors and indoctrinating colonial consciousness; this prerecorded, foreign sound seduced visitors into believing in essential musical difference.[43] Given that the Musée Guimet did not own recordings of all the ethnic groups participating in the show that night, they probably used something from their collection that conveyed a general, undifferentiated impression of Africa. Columbia Records sold comparable recordings in a nearby booth during the day, emphasizing their authenticity by advertising them as having been collected directly in the colonies "during months of arduous labor, in hostile climates, while suffering horrific attacks of fever."[44] Before the African performance had even begun, then, the audience had already witnessed the transformation of ethnicity into a fetish object of Western capitalism.

Inventing Ethnographic Performance

Rivière and Géraud framed African "dance and music" in the performance that followed not as art forms in their own right, but rather as symbolic practices that conveyed valuable information about African ethnicities, cultures, belief systems, and societal ways of being. In other words, in the spirit of the Exposition coloniale, they used African performance as a means of gaining insight into colonial culture, and determining its difference.[45] In a lecture given that fall at the Trocadéro and based in part on a lost film of the 10 July performance, Rivière argued that African music and dance could serve to remind Western audiences of dance's ethnographic value and social symbolism. Dance and music were "in a state of social disgrace" in France, he lamented, having degenerated into nothing more than "amusement or aesthetic spectacle." The goal of watching African dance, he reasoned, was to remember how dance had once "participated in the highest social functions" and could thus become prime subject matter for ethnographers. In this

sense, African dance resembled jazz, he concluded, exposing with this statement his belief in a transhistorical black racial essence. Not the "sweet and degenerate jazz that we [the French] know," Rivière mused, but rather that which he had studied in America, and which he described as "a new form of music with far from negligible social importance, more worthy of exciting the interest of ethnologists, who are hardly or badly informed on the subject." We have to link France's civilization to these "primitive people," Rivière concluded, and learn from them.[46]

Léon Géraud facilitated Rivière's construction of African dance as ethnographic object by providing him with a set of dancers whom he had already categorized by ethnicity and linked to specific territories in French West Africa. These identity assignments were not self-evident, especially in the case of the French Sudan. In 1907 Louis Desplagnes, a lieutenant in the French colonial army, had completed one of the first French ethnographic, linguistic, and archeological studies of the Bandiagara cliffs—a territory wracked by centuries of migration, invasion, imperial conquest, resistance, and religious conflict between Islamic and animist groups. Desplagnes had described the ethnic group who later visited the Exposition coloniale not as Dogon, but rather as Hambbé or Habbé. This was a Peul (Fula) term meaning "pagan," invented to identify Bandiagara populations resistant to Islam.[47] Most French journalists, observers, and critics used this foreign label well into the 1930s in place of "Dogon," an ethnic designation less known at that time. In the literature on the Exposition coloniale, the perennially mistransliterated "Habbès" constitutes direct evidence of imposed colonial constructions of identity. French observers willfully ignored its direct reference to Islamic history in the Bandiagara cliffs, using it instead to perpetuate the illusion of homogenous and uncomplicated ethnic life in the French colonies, and to blur the realities of religious, imperial, and tribal diversity and conflict there.[48]

As the reconstructed program in Appendix 1 demonstrates, Géraud also arranged his African performers by territory of origin or presumed ethnicity (rather than according to the aesthetic or dramatic criteria of their music and dance), thus associating African creativity with ethnicity in a manner still in evidence today at Branly. "Every race shows its own proper genius," one reviewer concluded.[49] By grouping numerous unrelated African groups on the same program, he also gave the show the appearance of an imperial "collection." Existing photographs of the daily tam-tams at the West African pavilion convey a similar impression: Yocouba children, Dogon, and Congolese dancers and musicians performed simultaneously in the same circle, creating

visual contrasts that accentuated their status as collectible ethnic objects of French and Belgian empire (see Figure 2). Such "possession and accumulation of objects," Richard Handler argues, was characteristic of how Western capitalist countries, and not necessarily Africans in 1931, constructed their identities.[50]

The exposition's organizers accentuated African ethnic difference by denying performers any hint of individual identity, and by enforcing for them the strictest codes of anonymity. In spite of their fantastic interest in who attended the gala, neither Rivière nor Géraud nor anybody else recorded the names of the Africans who performed that night.[51] Hired for modest fees and minimal housing to entertain at the exposition all summer, they are listed in the *Rapport général* only in number and in terms of territory of origin and function ("French Sudan, dancers").[52] As a "native contingent," they were under the purview of Géraud, who kindly agreed to loan them to Rivière for the evening. Rivière likewise arranged with Colonel Derendinger and Commandant

Figure 2. West African performance at the *Exposition coloniale international de Paris 1931*. The caption reads: "Natives of French West Africa wearing the most extraordinary rags and dancing to the sound of tam-tams. These dances are really nothing more than contortions and jiggles. On the right we see the official personages in whose honor these dances are being performed." From *Le monde coloniale illustré* 96 (August 1931): 176.

Decujis to have North African soldiers, or *tirailleurs sénégalais*, stationed next to the stage during the performance, in order to assure visitors' safety and to raise the event's prestige through the presence of the military.[53] These *tirailleurs sénégalais* framed the performers as potentially dangerous, creating an acute visible contrast between the "successfully colonized" on one hand and the dancing African populations on the other.[54] The performers' anonymity and enforced nonage as faceless servants of the state had an enormous impact on how their art was received, facilitating the French belief that their ritual dances were timeless (because they were not attached to recognizable beings with names and histories), and symbolic of abstract societal ways of being rather than historically embedded and related to individual lives. It also created a situation in which the French felt they could speak for the Dogon—a practice that has continued to the present day.[55]

The contrast between anonymous Africans and Western celebrities was accentuated at the gala by the manner of dress. The official invitation had required that guests wear "evening attire." Alejo Carpentier expressed discomfort about how he, Stravinsky, Ravel, Picasso, and the queen of Parisian fashion, Coco Chanel, had to "dress up" in order to view the spectacle of "semi-naked African dancers."[56] In Paulla Ebron's interpretation, such dress codes created "status distinctions by mutual ceremonial recognition."[57] The tam-tams held during the day at the African pavilion similarly accentuated radical couture difference, contributing to the public impression of Africans as fashion Others (see Figure 2). Anxieties about these differences played out in the comic strips, fashion commentaries, and society columns of many local newspapers, making "African fashion" a hit media topic that summer.[58]

The African dress in evidence at the exposition was far from "natural" or indigenous, however; rather, it was constructed in part by the Exposition coloniale's organizers, who forbade hired natives from wearing Western clothes (in spite of the unusually cold weather), isolated them in housing on the exhibition site, and kept them largely under lock and key.[59] Journalists differentiated them from Africans and African Americans living in Paris, denying them the possibility of urban or modern social experience.[60] When African rulers had arrived in Paris in May 1931, journalists had likewise fetishized their "difference" by repeatedly photographing them walking through Paris in their traditional dress and then commenting on how surprising the effect was or how foreign they found France.[61] Roger Blin pointed out the irony and disgrace of these practices of constructing difference at the Exposition coloniale in an article on the Kanak of New Caledonia. Although all the Kanak performers were Christian, educated in French, and had

completed military service, they had agreed to masquerade as "cannibals" at the exposition for 150 francs a month, room, board, and "decent European clothes." Instead they received cheap "black sweaters" costing 100 *sous*.[62] The African performers were likewise acutely aware of the contested terrain of fashion, and played repeatedly with clothes as signifiers of identity.[63]

If the visual framing of difference was not enough to inspire the public's ethnographic imagination, the lecture by Rivière's invited speaker surely was. Rivière had asked a team from the Trocadéro to arrive at 9:30 p.m., in order to meet guests and set things up.[64] This group included politician Gaston Palewski, Philippe Stern (from the Museée Guimet, and also involved in recording music at the Exposition coloniale for the Musée de la parole et du geste), the banker Henri Monnet, and André Schaeffner, a musicologist known for a pioneering work on jazz and a recent monograph on Stravinsky.[65] Schaeffner had met Rivière while collaborating on an exhibition on pre-Columbian art at the Musée des arts décoratifs in1928. They had bonded over Schaeffner's jazz book and their common love of Josephine Baker. When Rivière had become assistant director of the Trocadéro a year later, he had arranged for Schaeffner—a former student of Wanda Landowska and scholar of the harpsichord—to reorganize the museum's instrument collections, funded with a monthly salary by the patron David David-Weill.[66] Rivière had also signed up Schaeffner to take part in the first French ethnographic field trip to West Africa, the Mission Dakar-Djibouti, which had already left by 10 July, but which Schaeffner joined at the Bandiagara cliffs on 19 October 1931 (arriving there before the return home of the Dogon performers who danced at the Exposition coloniale). The 10 July gala concert; an earlier, earth-shattering experience of Stravinsky's *Le sacre du printemps* in 1913; the music of Ravel and Debussy; and cumulative events surrounding the Mission Dakar-Djibouti led Schaeffner to abandon musicology in favor of Africa and, in 1932, to found the discipline he called "ethnologie musicale" or ethnomusicology.[67] He later commented that "if, as they say, all roads lead to Rome, th[e]n jazz can lead to Africa, and even simply to ethnography."[68]

Schaeffner accentuated the performers' status as ethnographic objects by introducing them with a lecture on African difference and the "legibility" of the body in African performance.[69] He began by appealing to his audience to recognize the aesthetic familiarity of this dancing, in spite of its foreignness and collective nature. "Although these dances come from a civilization different than ours," he argued, "and are linked to beliefs we don't share, symptomatic of particular mentalities, they touch us with the same force as if they had been regulated

with the mastery of one of our own artists, and according to our own principles of art." They demonstrate, he continued, what Emile Durkheim called a "state of effervescence" or a "heated-up state of tension and delirium that confuses the aesthetic and religious in all ceremonies and celebrations" and "takes possession of people who abandon themselves to it, even though we in our civilization do not believe in such primitive unity of life, but rather jealously ask such states of only a few rare individuals." Considered "collective" in the colonies, and "individual" in the West, these experiences possessed enough of the same vivid qualities to reach audiences who recognized the affinities, he concluded.[70]

Schaeffner continued by distinguishing between written music in the West (for example, as used as the basis for jazz) and oral traditions elsewhere. He argued that the latter did not abandon the legibility, visual symmetries (form), and conventions of written music as many people thought, but rather translated them from the score to the human body through dance. These bodies became the new score—the text that Schaeffner read in a Jaques-Dalcrozian fashion inspired by his teacher at the Schola Cantorum, Albert Jeanneret, or in terms of "techniques of the body," the gestures with which one realized music, in the sense of his mentor in ethnography, Marcel Mauss.[71] He urged the audience to realize that music did not accompany in African performance but rather was born of dance, created by the bells tied to the performers' belts, ankles, knees, and heads that "doubled with their sonorous patterns the patterns of the [dancers'] gestures." "We can no longer distinguish dance—from the music that animates it—from the gesture that created it," he concluded. Even the Africans watching participated in the "music-dance" by clapping their hands, stamping their feet, and shouting. "Everything becomes, everybody becomes an instrument, because everybody participates in the incredibly intense experience," Schaeffner explained to audiences, expressing embarrassment about his and their aesthetic detachment. He encouraged the audience to get involved by *reading* the African bodies (and their own, in performing classical music), moving toward a notion of "comparative" aesthetics between cultures. The bodies dancing that night offered "the legibility we spoke about earlier," Schaeffner concluded, "the entire group of bodies that create sound with their rhythms." Although he hoped this form of intellectualized hermeneutics would enable a *rapprochement* between the French and Africans, it had the opposite effect. By reducing African performance to ethnographic text for Western readers, Schaeffner inadvertently blocked the hermeneutic circle in one direction, limiting the possibilities for communication and dialogue.

In the brief introductions to each dance that followed, Schaeffner avoided discussing "technique" or "psychological roles" in favor of describing "origins." He first named each dance, and then described its function (which he left open in the case of the Dogon). Although he had tried to bring himself up to speed on African performance by reading colonial travel accounts, he still described what he saw and heard primarily from the perspective of organology—his primary field of expertise.[72] Perhaps for this reason, he referred to the performers from the Côte d'Ivoire as "human instruments" (*hommes-instruments*), whose every gesture contained both "sculptural" (*plastique*) and musical meaning. He had first interpreted the black body as an "instrument" in his monograph on jazz, written a decade earlier. The experience of hearing the Fisk Jubilee Singers and Roland Hayes in Paris in the 1920s had convinced him that the black body was "like a drum or xylophone." "In himself, the black man is already a musical instrument," Schaeffner had concluded at that time; "he carries in his own body the ideal of his entire musical culture."[73] When it came time to describe the Dogon, Schaeffner took this objectification of black creative expression a step further by reducing his interpretation to a literal description of their famous masks: "the finely spotted mask, the rabbit, is a cunning animal that looks left and right and th[e]n goes to sleep," he remarked about the very object that now hangs at the Musée du quai Branly and is the subject of this article. As a result of this objectification, the African performers lost their potential individuality and uniqueness, their bodies and masks reinterpreted as natural symbolic expressions of the societies and ethnicities from which they came.

The Spectacle of Africa

In order to transform African performers into ethnographic objects with unequivocal cultural meaning, Rivière and his team had to create the impression that they had survived into the twentieth century untouched by history, Islamic conquest, Western interaction, conflict, or French colonialism. In other words, they had to deny the history and politics of French West Africa and much of the lived experience of its inhabitants. They did this by remaining consistently silent on the subject of African modernity, and by framing the 10 July performance as a theatrical spectacle that aestheticized dancers' bodies and mythologized their lifestyles.[74] Most of Rivière's team had come to know Africa through the lens of such Western spectacle, whether through films and cabaret or Josephine Baker and the *Revue nègre* (which many understood as

African-derived). The ethnographic form of performance they invented for the 10 July gala was based in part, perhaps unknowingly, on this entertainment industry. In this sense, it represented what Jean Jamin calls a "becoming-spectacle" of African culture, which gradually lost its historical and aesthetic meanings, rendered as artificial as the lighting under which it was performed.[75]

Rivière and his colleagues appeared utterly unaware of or unperturbed by these relationships between ethnographic performance and entertainment spectacle. Hubert Lyautey evinced a similar lack of concern about the moral and scientific dubiousness of marketing ethnography when he hired pop lyricist and music hall aficionado Fernand Rouvray to lead the "Commissary of Festivals" at the exposition, handing over to him and colonial bureaucrats like Géraud the aesthetic programming of the African shows produced that summer.[76] For the 10 July gala, Géraud emulated shows at venues like the Folies Wagram, Le Pavillon, and the Apollo by mixing topless female dancers (from Siguiri), acrobats (children from the circle of Man in the Côte d'Ivoire), exotic skits (Gbêhanzin), slapstick, mime (the Dogon), and musical performance (the Balafon).[77] The Folies Bergère and the Casino de Paris had staged African spectacles like this for decades. The second number on the 10 July program, Géraud's reenactment of the Dahomeyan court of King Gbêhanzin, for example, had been standard fare in the music hall since the French conquered Dahomey in the 1890s.[78] "In front of a throne sheltered by an umbrella (the symbol of power), on which sat a double of [Gbêhanzin] surrounded by his chamberlains, the Dahomeyan dancers performed furious dances,"[79] one critic wrote. By subverting Gbêhanzin's political power into harmless entertainment, organizers diverted attention away from the serious threat Dahomeyan intellectuals and politicians posed to French colonial authority.[80] In this as in every other case, organizers "spectacularized" dancers in inverse proportion to the degree of unrest and conflict they feared in the colonies from which they came, creating a tradition of obliterating political crisis with the narcotic of exotic display.

The uneasy alliance between African dance and the French entertainment industry was not born with the arrival of African dancers in Paris, but rather had been forged decades earlier by French colonizers in West Africa. By 1931 West Africans had interacted for years with Western travelers in the creation of tourist spectacle, their careers as performers reflecting patterns of French conquest in the region. In his fascinating study of the construction of Dogon cultural identity, Gaetano Ciarcia traces the resulting "folklorization" of Dogon dance from Louis Desplagnes' germinal study of 1907 through the jazz age

travel novels of Paul Morand and William Seabrook.[81] Morand and Seabrook had traveled through West Africa in the late 1920s, photographing and describing for Western tourists the very same groups of dancers who appeared at the Exposition coloniale (including the child acrobats from the Côte d'Ivoire and the Dogon), their itineraries providing a blueprint for the 10 July program. Their work evinces that a highly selective network of venues for exotic performance was firmly in place in West Africa by the late 1920s, established by independent colonial administrators for the purpose of entertaining traveling dignitaries and upper-class tourists. The 10 July concert translated these attractions to the Parisian stage, bringing to life the images and descriptions in popular travel novels in what Sylviane Leprun has called a display of "plastic ethnology, a three-dimensional form of expression emanating from anthropology."[82]

Organizers at the Exposition coloniale heightened spectators' thirst for colonial travel by alluding during performances to representations of Africa that audiences knew and loved. The "rue de Djenné" set up next to the African pavilion was based on the mythical Yenné from Jules Verne's *Cinq semaines en ballon*, for example.[83] Popular comic series like *Tintin au Congo*, as well as Morand's and (to a lesser extent) Seabrook's novels likewise shaped the audience's "colonial imaginary" and reception of African performance.[84] Morand and Seabrook evinced racist attitudes, comparing Africans unreflectively to African Americans and stressing their exoticism, sexuality, and savagery (by describing the "Habbé" as cannibals, for example), providing preprogrammed racial stereotypes for naïve spectators at the 10 July gala. Although Rivière and his team ignored these travel novels, they were popular with the public, whose images of Africa were also indebted to African films shown in the French West African pavilion and throughout Paris that summer.[85]

By the end of the Exposition coloniale, the Dogon had established a tremendous media presence in Paris. Their images had been splattered across the front pages of papers and illustrated journals for weeks all summer, their dances and masks displayed repeatedly on the daily newsreels.[86] Paramount, Pathé, and Fox had sent film crews to document the 10 July gala, which was also attended by a tremendous contingent of journalists from the popular and scholarly French and foreign press.[87] Photographers had invariably shot the Dogon with their masks on, framed in the surrealist context of the French West African pavilion or against an abstract white background that accentuated their "unfamiliar" difference (see Figure 3). Only occasionally did journalists report that Africans disliked this treatment and did not want to be photographed indiscriminately or without reciprocity.[88] In August, organizers had felt

Figure 3. Dogon performers at the *Exposition coloniale internationale de Paris 1931.* The caption reads: "Sudanese Dancers (Dogom [*sic*] masks from Sanga [*sic*], Circle of Bandiagara." Note the rabbit mask now displayed at Branly on the far right, cotton pants underneath the dancers' costumes (because of the cold weather in Paris), and presence of musicians. From *Le monde coloniale illustré* 100 (December 1931): 270.

obliged to release a notice warning that spectators should not photograph the "natives" unless the latter consented, because "most of them have developed a strong antipathy to being photographed, and will demonstrate that vehemently if provoked."[89]

The transformation of Dogon performance into spectacle had devastating aural consequences. Organizers emphasized visual effects to the detriment of musical sound, neglecting to list "musicians" as a separate category in their *Rapport générale* and yet also not assuming that dancers played and sang, as was the practice in Africa. As a result, performers from different territories in Africa sometimes danced together during the daily tam-tams to the accompaniment of one or two drums that did not come from their own cultures. At other times, musicians were recruited at the last minute from the military, with the obliging permission of Commandant Decujis.[90] Schaeffner later remembered regretfully (and perhaps falsely?) that the "disoriented, shivering" Dogon were given only a "type of twin drum" that didn't belong to them for the evening of 10 July and could thus not accompany their dance with

their traditional drum patterns.[91] Whereas each mask performed to its own rhythm in parts of Dogon ritual, on 10 July all the masks may have danced together to the same beat, perhaps executing a traditional "entrance of masks," although this is not clear.[92] Not a single commentator noticed any distinctive Dogon drumming that evening, although some did recognize that a "tam-tam orchestra supported the dancers . . . tapping into the very source that rhythm awakens in all human brains."[93] Tone-deaf to the musical sound, listeners resorted to fantasizing about its energy, establishing a 1930s, spectacular, visual version of "African rhythm," in Kofi Agawu's terms, as "an invention, a construction, a faction, a myth, [and] ultimately a lie."[94] The legacy of this colonial spectacle shaped the study of African music and French museal constructions of African identity to the present day.

Dogon Voices

The condescending and abusive treatment of West Africans at the Exposition coloniale has led many researchers to assume that they had no say in their performances there and that their history should thus be approached with trepidation, shame, and silence. French writers such as Pascal Blanchard, Nicolas Bancel, and Eric Deroo have encouraged this erasure of African performance history, in spite of the extraordinary work they do in processing colonial history, by describing events like the Exposition coloniale somewhat indiscriminately as "human zoos" and by disseminating colonial imagery without commentary in popular illustrated books.[95] Rather than dialogue with individual Africans about their ancestors' experience within the context of the Exposition coloniale, these authors categorize them sui generis with a label that keeps them mute and anonymous, their colonial subjugation perpetuated through a voyeuristic retelling of the sensational injustice and prejudice they experienced.

There were Dogon voices at the Exposition coloniale, however, for those who wanted to listen. The "chief" of the Dogon dance troupe was Indiélou Dolo, an educated, bilingual, and gifted performer whose personal charisma and talent for public relations contributed greatly to the lasting success of the Dogon in France. French readers first encountered Indiélou (spelled "Endyali") as Seabrook's informant in *Jungle Ways*, where they learned that he was the twenty-one-year-old son of Dounairon Doli [*sic*; Douneyrou Dolo], "master of Sangha and chief of the Sangha clan," whose close relationship with the French administrator at Bandiagara, Maugin, allowed him to serve as host to several generations of foreign travelers and scientists.[96] Indiélou reappeared (again as

Endyali) in Michel Leiris's *L'Afrique fantôme*, where French readers learned that he was the only one of the twelve Dogon dancers content with his treatment and performance at the Exposition coloniale.[97] His personality was so magnetic, his knowledge of Dogon culture so compelling, and his family so politically connected that almost every foreigner who passed through the Bandiagara cliffs in these years stopped to talk with him, writing down their extensive impressions of what he said and did.

Indiélou and the other eleven dancers were not only the first Dogon ever to travel outside the Bandiagara cliffs and perform in Europe (a considerable feat in French colonial West Africa); they also made enough of an impact to establish a performance tradition that continues to the present day. In 1991 Sékou Ogobara Dolo, son of Indiélou's cousin Ogobara (himself famously known to Western readers as Marcel Griaule's loquacious informant and friend of Jean Rouch), established the dance group AWA of Sangha, composed of members of the extended Dolo family, including Indiélou's youngest son, Massari Dolo. This dance group acknowledges the accomplishments of its ancestors, preserving Dogon traditions by performing and lecturing worldwide, engaging in critical dialogue, managing tourism in the Bandiagara cliffs, and producing high-quality recordings of Dogon traditional music.[98] In 2002 Sékou Ogobara Dolo collaborated with Dominique-Antoine Grisoni and Catherine Clément on the monograph *La mère des masques: Un Dogon raconte*, which, along with Clément's radio broadcasts, again brought the Dogon into media prominence in France.[99] Between the lines of Sékou's book, readers can discern the presence of a tremendously talented and influential family who shaped twentieth-century Dogon history through their entrepreneurial brilliance, intellectual engagement, artistic gifts as storytellers and performers, and sensitivity and passion for Dogon tradition.

Although the 1931 Exposition coloniale's ethnographic and entertainment framework limited Indiélou and his colleagues' creative freedom, it did not silence them completely. They still owned their masks, and controlled their use and expression, creating a lasting artistic legacy in France for which they alone are responsible. On the evening of 10 July they did not, as many ethnographers of the time believed, naively reproduce their traditional rituals, which were to a large degree not intended for public view. Rather, they probably adjusted their performance to the nonsacred space of the exposition, creating the same type of show that they had been performing for visiting Europeans and tourists for years. This kind of performance was based on ritual movement yet also modified to meet the exigencies of new performing

contexts. The very name of their number, "Dance of Animals" (*Danse des bêtes*), suggests that they used their famous masks and associated ritual gestures to create an entertaining set piece appealing to audience members of all ages. The Dogon dancers "skillfully imitated the attitudes . . . of the different animals on the top of their masks," one critic wrote.[100] Whereas in Dogon ritual, performers transubstantiate as animals for mythical purposes, at the Exposition coloniale they probably played a part, adopting the animal narrative as a vehicle for displaying their spectacular corporeal virtuosity and presumed yet mysterious spirituality. In spite of the restrictions imposed upon them, they made a tremendous impression that night. Rivière's team had recognized their "incomparable" skill weeks earlier, upon a visit to the French West African pavilion that had inspired him to organize the gala concert.[101] The 10 July audience likewise came away "filled with admiration."[102] Together with their fellow performers from the Côte d'Ivoire, French Guinea, and Dahomey, the Dogon established the foundation for performances of traditional African dance in France to the present day.

Walls and Bridges

The 10 July gala performance created a fraught framework for the reception of African performance in France, however. Caught between the critical exigencies of the ethnographic museum and the music hall, critics oscillated between fantasy and realism, either losing themselves in exotic dreams about the performances they had witnessed or resorting to literal descriptions of their most striking movements. Some fell victim to the Exposition coloniale's overwhelming constructions of difference, unable to see beyond what separated them from the African performers they watched. Others felt empathy and understanding, a desire to know more, and an urge to connect with people they had come to admire. Neither group possessed the vocabulary or background necessary to articulate their responses in anything more than a few descriptive sentences.

Imperial notions of ethnic difference were popular with the general public. Many journalists categorized the African performers in terms of ethnic difference without thinking about it, comparing them repeatedly to the animals in the vast zoo that formed part of the exposition park. "Of all the exotic animals that one can see at the Exposition coloniale, man is the most interesting," one commentator remarked.[103] The engraver Monier cashed in on the taste for difference by creating eight souvenir medals of West Africa with a different symbolic "native" on each one.[104] Journals like *Le monde colonial illustré* likewise photographed

"natives" standing in front of their relative colonial pavilions for each of their summer issues, suggesting through these portraits that one bodily type could embody the very character of a country, providing an immediate corporeal reference for the French colonial imaginary. The more elitist art magazine *L'art vivante* juxtaposed pictures of French citizens and foreigners in a collage entitled "contrasts," suggesting through imagery of bodily types that "difference" was an aesthetic affair.[105]

Other critics negotiated their feelings of discomfort over colonial difference by reinterpreting African performance as music hall novelty. Rivière described how titillating he found it to see grown Dogon men dress up as young girls, "complete with lovely artificial representations of their breasts," for example.[106] Others referred to the Dogon as "*nègres* with red loincloths dolled up in picturesque masks symbolizing animals, and performing stunning somersaults."[107] Yet others compared them repeatedly to African American tap dancers and acrobats. "We also have our black acrobatic dancers, who are no less talented than the Americans," Bill Wells wrote in *Candide*, describing the Ivorian dancers.[108]

Then there were the pioneering ethnographers, who felt tremendous compassion and sympathy for the Africans yet intellectually required them to be "different" in order to establish the rigor of their new academic discipline. These eager scientists rarely recognized the African performers' aesthetic transformation into ethnographic museum objects for what it was: namely, a theatrical illusion. Dazzled by the spectacle, some of them naively trusted the performance's ethnographic truth, in spite of the absent voices of those presenting it, falling into an uncomfortable "cognitive silence" that lasted for decades (yet shifted dramatically as they came to know the cultures they studied). Ethnography, the 10 July performance had demonstrated, was complicit with the commodification of Africans and African objects for the purpose of exploitation, academic advancement, and tourism. Yet the mollifying effects of spectacle prevented the public acknowledgment of this fact or any incentive to change it.

A still smaller, elite group associated African performance nostalgically with the fantastic prewar exotic spectacle of the Ballets russes, situating it within the pluralistic aesthetic context of ethnographic surrealism. This group remembered the masks of Picasso's *Les demoiselles d'Avignon* and admired the Africans for their modernist intuition. In *Paris, Tombouctou*, for example, Morand had described Dogon dance as "a series of disconnected gesticulations, explosions, irate leaps, shoulder rolls, and contortions" that reminded him of Stravinsky's *Les noces*. Diaghilev would have liked their subdued color combinations, he commented.[109] The Bandiagara cliffs had likewise reminded Seabrook of

"a distorted yet beautiful stage-piece erected by giants who had dreamed about *The Cabinet of Doctor Caligari*, the paintings of Picasso, and the ramparts of Carcassonne," and the Dogon costumes of masks "designed by the Cubists and Surréalistes [*sic*] for an ultra-modern ballet." Their dance, he had concluded, "was not frenzied or orgiastic, but as abstract and highly stylized as the costumes."[110] For years, André Schaeffner likewise referred to Dogon performance in modernist terms: "The European spectator feels the proximity of the [Wagner's] Tetralogy and the *Ballets russes*," he wrote after watching Dogon perform in the Bandiagara cliffs. "With little effort, one can imagine the dancers of *Le sacre* or *Parade* evolving around Siegfried's pyre, and believes to recognize both characters and stage design. The ride of the Walkyries is there, too, and yet in this case the men are dressed as women."[111]

The most eloquent criticism of colonial constructions of difference came from sensitive observers like Schaeffner and from his colleagues, Georges Bataille and Michel Leiris. These three well understood what it felt like to be seduced by African difference and yet resist the colonizing gaze—a surrealist attitude they explored together in journals like *Documents* and *Minotaure*. Bataille came away from the 10 July gala sickened by the constructions of difference he had witnessed. "I saw some *danse nègre* at the Exposition yesterday," he wrote Leiris, who was already in the French Sudan, traveling as a member of the Mission Dakar-Djibouti. "Dancers brought onto the podium like cows being shoved on wagons. I don't think the impossibility of certain things could have been more striking to me than at that moment, in what *separated* the blacks and the whites invited by the musée du Trocadéro. I have no idea [what] such an event could mean if it doesn't exclude me categorically from all those miserable lives [my emphasis]." Leiris agreed with his friend, yet reminded him of the importance of mutual and aesthetic experiences that went beyond constructions of difference: "The blacks and the whites have at least one thing in common," he wrote, "they all have miserable lives. And I don't see what such an event could mean either, except for the very pleasure of it."[112]

Years later, Schaeffner recognized the "paradoxical nature" of the 10 July gala, "one of those posh events with selective audience that only Rivière knew how to organize." During his first trip to the Bandiagara cliffs in fall 1931, he had learned that the Dogon expressed themselves not only collectively as an ethnic group but also as individuals. He had quickly realized that one of the best musicians in Sangha was Antandu, who possessed "true mastery" and was a remarkable performer, equaled only by Akundio (the son of magician Andre), and Apama. Schaeffner spent thirty-seven days taking daily lessons with "his professor" Antandu,

meticulously transcribing, imitating, internalizing, recording, and filming every aspect of his playing. "I learned to see rhythms the way [Antandu] surely saw them," he later remembered, "embracing them as intimately as I would countless passages from early or modern music. I felt so drawn to this music that it no longer seemed *nègre*, no less natural to me than other music. I had acquired the liberty to compose new phrases in the same style." Schaeffner, like Bataille and Leiris, had come to refuse colonial constructions of difference, devoting his life to building bridges and seeking dialogue with West African musicians and performers.[113]

Collecting the Dogon

On 30 October 1931 the twelve Dogon performers left France. A few days before their departure, they sold their costumes and masks to Rivière, completing the financial transaction mentioned at the beginning of this article. Rivière had arranged to buy the costumes after a Dogon performance on the terrace of the Trocadéro in fall 1931—motivated, perhaps, like twenty-first-century museum shop visitors, by the desire to capture his aesthetic and emotional experience in a lasting, commodified form. Géraud had hoped Rivière would purchase the items from the Dogon in person, with "Mr. Jacquemin" as a witness, but Rivière had not obliged. Instead he had let Géraud advance the funds to the Dogon, reimbursing him later for the full sum and having the costumes picked up at his convenience. He spent less on them than on the champagne he had bought to entertain his guests at the 10 July gala. Géraud had been quite careful about this transaction, requiring written confirmation of funds received from the Dogon "leader."[114] Once the costumes arrived at the Trocadéro, Rivière put a young assistant, Denise Paulme, in charge of cataloguing them. She later remembered the embarrassment she felt at completing the task, especially after she visited the Bandiagara cliffs herself and got to know the people there, becoming one of the most renowned twentieth-century experts and ethnographers of the Dogon (as well as the wife of André Schaeffner).[115]

French curators and scholars archived the material remains of Dogon performance at the Exposition coloniale in a manner that fetishized them, erasing their contingent and performed meanings. Rivière collected as many potentially valuable objects as he could, including masks, costumes, and musical instruments, which he transformed into mute samples of African material culture.[116] Philippe Stern from the Musée de la parole et du geste recorded linguistic and musical samples of each performing group (with the exception of the Dogon), snapping standardized photographs of each of them holding

their instruments and in traditional dress, and storing these materials in different archives, which are now online as part of the Gallica project of the Bibliothèque nationale, yet linked in separate pockets of cyberspace and disconnected from the rabbit mask at Branly.[117] Curators gave no importance whatsoever to contemporaneous newspaper reports and images, which fell into utter obscurity in microfilmed newspaper collections stored worldwide. Treasured films likewise became disassociated from the objects they portrayed, and were subsequently lost. As a result, the memory of the 10 July gala dissipated into thousands of tiny material remnants, archived as "cultural property" in a manner that Agbenyega Adedze identifies as characteristic of colonizing nations, who consolidate scientific knowledge into archives, research institutes, and museums in order to maintain "the authority and confidence to rule the peoples they conquer."[118]

Over the years, the rabbit mask lost its historical specificity as it moved between the collections of the Trocadéro, the Musée de l'Homme, and Branly, where it found a final "ethnic" home among other Dogon costumes collected during the Mission Dakar-Djibouti, donated by Henri Labouret, or gathered during later expeditions. By the early twenty-first century, it had dramatically increased in value, its connections to the Exposition coloniale remaining a sore spot for museum directors now invested for market reasons in authenticity and difference. The mask no longer required a history; its aesthetic properties, alleged mythical meaning, and geographical origins were enough to assure its value, and the prestige of Branly, within the context of a booming French market in African art. During its journey from Indiélou Dolo's hands into the crates of the Trocadéro, and from the basement of the Musée de l'Homme to its final destination in the expensive corridors at Branly, the mask had shred its contingent meanings its outer form now transformed into an empty sign of the absolute difference constructed by pioneering ethnographers and colonialists so long ago at the Exposition coloniale.

Paris, June 2007

In June 2007 I traveled to Paris to observe the rabbit mask at the Musée du quai Branly. For two days I sat in the bare room in which it hangs, gazing at its neighboring masks, listening to the drone of the ethnographic films that accompany it, and watching the endless streams of schoolchildren, individual visitors, and tour groups who shuffled through the room to see it. Each guide, in no matter which language, invariably explained to visitors what the masks "meant" within Dogon ritual,

quoting Marcel Griaule as their bible. They then encouraged visitors to examine the accompanying ethnographic films in order to see how such masks "were used" in ritual practice. Although these films portray different dances shot over a period of seventy years, and although they give direct evidence of how tourism is changing the Bandiagara cliffs, the guides presumed they demonstrate the "same thing"—namely, how the Dogon perform their timeless rituals. I was struck by how ahistoric these guides' epistemologies of the mask were and how profoundly they still believed in whatever Griaule had written. Above the small screen on which the films were projected, printed quotes from Leiris's *Afrique fantôme* and Griaule's *Masques dogon* consolidated the "truth" of the foundational ethnographic knowledge they disseminated.[119]

When visitors were not in the room, I sat in silence in front of the rabbit mask, trying to determine whether I could experience it as art. Strangely enough, the curators had displayed the mask in a manner that emphasized its history and function as costume, the strings used to tie it to the dancer's head and manipulate its movements dangling down in a decidedly inartistic fashion. I found that the mask had nothing of the aura of an artwork, in spite of its fine contours and gentle attractiveness. I couldn't help but think of the people who had once carved, touched, and worn it. The Dogon believe that objects carry the spirits of the people who owned them; I tend to agree with them. Although they had desacralized this mask before coming to the Exposition coloniale, and although it had probably become "worthless" to them in a ritual sense by the time they sold it to Rivière, that did not mean that it was free of their history and spirit.[120] I wondered whether its owner had given it one last glance before he handed it over to Léon Géraud, or whether I was just indulging in a romantic Western fantasy.[121] The little mask looked lonely, I thought, as if it needed a happier home and resolution from the trauma of its past.

By chance I found myself the next day walking through the ninth arrondissement in Paris, a delightful historic neighborhood that invites extended solitary promenades. By sheer coincidence I arrived at the picturesque Rue des martyrs, where an "African festival" was taking place, with one of the typical "African markets" that have now become a fashion throughout Europe, and a free, hardly advertised afternoon performance by the "Dogon." There they suddenly were, standing before me: about a dozen Dogon dancers in traditional dress, accompanied by musicians chanting and performing on Dogon drums. The masks were much more colorful than the ones I had studied, some of them more crudely formed and others equal to them in beauty. There were many

animal masks among them, but not the rabbit. Each mask performed its own dance, accompanied by exquisite individual rhythms and chant—a vibrant music that had become fully submerged in the silent documents I had studied. The dancers' small gestures were so beautiful, their artistry so refined, that I knew I was in the presence of some extraordinary Dogon. When the performance was over, the leader of the group spoke, guiding the audience through the "meaning" of the dances in a noticeably elegant and charismatic storytelling voice. There was no question in my mind: this had to be the Dolo family.

When the show ended, I followed the Dogon into the empty courtyard where I waited for them to change out of their costumes, risking the possibility of obnoxiously intruding on their privacy for the opportunity to meet them. The leader of the group was in fact Sékou Ogobara Dolo, who generously agreed to speak with me. It occurred to me that the only reason we could speak to each other at all was because we both came from former French colonies, albeit ones with drastically different histories. I looked him in the eye for as long as I could, in the hope of making a connection. And then we talked. I was struck to see how he and his family *choose* to preserve tradition and to present traditional dance and music on the global stage, in spite of opposition from more critical modernists.

In the course of our conversation, Sékou introduced me to Massari Dolo, Indiélou's youngest son. I shook his hand and tried to explain to him how greatly his father had enriched my life. For a fleeting moment, I wondered why I had devoted so much time and energy trying to do justice to the history of people I did not know, spending thousands of hours in front of microfilms, archival documents, and computer screens, only to come up with one solitary name, "Indiélou Dolo." What, in fact, had I been searching for? Perhaps my goal all along had been to meet Dolo family.

As we spoke to each other, I felt the symbolic universes of the Exposition coloniale, Branly, and the field of Musicology come crashing down around me. But what remained in their place? The Dolos offered me no ultimate truths, no account of how "it really was," and no illusions about the possibility of speaking from an untouched, authentic subject position. I had not expected as much from them. And although I had hoped to perform a new symbolic relation to them by describing our encounter in this article in a manner that resisted representation and broke out of the frame, that proved an impossible task, leading me again and again to the dead end of halted prose, deleted paragraphs, and blank stares. I wanted to describe how much I liked them, and how

I had instantly started planning in my head how to raise the money to invite them to the US to speak and perform, and also how I would arrange my first research trip to Mali. But I instantly realized how naive and irresponsible I sounded, neglecting as I did the politics that necessarily accompanied such emotions, and the power hierarchies that motivated them. I decided I would send them this article, and hope they would respond to *The Musical Quarterly* with their reactions if they found it interesting to do so. And I planned to travel to the Bandiagara cliffs as soon as I could, because I wanted to learn and understand more. My encounter with the Dolo family left me profoundly shaken. How, I wondered, could the sheer physical act of walking through Paris so effortlessly collapse my safe representational world, pushing me to the discomfort level acknowledged by the surrealists, and felt by Rivière, Denise Paulme, and others whenever people, and the memory of bodily presence, disrupted their attempts at symbolic control (in my case a queasiness brought home by the haunted moment of waiting for the Dogon to change their clothes)? Strangely, I felt relieved to be in this new place. By slipping into that courtyard, I had inadvertently broken out of the prison house of musicology in which I lived, moving effortlessly into a new, and much more happily human and dialogical space of encounter and exchange. I perform that journey again in writing here by abandoning the precise, descriptive language of the first part of this essay in favor of the flowing and expressive self doubt of this conclusion.

The contrast between my experience at Branly and with the Dolo family speaks volumes about how African difference is currently constructed in France. There is an utter disconnect between the commercially transformed, capitalistically mythologized rabbit mask bombastically advertised at Branly and a hardly noticed local performance in Paris by the family who once owned it. Why is it that Western societies fetishize their own celebrities to such an extreme degree and yet resist acknowledging African celebrity? In spite of countless books and articles on Dogon culture, not a single French scholar had ever written on the extraordinary Dolo family. Why, instead of recognizing outstanding African individuals, does the Western media obsess about the mythical objects their ancestors once produced? Perhaps the spirits of those objects are taking their revenge on history, guiding viewers like me back to the people who made them and enabling chance encounters like the one I experienced in the ninth arrondissement. If so, the curators at Branly were right to display them, unleashing possibilities of connection they could hardly foresee.

The historical revisionism and neocolonial attitudes toward Africa in evidence at Branly points to an undeniable link between this museum and the neoconservatism of the new French government under President Nicolas Sarkozy. This association crystallized for me in August 2007, when Sarkozy spoke to African intellectuals at the University Cheikh Anta Diop in Dakar, Sénégal. Like Branly's president, Stéphane Martin, Sarkozy resorted to colonial clichés and *négritude* rhetoric, manipulating and revising French national and African history to the political ends of the Françafrique economic project. Afterwards, Achille Mbembe critiqued Sarkozy for transforming African people into "abstract beings," violating them with language that was "autoimmune" and accepted no responsibility, using only the "rhetoric" of dialogue, and talking at his audiences as a means of dominating them, rather than creating "moral relations of equality and justice." "We cannot talk to a friend without addressing him," Mbembe argued, evoking Derrida. Remember, he admonished Sarkozy, "we are not only victims," but also "actors and witnesses." The Malian historian Adame Ba Konaré was so outraged that she called for the formation of a "Committee for the Defense of African Memory (*Comité pour la défense de la mémoire de l'Afrique*)" to counteract Sarkozy's revisionist, whitewashing history. This dynamic of French neoconservative revisionism, failed dialogue, and unrecognized African agency characterizes as well attitudes toward the Dogon and their history at Branly.[122]

The rabbit mask and its family have taught me to beware of how art objects, music, and the aesthetic are currently being used to sell identities and difference within the global economy. How can we still believe in the notion of disinterested contemplation of art in an era when, as Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett has argued, art objects (and musical works) have become proxies for human beings, transforming museums into "political minefields" or battlegrounds in the global struggle for symbolic primacy and capital?[123] The illusion of the aesthetic at Branly can not replace the necessary dialogue between French politicians and African immigrants. Hopefully musicology will likewise resist the market takeover of its discipline, the remythologization of objects in late capitalism, and the global trade in identities long enough to remember how vital human understanding, naïve receptivity, dialogue, communication, friendship, and empathy are to the experience of music. May be it's time to step out of the museum and into the streets, or simply to change our clothes. The rabbit mask, like every art and musical work, needs its history of human relations, I concluded, and so do we.

Appendix

Program for the 10 July 1931 gala performance.

African Music and Dance[124]

Gala Performance on 10 July 1931 at 10 p.m.

French West African Pavilion, Exposition coloniale internationale de Paris 1931

1. Topless teenage Foulah dancers from Siguiri, in the northeast of French Guinea, accompanied by the drummer Safouré.

2. Yocouba dancers and "dancer-acrobats" from the circle of Man in the Côte d'Ivoire, dancing a funeral dance using a female and male mask.

3. A reconstruction of a Dahomeyan scene from the time of King Gbêhanzin, arranged by the Commissary of French West Africa, Léon Géraud.

4. A "Danse des bêtes" ["Dance of Animals"] by the Habbés [Dogon] of the village of Sangha in the Bandiagara cliffs.

5. A second Yacouba dance, Mamié [*sic*], danced by children from the village of Denani in the circle of Man in the Côte d'Ivoire to the east of Liberia.

6. A performance of Balafon [possibly followed by Sara dancers from Tchad].[125]

7. A "sumptuous" buffet.[126]

Notes

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to Hold: Women, Culture and the Sixties (2004), and *Amerikanismus/Americanism: Die Suche nach kultureller Identität in der Moderne* (2003). She is completing a book entitled *Persephone: Neoclassical Echoes in 1930s Paris*, and has a second book in progress on *Haunted Melodies: Transnational Encounters in Paris in the Early 1930s*. Email: tlevitz@gc.cuny.edu

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1. There are other museums in France that have displayed African art, including André Malraux's Musée des Arts Africains et Océaniens and the Musée Dapper, which opened in Paris in 1986, funded by the privately organized Fondation Dapper. For a history and discussion of practices of exhibiting African art in France, see Jean-Louis Paudrat, "From Africa," in *Primitivism: Modernism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), 125–75; and Diala Touré, "Taxonomy of African Arts in France 1900–1999: The Great Switch from Primitive to Primary Arts," *Mots pluriels* 12 (December 1999), available online at http://www.arts.uwa.edu.au/MotsPluriels/MP1299dt.html (accessed 17 June 2007).

2. Some recent publications that contribute to perceptions of "*arts premiers*" in France (and that are displayed prominently at the Branly gift shop) include: *Chefs-d'oeuvre et civilisations: Les arts premiers au Louvre*, a CD-ROM (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 2003); Mathilde Annaud, *Les arts premiers: Reflets sauvages d'Occident* (Toulouse: Milan, 2007); Catherine Clément, *Qu'est-ce qu'un peuple premier?* (Paris: Panama, 2006); Michèle Coquet, *Arts primitifs, arts populaires, arts premiers: Petit cours de rattrapage à l'usage des parents* (Paris: Fernand Nathan, 2007); Marine Degli and Marie Mauzé, *Arts premiers: Le temps de la reconnaissance* (Paris: Gallimard, 2006); Bérénice Geoffroy-Schneiter, *Arts premiers* (Paris: Assouline, 2005); Isabelle Glorieux-Desouche, *Comment parler des arts premiers aux enfants? Afrique, Amériques, Asie et Océanie* (Paris: Le Baron Perché, 2006); and Lionel Richard, *Arts premiers: L'évolution d'un regard* (Paris: Editions du Chêne, 2005).

3. Debates concerning Kerchache's "*arts premiers*" and the Musée du quai Branly raged for years in the French press, producing a secondary literature that extends far beyond the scope of this endnote. For insights into the issues, I recommend Bernard Dupaigne's highly polemical *Le scandale des arts premiers: La véritable histoire du musée du quai Branly* (Paris: Mille et Une Nuits, 2006); Marc-Olivier Gonseth, Jacques Hainard, and Roland Kaehr, eds., *Le musée cannibale* (Neuchâtel: Musée d'ethnographie, 2002); Bruno Latour, ed., *Le dialogue des cultures: Actes des rencontres inaugurales du musée du quai Branly (21 juin 2006)* (Paris: Actes Sud, 2007); Herman Lebovics, "Echoes of the 'Primitive' in France's Move to Postcoloniality: The Musée du quai Branly," *Global Studies Journal: Global History, Society, Civilization* 4 (5 February 2007), available online at http://www.stonybrook.edu/globality/Articles/no4.html; "Aminata Traoré à propos du Musée Branly," available online at http://www.hns-info.net/article.php3?id_article=8774; and Aminata Traoré, *Le viol de l'imaginaire* (Paris: Fayard/Actes Sud, 2002). (Online articles accessed 17 June 2007.)

4. The collections of the Musée de l'Homme have now been transferred to the Musée du quai Branly, where they have been digitized (at least in part) and are available to the public. This is not evident from the rather vague online *Catalogue de la documentation muséale et des archives* (http://www.quaibranly.fr/fr/documentation/le-catalogue-de-la-documentation-museale-et-des-archives/index.html). In this article, I use former call numbers from the Musée de l'Homme (MdH) and new document numbers from the Musée du quai Branly (MdqB) for all archival materials. Certain materials are not available at Branly for judicial reasons, as I have noted in each case.

5. Jacques Chirac delivered this inaugural lecture at the Musée du quai Branly on 20 June 2006. It was reprinted in numerous journals and on Web sites, including http://www.elysee.fr/elysee/elysee.fr/francais/actualites/deplacements_en_france/2006/juin/inauguration du_musee_du_quai_branly.52660.html (accessed 17 June 2007). On this Web site, one can listen to this lecture and to interviews Chirac gave concerning the Musée du quai Branly.

6. Although Kofi Agawu addresses this topic in a wide range of articles, I would recommend *Representing African Music: Postcolonial Notes, Queries, Positions* (New York: Routledge, 2003). See also Kwame Anthony Appiah, *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a World of Strangers* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2006).

7. Exhibition practices at Branly contrast dramatically with their cultural programs, which emphasize dialogue, differences of opinion, and critical approaches to France's colonial past.

8. Benoît de l'Estoile, "'Des races non pas inférieures, mais différentes': De l'Exposition Coloniale au Musée de l'Homme," in *Les politiques de l'anthropologie: Discours et pratiques en France (1860–1940)*, ed. Claude Blanckaert (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2001), 457.

9. Another version of this artful (and expensive) photograph of this mask reproduced in Figure 1 graces the covers of the souvenir catalogue *Chefs-d'oeuvre dans les collections du musée du quai Branly* (Paris: Musée du quai Branly, 2006) and of books like Marine Degli's and Olivier Morel's *L'art dogon* (Paris: Editions Courtes et Longues, 2006). This image is also scattered indiscriminately across the Web in relation to discussions of the Musée du quai Branly. It cost 277 Euros to reprint it (with worldwide rights) here.

10. Stéphane Martin, "Avant-propos," in *Imagier du Musée du quai Branly* (Paris: Musée du quai Branly, 2006), 7, 9. Unless otherwise indicated, all translations from the French in this article are my own.

11. See Léon Géraud to Georges Henri Rivière, 27 October 1931 and 3 November 1931, and Rivière to Géraud, 5 November 1931, MdH, 2 AM 1 F 1d/MdqB, document 15138. See also Bernard Dupaigne, "Les collections africaines au Musée de l'Homme," in *Secrets d'initiés: Masques d'Afrique noire dans les collections du Musée de l'Homme*, ed. Francine Ndiaye (Ville de Boulogne-Billancourt: Editions Sépia, 1994), 11–16. I am grateful to Eric Jolly for informing me about the existence of these documents.

12. In translation, the mask's museum label reads as "Rabbit Mask, Dogon Population, Mali, Region of Bandiagara, Beginning of the Twentieth Century." It is identified as a "gift from Georges Henri Rivière" ("*Don Georges Henri Rivière*"). See *Chefs-d'oeuvre*

dans les collections, 47. In the online catalogue of the Musée du quai Branly, the object is listed as inventory number 71.1931.49.28 and given an unusually long description, including the information that "this mask was worn for a spectacle at the Exposition coloniale in Paris in 1931, like objects no. 23–97 of this collection." See http://www.quaibranly.fr/cc/pod/resultats.aspx?b=1&t=1 (accessed 1 October 2007).

13. Michael Kimmelman, "Heart of Darkness in the City of Light," *New York Times*, 2 July 2006, online with video at http://travel.nytimes.com/2006/07/02/arts/design/02kimm.html (accessed 17 June 2007).

14. Charles Taylor, *Multiculturalism*, with commentary by Kwame Anthony Appiah, Jürgen Habermas, Steven C. Rockefeller, Michael Walzer, and Susan Wolf, ed. and introduced by Amy Gutmann (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994).

15. Catherine Hodier and Michel Pierre, *L'Exposition coloniale* (Brussels: Editions Complexe, 1991), 24–25. See also Barnett Singer, "Lyautey: An Interpretation of the Man and French Imperialism," *Journal of Contemporary History* 26 (January 1991): 131–57.

16. Marcel Olivier, "Introduction," in *Rapport général*, vol. 1 (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1932), xiv. See also André Demaison, *Exposition coloniale internationale: Guide officiel* (Paris: Mayeux, 1931), 17–21; and Hodier and Pierre, *L'Exposition coloniale*, 14, 22, 106.

17. Hubert Lyautey, letter of 7 January 1929; quoted in L'Estoile, "'Des races non pas inférieures,'" 397. For background on colonial and world exhibitions in France, see Annegret Fauser, *Musical Encounters at the 1889 Paris World's Fair* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2005); and Herman Lebovics, *True France: The Wars over Cultural Identity, 1900–1945* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992).

18. In summer 2006, a critical reevaluation of the Exposition coloniale took place in Paris, with conferences and celebrations documented on a Web site, http://clioweb.free.fr/dossiers/colonisation/expo31.htm (accessed 17 June 2007). For an overview of opposition to the exposition, see Hodier and Pierre, *L'Exposition coloniale*, 126–34; and Patricia Morton, "Challenging the Exposition: The Anticolonial Opposition," in *Hybrid Modernities: Architecture and Representation at the 1931 Colonial Exposition, Paris* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2000), 96–129. See also "Ne visitez pas l'Exposition coloniale [Paris 1931]," rpt. in José Pierre, ed., *Tracts surréalistes et déclarations collectives* (Paris: Le Terrain Vague, 1980), 1: 194–95; Jean-Pierre Biondi and Gilles Morin, *Les anticolonialistes (1881–1962)* (Paris: Robert Laffont, 1992); Claude Liauzu, *Histoire de l'anticolonialisme* (Paris: Armand Colin, 2007); Alan Ruscio, *La question coloniale dans "l'Humanité" (1904–2004)* (Paris: Editions La Dispute, 2005); and the extraordinary Web sites http://etudescoloniales.canalblog.com and http://www.ldh-toulon.net (accessed 17 June 2007).

19. Morton, *Hybrid Modernities*, 6.

20. Ibid., 79.

21. Hubert Lyautey, "Cérémonie de la pose de la première pierre du musée des colonies (5 novembre 1928)," in Olivier, *Rapport général*, vol. 4 (Paris : Imprimerie nationale, 1932), 367. See also Morton, *Hybrid Modernities*, 82, 219.

22. On French theories of "assimilation" versus "association," see Raymond Betts, *Assimilation and Association in French Colonial Theory, 1890–1914* (New York: Columbia

University Press, 1960); and Véronique Dimier, "Construction et enjeux d'un discours scientifique sur l'administration coloniale comparée en France et en Grande-Bretagne (vers 1930–vers 1950)" (PhD diss, 2 vols., Université Pierre Mendès France Grenoble 2, 1999).

23. L'Estoile, "'Des races non pas inférieures,'" 405. L'Estoile conceptualizes this material within a different framework in "'Le visage de l'Humanité': l'Exposition coloniale de 1931," in *Le goût pour les autres: De l'Exposition coloniale aux arts premiers* (Paris: Flammarion, 2007), 33–74.

24. Lyautey, "Cérémonie de la pose de la première pierre," 376.

25. Robert Delavignette and Maurice Leenhardt, remarks published in *Congrès international et intercolonial de la société indigène (5–10 octobre 1931)* (Paris: Exposition coloniale internationale de Paris 1931/Coueslant, 1931).

26. L'Estoile, "'Des races non pas inférieures,'" 423–27.

27. James Clifford famously coined the still contested yet powerful term "ethnographic surrealism" in *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988).

28. I critically interpret and historically analyze a significant selection of these programs in my book in progress, *Haunted Melodies: Transnational Encounters in 1930s Paris*.

29. See, for example, Nicola Savarese, "1931: Antonin Artaud Sees Balinese Theatre at the Paris Colonial Exposition," *Drama Review* 45, no. 3 (2001): 51–77; and Savarese, *Parigi/Artaud/Bali: Antonin Artaud vede il teatro balinese all'Esposizione Coloniale di Parigi del 1931* (L'Aquila: Textus, 1997). Eminent dance critic André Levinson reported in extensive detail on all aspects of dance at the Exposition coloniale in his columns in *Comœdia* and *Candide*.

30. On Georges Henri Rivière, see Nina Gorgus, *Der Zauberer der Vitrinen: Zur Museologie Georges Henri Rivières* (Munich: Wasmann Münster, 1999); and Jean Jamin, "Introduction à *Miroir de l'Afrique*," in Michel Leiris, *Miroir d'Afrique*, ed. Jean Jamin (Paris: Quarto/Gallimard, 1996), 9–59.

31. See Christine Laurière, "Georges Henri Rivière au Trocadéro: Du magasin de bric-à-brac à la sécheresse de l'étiquette," *Gradhiva: Revue d'histoire et d'archives de l'anthropologie* 33 (2003): 57–66.

32. Georges Henri Rivière, "Défense et illustration du musée d'ethnographie," *Les nouvelles littéraires*, 8 August 1931. See also "À propos de l'art nègre," *Figaro artistique illustré* (August–September 1931): 81–82; "Le musée d'ethnographie du Trocadéro," *Documents* 1 (1929): 58; and *La muséologie selon Georges Henri Rivière: Cours de muséologie, textes et témoignages* (Paris: Dunod, 1989).

33. Several copies of the guest list, with replies and suggestions, are included in files 2 AM 1 F 1b/MdqB: document 15131; and 2 AM 1 F 1c/MdqB: documents 15134, 32435, 32437, and 32438. Someone sent Rivière a dictated four-page list of everyone who should be invited from the worlds of art, music, and museum culture. This list includes the Princesse de Polignac (who declined the invitation) and critics like Roland-Manuel and Henri Prunières. "I won't even mention Milhaud, Honegger, or Poulenc," the anonymous advisor writes (see unsigned, typed letter to Rivière, 30 June 1931, MdH, 2 AM 1 F 1b/MdqB document 15131). Both de Falla and Stravinsky responded that they would attend. Numerous society columns noted who was in attendance that night, including

"À l'Exposition coloniale," *Le journal des débats*, 13 July 1931. These notices are also kept in MdH, 2 AM 1 F 1b/MdqB document 15133 (not available).

34. The invitation included a "free" visit to the exhibit in the pavilion. A sample invitation is kept in MdH, 2 AM 1F1b/MdqB document 15133 (not available), with a typescript copy in MdH, 2 AM 1 F 1e/MdqB, document 15139.

35. Georges Henri Rivière to Hubert Lyautey, 8 July 1931, in MdH, 2 AM 1 F 1e/MdqB, document 15139.

36. The critic Monplaisir described the effect as "étrangement voisin" in "Entrez dans la danse: Danse macabre, danse exotique, danse des blancs," *Record*, 21 July 1931.

37. "Danses africaines," *Aux écoutes*, 18 July 1931. Spitz rented 300 chairs and borrowed 300. (See Georges Henri Rivière, handwritten memo dated 8 July 1931, MdH, 2 AM 1 F 1b/MdqB, document 15130.)

38. See V. F., "Une fête au palais de l'A.O.F.: Par le chant et la danse l'âme de la France noire s'y est exprimée avec un art parfait," *La dépêche coloniale*, 14 July 1931. Paul Morand refers to red as the "color of Africa" in describing the African pavilion in "Rien que la terre à l'Exposition coloniale," *Revue des deux mondes* 101, no. 8 (15 August 1931): 338.

39. Morton, *Hybrid Modernities*, 42.

40. Sylvie Palà, "Adaptions, transformations, transgressions d'usage: Le regard sur l'autre dans ses manifestations," in *Documents Exposition Coloniale Paris 1931* (Paris: Imprimerie de service technique des bibliothèques, 1981), 23.

41. Sylviane Leprun, *Le théâtre des colonies: Scénographie, acteurs et discours de l'imaginaire dans les expositions, 1855–1937* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1986), 121. Leprun provides a historical overview of how French expositions portrayed Sudanese architecture from 1889 to 1937 on pp. 111–28.

42. "Danses africaines."

43. Gabriel Louis Angoulvant regretted that loudspeakers were not used to greater effect in indoctrinating listeners in the French West African pavilion, as they were at Wembley in 1923. See his commentary, "Les palais et les pavillons: V. L'Afrique Occidental Française," *Revue des deux mondes* 11, no. 8 (15 August 1931): 834–54.

44. "L'âme coloniale," *Columbia-Revue* (1931): 89. This flyer was distributed at the Columbia records booth at the Exposition coloniale.

45. Rivière staged several exhibitions at the Trocadéro that summer to complement the Exposition coloniale, including the Exposition ethnographique des colonies français, which opened on 29 May 1931. See "Une succursale de l'Exposition coloniale: Elle s'oeuvre aujourd'hui au Musée ethnographique du Trocadéro," *La dépêche coloniale*, 29 May 1931; and Lionel Attuly, "Dieux étranges et fétiches des indigènes de nos colonies étendent l'Exposition coloniale jusqu'au musée du Trocadéro," *Paris-Midi*, 30 May 1931. These articles are included in MdH, 2 AM 1 B 4a/not available at MdqB.

46. Georges Henri Rivière, "Danses indigènes des colonies françaises," typescript of a lecture-demonstration held at the Trocadéro on 3 November 1931, MdH, 2 AM 1 D 13a ("Société des amis du musée du Trocadéro"). I could not find this document at the MdqB.

47. Louis Desplagnes, *Le plateau central nigérien: Une mission archéologique et ethnographique au Soudan français* (Paris: Émile Larose, 1907), 183.

48. On the construction of Dogon ethnicity, see Carola Lentz, "'Tribalism' and Ethnicity in Africa: A Review of Four Decades of Anglophone Research," and Jacky Bouju, "Qu'est-ce que 'l'ethnie' dogon?" in *Cahiers des sciences humaines* 31 (1995): 303–28 and 329–64, respectively.

49. Monplaisir, "Entrez dans la danse."

50. Richard Handler, "On Having a Culture: Nationalism and the Preservation of Québec's Patrimoine," in *Objects and Others: Essays on Museums and Material Culture*, ed. George Stocking (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), 192–217.

51. In a letter dated 11 July 1931, Rivière and Paul Rivet thanked the governor general of the colonies, Marcel Olivier, for the use of his "facilities," and told him that they would send his press service a list of "personalities present," as requested. The same day, they thanked Léon Géraud. "The assembled guests were illustrious beyond our wildest dreams," they wrote, likewise confirming that they would send him a list of those who attended. Géraud responded to Rivet on 16 July 1931 that there was no need to say thank you, and that they were happy to do it. On 28 July 1931 Olivier wrote Rivière that he was glad to loan him his facilities and to "smooth out any difficulties that arose." He was sorry he could not attend. All these letters are in MdH, 2 AM 1 F 1e/MdqB, document 15139.

52. See Olivier, *Rapport général*, vol. 5, no. 2 (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1932), 299. This list includes twenty-two "dancers" from the Côte d'Ivoire, twelve from the French Sudan [the Dogon], and fifteen from Dahomey.

53. Georges Henri Rivière to Colonel Derendinger, directeur adjoint de la participation de l'armée à l'Exposition Coloniale, 8 July 1931, and Derendinger's response from 9 July 1931. Rivière asked Derendinger if he would accept to "raise the level of" the event by allowing the participation of the army and attending himself. As a token of his appreciation, he sent him Michel Leiris, *Instructions sommaires pour les collecteurs d'objets ethnographiques* (Paris: Musée d'ethnographie, 1931). In this influential brochure, Leiris had summarized Marcel Mauss's thoughts on collecting objects for use during the Mission Dakar-Djibouti. Rivière and Paul Rivet thanked both Colonel Derendinger and Commandant Decujis for their participation in letters dated 11 July 1931, MdH, 2 AM 1 F 1e/MdqB, document 15139. The army's transport cost Rivière 100 francs (see Rivière, handwritten memo, 8 July 1931, MdH, 2 AM 1 F 1b/MdqB, document 15130).

54. It was difficult for many French writers and ethnographers to maintain the illusion of absolute difference between Africans and French natives after the French government instigated military conscription in the colonies during World War I, bringing increasing numbers of African soldiers and émigrés to the hexagon. Public awareness of this history was raised in France in 2006 with the release of the film *Indigènes* (director Rachid Bouchareb). See Gregory Mann, *Native Sons: West African Veterans and France in the Twentieth Century* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006).

55. French scholars more dramatically usurped the Dogon voices a few years later, when they began publishing articles in *Minotaure* and other journals on aspects of Dogon society they had experienced during their first expedition to the Bandiagara

cliffs as part of the Mission Dakar-Djibouti; see *Minotaure* 2 (1933). The leader of that mission, Marcel Griaule, became the uncontested voice of the Dogon shortly thereafter, a position he retained for decades (and in some circles to the present day). Eric Jolly critiques this tradition of French-Dogon ventriloquism in light of Catherine Clément's radio broadcasts on the Dogon on his highly polemical "le Blog des rectifications (analyse des émissions radio Catherine Clément)," online at http://www.lumieresprimaires.com/blog1/index.html (accessed 17 June 2007).

56. Alejo Carpentier, "Segundo viaje a la exposición colonial," *Carteles*, 4 October 1931; rpt. in Carpentier, *Crónicas*, vol. 2 (Havana: Editorial Arte y Literatura, 1976), 500–502. Carpentier provided further details of the Exposition coloniale in "Primer viaje a la exposición colonial," *Carteles*, 27 September 1931; rpt. in *Crónicas*, vol. 2, 495–99.

57. Paulla A. Ebron, *Performing Africa* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002), 9.

58. In one article, Baron Robert Rothschild remarked sarcastically how "a woman wearing the new hat-wig created by Antoine caused the naked *nègres* to laugh hysterically." See untitled notice in *À Paris*, 24 July 1931. Fashion columns in numerous journals, including *Le monde colonial illustré*, *L'art vivant*, and *Comœdia*, discussed African innovations throughout the summer. See also Michelle Tolini Finamore, "Fashioning the Colonial at the Paris Expositions, 1925 and 1931," *Fashion Theory* 7 (2003): 345–60. Daily cartoons incessantly parodied these fashion differences, especially in *Le petit parisien*, *Le monde colonial illustré*, and *Candide*.

59. Morton, *Hybrid Modernities*, 112. Lyautey worried about visitors' safety on the exposition site and required that they obtain special permission to fraternize with "native" populations. Rivière received such official "authorization" to enter the exposition site in a letter from the Ministère des colonies dated 3 March 1930, MdH, 2 AM 1 F 1e/MdqB, document 15139.

60. See Jean Galdou, "Courrier de l'Exposition coloniale: Les noirs d'Afrique face aux Américains," *Comœdia* 6770, 3 August 1931; and Ralph Soupault's series: "Les colonies inconnues: Saviez-vous que Paris possède ses cités coloniales permanentes? Les cités coloniales de Paris et de la banlieue décrites et dessinées par Ralph Soupault," *Comœdia* 6809, 11 September 1931; "Dans la plaine de la Fringale vers Nanterre: Avec une autre espèce de bohémiens: Les rabouins," *Comœdia* 6811, 13 September 1931; "À Billancourt, devant le mystère jaune," *Comœdia* 6814, 16 September 1931; "Saviez-vous que Paris a son port, un vrai port de mer, de vrais marins? . . ." *Comœdia* 6818, 20 September 1931; and "La croisière noire en plein Montmartre," *Comœdia* 6832, 4 October 1931.

61. For one of many photographs of the African rulers, see the front page of *Paris-Soir*, 26 April 1931. See also Jacques le Brussey, "S. M. Thermidor Etchie Amnallah, roi nègre regarde tristement de sa case parisienne tomber 'Madame la pluie,'" *Paris-Soir*, 5 May 1931; and unknown author, "Déodat H'Oumlouh lieutenant du chef suprême des tribus guyanaises découvre Montmartre . . .: Cette 'soirée parisienne' l'incite à retourner au plus tôt dans son pays," *Paris-Soir*, 25 May 1931.

62. Roger Blin, "Le scandale du village canaque," *La dépêche africaine* 4, no. 38 (1 July 1931): 5. See also Didier Daeninckx, *Cannibale* (Paris: Gallimard, 2000); Joël Dauphiné, *Canaques de la Nouvelle-Calédonie à Paris: De la case au zoo* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1998); and "Les Canala à l'exposition coloniale de 1931," online at http://www.ac-noumea.nc/canala/sitecollege/projets/expoweb (accessed 17 June 2007).

63. Jean Comaroff, "The Empire's Old Clothes: Fashioning the Colonial Subject," in *Cross-Cultural Consumption: Global Markets, Local Realities*, ed. David Howes (New York: Routledge, 1996), 19–38; Hildi Hendrickson, ed., *Clothing and Difference: Embodied Identities in Colonial and Post-Colonial Africa* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997); and Phyllis M. Martin, "Contesting Clothes in Colonial Brazzaville," *The Journal of African History* 35 (1994): 401–26.

64. Georges Henri Rivière, memo dated 9 July 1931, MdH, file 2 AM 1 F 1b/Mdqb, document 15130.

65. André Schaeffner with André Coeuroy, *Le jazz* (Paris: Claude Aveline, 1926; rpt., Paris: J.-M. Place, 1988); and Schaeffner, *Strawinsky* (Paris: Les Editions Rieder, 1931). Schaeffner conducted numerous intensive interviews with Stravinsky in writing this book and sent him the proofs for close commentary. He maintained a close relationship with him and his son Théodore at this time. In a letter to Stravinsky dated 8 July 1931, Schaeffner indicates that he "looks forward to seeing [him] on Friday," that is, at the gala performance described here. See André Schaeffner to Igor Stravinsky, 8 July 1931, microfilm 102.1, 2657–58, Paul Sacher Stiftung (hereafter cited as PSS).

66. André Schaeffner, "Le clavecin," in Albert Lavignac, *Encyclopédie de la musique et dictionnaire du conservatoire*, part 2, vol. 3 (Paris: C. Delagrave, 1927), 2036–60. Lionel de la Laurencie, who, like Landowska, inspired Schaeffner's interest in organology and comparative aesthetics, commissioned this article. Schaeffner kept among his papers a copy of Laurencie's article "L'exotisme dans l'ancienne musique français," *Courrier musical*, 15 February 1920; see André Schaeffner, "Textmanuskripte," PSS.

67. Schaeffner changed the name of his department at the Trocadéro to the Département d'ethnologie musicale after returning from the Mission Dakar-Djibouti in 1932. See Geneviève Dournon, "L'héritage muséographique d'André Schaeffner: Les collections d'instruments de musique du Musée de l'Homme," and Gilbert Rouget, "Qui étiez-vous, André Schaeffner?" in *Revue de musicologie* 68 (1982): 214–20 and 2–15, respectively. See also Bernard Lortat-Jacob, "L'ethnomusicologie en France," *Acta Musicologica* 62 (1990): 290; as well as André Schaeffner, *Essais de musicologie et autres fantaisies* (Paris: Le Sycomore, 1980), and *Variations sur la musique* (Paris: Fayard, 1998).

68. Much of this information is included in Schaeffner's handwritten notes of a lecture given at the Musée de l'Homme, 2 March 1965, kept among his unpublished papers, "Textmanuskripte," PSS. In the same lecture, Schaeffner comments that, "the score of *Le sacre* has the French subtitle 'Tableaux of Russian Pagan Life.' There I already found myself, without knowing it, right in the heart of ethnography." See also Jacques B. Hess, "Schaeffner, le jazz et l'Afrique," *Revue de musicologie* 68 (1982): 353–60.

69. Schaeffner's lecture has been published as "La musique danse, les danseurs chantent," in "Du beau musicale," texts edited and annotated by Jean Jamin, *Gradhiva: Revue semestrielle d'histoire et d'archives de l'anthropologie* 20 (1996): 104–07. Jamin provides an excellent introduction to these texts on pp. 95–99, in which he notes the parallels between Schaeffner's approach to ethnography and that planned for Branly. Schaeffner's lecture is also mentioned in "Danses africaines," *Aux écoutes*, 18 July 1931, and in V. F., "Une fête au palais de l'A.O.F."

70. Schaeffner is referring to Emile Durkheim, *Les formes élémentaires de la vie religieuse: Le système totémique en Australie* (Paris: F. Alcan, 1912; rpt., Québec: Librairie Générale française, 1991). See Schaeffner, "La musique danse, les danseurs chantent," 104.

71. See Marcel Mauss, "Techniques du corps," *Journal de Psychologie* 32, nos. 3–4 (15 March–15 April 1936); rpt. in Mauss, *Sociologie et anthropologie* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1950), 365–88.

72. Around the time of the 10 July gala, Schaeffner shifted his perspective on collecting musical instruments through dialogue with his colleagues on the Mission Dakar-Djibouti and by reading Michel Leiris's *Instructions sommaires pour les collecteurs d'objets ethnographiques*. See André Schaeffner, "Projet de collaboration à la Mission Dakar-Djibouti," in "Du beau musicale," 101–03. The *tour des instruments* at Branly is a historical result of Schaeffner's organologically oriented scholarly methodology. For historical insight into this subject, see Jann Pasler, "The Utility of Musical Instruments in the Racial and Colonial Agendas of Late Nineteenth-Century France," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 129, no. 1 (Spring 2004): 24–76.

73. Schaeffner with Coeuroy, *Le jazz*, 72–74. Schaeffner attended concerts by the Fisk Jubilee Singers on 5 May and 7 June 1925 and on 31 March 1928. He heard Roland Hayes in a concert at the Conservatoire on 21 May 1926. The programs of these concerts, with Schaeffner's handwritten remarks, are included among his papers, "Textmanuskripte," PSS. Schaeffner also kept information on King Vidor's film *Hallelujah!* (1929).

74. My understanding of the role of spectacle in twentieth-century French constructions of African difference is strongly influenced by the writings of Walter Benjamin and Jean Jamin (which I will not list in full here), and by Guy Debord's *Oeuvres* (Paris: Quarto/Gallimard, 2006). See, more specifically, Veit Erlmann, *Music, Modernity, and the Global Imagination: South Africa and the West* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999); Susan A. Glenn, *Female Spectacle: The Theatrical Roots of Modern Feminism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000); and V. Y. Mudimbe, *The Idea of Africa* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994).

75. Jean Jamin, "Objets trouvés des paradis perdus: À propos de la mission Dakar-Djibouti," in *Collections passion*, ed. Jacques Hainard and Roland Kaehr (Neuchâtel: Musée d'ethnographie, 1982), 72–73, 76.

76. See Gustave Fréjaville, "Le music-hall à l'Exposition," as part of the article "Music-Halls, Cirques et Cabarets: De l'Étoile à Vincennes," *Comœdia* 6820, 22 September 1931; and Jean Galdou, "Courrier de l'Exposition Coloniale: 'Le monde colonial qui chante et qui danse,'" *Comœdia* 6817, 19 September 1931. André Levinson severely criticized Lyautey's decision to put the indigenous dance programs in the hands of music hall specialists in "Le spectacle exotique à l'Exposition coloniale," *L'art vivant* 151 (August 1931), 374–83.

77. An assortment of these programs is kept in the Auguste Rondel Collection, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, now the Département des arts du spectacle, Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, France. On concert programs issued at the Exposition coloniale, the Dogon dancers are frequently referred to as "mimes of the African bush." See, for example, the program for an evening concert on 22 May 1931, printed invitation included in MdH, 2 AM 1 F 1d/MdqB, document 15135.

78. Sylvie Chalaye, "Théâtre et cabarets: Le 'nègre' spectacle," in *Zoos humains: XIXe et XXe siècles*, ed. Nicolas Bancel, Pascal Blanchard, Gilles Boëtsch, Éric Deroo, and Sandrine Lemaire (Paris: Editions La Découverte, 2002), 298. Petrine Archer-Straw describes a theatrical reenactment of the Dahomeyan conquest at the Théâtre de la Porte Saint-Martin in 1892 in *Negrophilia: Avant-Garde Paris and Black*

Culture in the 1920s (New York: Thames and Hudson, 2000), 32. See also Anne Décoret-Ahiha, *Les danses exotiques en France 1880–1940* (Paris: Centre national de la danse, 2004).

79. V. F., "Une fête au palais de l'A.O.F."

80. For information on anticolonial agitation in Dahomey in the early 1930s, see Alice Conklin, *A Mission to Civilize: The Republican Idea of Empire in France and West Africa, 1895–1930* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997); Kojo Tovalou Houénou, *Le problème de la race noire* (Paris: Editions de la Ligue universelle pour la défense de la race noire, 1924); and Emile Derlin-Zinsou and Luc Zouménou, *Kojo Tovalou Houénou, précurseur, 1887–1936: Pannégrisme et modernité* (Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose, 2004).

81. Gaetano Ciarcia, *De la mémoire ethnographique: L'exotisme du pays dogon* (Paris: Editions de l'école des hautes études en sciences socials, 2003). Desplagnes provides some of the first images published in France of Dogon ritual, masks, and dancers in *Le plateau central nigérien*, 304–05. See also Paul Morand, *Paris, Tombouctou: Documentaire* (Paris: Flammarion, 1928), and William Seabrook, *Jungle Ways* (London: George G. Harrap, 1931). On the later effects of tourism in the Bandiagara cliffs, see Marco Aime, *Diario dogon* (Turin: Bollati Boringhieri, 2000); and Anne Doquet, *Les masques dogon: Ethnologie savante et ethnologie autochone* (Paris: Karthala, 1999).

82. Leprun, *Le théâtre des colonies*, 17.

83. Marcel Olivier references Verne in the *Rapport général*, vol. 5, no. 2, 280.

84. Hergé's *Tintin au Congo* ran from 5 June 1930 to 11 June 1931 in *Le petit vingtième*. Hergé rewrote the volume in 1946 to address colonial issues. This latter version is still available today as *Tintin au Congo* (Paris: Casterman, 1993). Borders bookstores in England no longer sell it to children because of its racist content. In August 2007, the Congolese student Mbutu Mondondo Bienvenu launched a lawsuit in Belgium to have this book recognized as "racist," and taken out of circulation. The French colonial imaginary was also profoundly shaped by Leo Frobenius's writings and by Lucien Lévy-Bruhl's *La mentalité primitive* (Paris: Felix Alcan, 1922).

85. One of the most important French films to document African performance in these years is *Voyage au Congo: Scènes de la vie indigène en Afrique équatoriale* (1926), by Marc Allegret, who later directed Josephine Baker in *Zou Zou* (1934). The film *Afrique vous parle* was much more popular at the time, however. It played in Paris throughout the summer of 1931 and was advertised boldly in the daily papers.

86. A vast repertory of images can be found in journals like *Candide*, *Comoedia Excelsior*, *L'intransigeant*, *Illustration*, *Le monde colonial illustré*, *Le petit parisien*, and *Paris-Soir*.

87. Rivière refers to these films in "Danses indigènes des colonies françaises." Although he and Schaeffner used them for years in giving lectures on African music and dance at the Trocadéro, their current location is unknown. One of the earliest known films of the Dogon performing is Marcel Griaule's *Sous les masques noirs* (1935), excerpts of which accompany the display of Dogon masks at the Musée du quai Branly.

88. "Don't photograph me, mister," a caption under a photograph of an unidentified Dahomeyan man in *L'intransigeant* reads, "or at least promise me you'll bring me a picture of you that I can show people when I return home to Dahomey." "L'Afrique à l'Exposition," *L'intransigeant*, 9 June 1931.

89. This notice is reprinted in Miguel Zamacois, "La leçon des 'sauvages,'" *Paris-Soir*, 7 August 1931.

90. Rivière and Rivet thanked Decujis for his "artists" in a letter dated 11 July, MdH, 2 AM 1 F 1e/MdqB, document 15139. Philippe Stern likewise recruited African musicians from the military to perform on his series of recordings from the Exposition coloniale.

91. André Schaeffner, scattered typed pages on the Dogon, "Textmanuskripte," PSS. It is not clear whether Schaeffner downplayed the importance of Dogon performance at the Exposition coloniale in order to make his subsequent trip to the Bandiagara cliffs appear more unique. I think the Dogon would have been able to chant or play their rhythms, the absence of particular drums not hindering them as much as Schaeffner claims.

92. On Dogon ritual and drumming, see Marcel Griaule, *Masques dogons*, Travaux et mémoires de l'Institut d'ethnologie 33 (Paris: Institut d'ethnologie, 1938; 4th ed., 1994); Moussa Konaté, Michel Le Bris, and Geneviève Calame-Griaule, *Les mondes dogon* (Paris: Centre culturel Abbaye de Daoulas, 2002); Giovanni Salvioni, *Danze dogon e bambara: Il linguaggio simbolico dinamico tra rito, ammaestramento et spettacolo* (Milan: F. Angeli, 1984); and Famedji-Koto Tchimou, *Langage de la danse chez les Dogons* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1995).

93. V. F., "Une fête au palais de l'A.O.F."

94. Agawu, *Representing African Music*, 61. For a riviting account of this spectacularized rhythm, see Alejo Carpentier, "Segundo viaje a la exposición colonial."

95. See, for example, Pascal Blanchard and Nicolas Bancel, *De l'indigène à l'immigré* (Paris: Gallimard, 1998/2001); Pascal Blanchard, Eric Deroo, and Gilles Manceron, *Le Paris noir* (Paris: Hazan, 2001); and the film *Zoos humains*, directed by Blanchard and Deroo (Paris: Les films du village, Cités télévision, and Les bâtisseurs de mémoire, 2002).

96. Seabrook, *Jungle Ways*, 227.

97. Leiris describes "the anger of eleven of the twelve village people sent to dance at the Exposition coloniale (the twelfth and only content one was Endyali [Indiélou], Seabrook's informant, a student of the school and former representative of his father, who was "chef de Canton" of Bandiagara)." See *L'Afrique fantôme*, in Leiris, *Miroir d'Afrique*, 228.

98. *Les Dogon: Musique des masques et des funérailles* (Paris: Inédit, 2006). For information on the group AWA, see the Web site http://www.tellemvoyage.com/troupe.htm (accessed 17 June 2007).

99. Sékou Ogobara Dolo, *La mère des masques: Un Dogon raconte*, ed. Catherine Clément and Dominique-Antoine Grisoni (Paris: Seuil, 2002). For an earlier, neocolonial psychoanalytical study of members of the Dolo family, and especially Ogobara Dolo, see Fritz Mortenthaler, Paul Parin, and Goldy Parin-Matthey, *Les Blancs pensent trop: 13 entretiens psychanalytiques avec les Dogon*, translated from the German by Aude Willm (Paris: Payot, 1966).

100. V. F., "Une fête au palais de l'A.O.F."

101. In a letter dated 20 June 1931, Rivière wrote to Léon Géraud that "your incomparable African artists inspired the general admiration of my colleagues." The same day

he thanked Georges Spitz in a letter for allowing him to hear his "incomparable musicians." MdH, 2 AM 1 F 1d/MdqB, document 15138.

102. Georges Henri Rivière and Paul Rivet to Marcel Olivier, 11 July 1931, MdH, 2 AM 1 F 1e/MdqB, document 15139.

103. *Le monde colonial illustré* 89 (January 1931), quoted in Palà, "Adaptions, transformations, transgressions d'usage," 24.

104. René-Jean, "La monnaie de Paris et les souvenirs de l'Exposition Coloniale," *Comœdia*, 30 September 1931.

105. *L'art vivant* 151 (August 1931), 380.

106. Rivière, "Danses indigènes des colonies françaises."

107. "Courrier de l'Exposition Coloniale: Une soirée africaine au Palais de l'A.O.F.," *Comœdia*, 9 July 1931.

108. Bill Wells, "Divertissement colonial," *Candide*, 28 May 1931. Wells is referring to a performance on 22 May 1931.

109. Morand, *Paris, Tombouctou*, 143–44.

110. Seabrook, *Jungle Ways*, 230–34. Ciarcia comments on the surrealist reception of Seabrook's novels in the years preceding the Exposition coloniale; see Ciarcia, *De la mémoire ethnographique*, 16–19. See also Michel Leiris, "L'île magique," *Documents* 5 (1929): 334–35; Leiris, "L'oeil de l'ethnographe," *Documents* 7 (1930): 404, 414; and William Seabrook, "Le caput mortuum ou la femme de l'alchimiste," *Documents* 8 (1930): 461–66.

111. André Schaeffner, "Situation des musiciens dans trois sociétés africaines," *Ethnologie II: Colloque international tenu à Wégimont [Liège] du 15 au 21 Septembre 1956*, Les congrès et colloques de l'Université de Liège, vol. 19 (Liège: Université de Liège, 1956), 37. See also Schaeffner, *Le sistre et le hochet: Musique, théâtre et danse dans les sociétés africaines* (Paris: Hermann, 1990). Michel Leiris hints that he did not agree with Schaeffner's application of this terminology in Sally Price and Jean Jamin, "A Conversation with Michel Leiris," *Current Anthropology* 29, no. 1 (February 1988): 168.

112. Georges Bataille to Michel Leiris, July 1931, and Leiris to Bataille, 22 July 1931, in *Échanges et correspondances*, ed. Louis Yvert (Paris: Gallimard, 2004), 98–99.

113. Schaeffner, scattered typed pages on the Dogon and lecture at the Musée de l'Homme, 2 March 1965, "Textmanuskripte," PSS.

114. See Géraud to Rivière, 27 October 1931 and 3 November 1931, and Rivière to Géraud, 5 November 1931, MdH, 2 AM 1 F 1d/MdqB, document 15138. This transaction stands out as the only time that Rivière negotiated directly with performers at the Exposition coloniale for their costumes. See also note 11.

115. Denise Paulme, "Quelques souvenirs," *Cahiers d'études africaines* 19 (1979): 10; and Alice Byrne, "Comment devient-on ethnologue?" in "La quête d'une femme ethnologue au coeur de l'Afrique Coloniale: Denise Paulme, 1909–1998" (Master's thesis, Université de Provence-Centre d'Aix, 2000), available online at http://www.up.univ-mrs.fr/~wclio-af/numero/6/thematique/chap1Byrne.html (accessed 17 June 2007).

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116. A large number of documents pertaining to Rivière's attempts to procure displayed objects from colonial administrators at the Exposition coloniale, including the official list of what he was allowed to take from the permanent exhibits at the French West African pavilion, are kept in MdH, 2 AM 1 F 1d/MdqB, document 15138.

117. See http://gallica.bnf.fr/VoyagesEnAfrique/ (accessed 17 June 2007).

118. Agbenyega Adedze, "In the Pursuit of Knowledge and Power: French Scientific Research in West Africa, 1938–65," *Comparative Studies in South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 23 (2003): 335–44.

119. The research team in charge of the Dogon includes Aurélien Gabourit, Jean-Paul Colleyn, and Gaëlle Beaujean-Baltzer. The masks are accompanied by film clips from Marcel Griaule, *Sous les masques noirs* (1935); Jean Rouch with Germaine Dieterlin, *Le Dama d'Ambara* (1974); and Jean-Paul Colleyn, *Mali Kow* (2000).

120. Sékou Ogobara Dolo explains that the Dogon "Société des masques" later adopted a practice of desacralizing masks to allow for tourist spectacle; a similar process was surely in place by 1931. See Sékou Ogobara Dolo, "Quand les masques s'expatrient," in *La mère des masques*, 208.

121. In *L'Afrique fantôme*, Michel Leiris describes how anxious individuals in the Bandiagara cliffs became when asked to sell or donate their masks to the French during the Mission Dakar-Djibouti in 1931. See, for example, his entries for 5 and 16 November, *L'Afrique fantôme*, in *Miroir de l'Afrique*, 255, 268.

122. See "Allocution de M. Nicolas SARKOZY, Président de la République, prononcée à l'Université de Dakar [26 July 2007];" Achille Mbembe, "L'Afrique de Nicolas Sarkozy," *Le Messager* (Douala), 1 August 2004; Mbembe, "France-Afrique: ces sottises qui divisent [10 August 2007]," and Adame Ba Konaré, "Mali Appel aux Historiens: Adame Ba Konaré réagit au discours de Sarkozy," *Les Echos* (Bamako), 14 September 2007; all these articles are available online at http://www.ldh-toulon.net/spip.php?rubrique131 (accessed 1 October 2007). This website also includes responses by Boubacar Boris Diop, Amadou Mactar Mbow, and others.

123. Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "Reflections," unpublished commentary on the conference "Exhibiting Other: Museums of Mankind and the Politics of Cultural Representation," at Paris's Centre allemand d'histoire de l'art, 2000; quoted in Nélia Dias, "Une place au Louvre," in *Le musée cannibale*, 21.

124. I have reconstructed this program from newspaper reviews; André Schaeffner's "La musique danse, les danseurs chantent," 106–07; and Rivière's memo, 8 July 1931, MdH, 2 AM 1 F 1b/MdqB, document 15130.

125. V. F. mentions the Sara in "Une fête au palais de l'A.O.F." The exact quote is, "The event ended with a sort of ballet performed by thirty magnificent blacks from the region of Lake Tchad." Neither Schaeffner nor Rivière mention the Sara, who probably did not perform that night.

126. The "sumptuous buffet" is described in "Danses africaines," *Aux écoutes*, 18 July 1931. In his handwritten memo, Rivière notes that Mr. Fournier catered the buffet, which cost 6,000 francs (400–600 people), with a supplement of 1,500 francs for the "champagne" (*mousseux*), and 10 percent staff costs (750) for a total of 8,250 Francs, rounded out to 8,500.

STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, AND CIRCULATION

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